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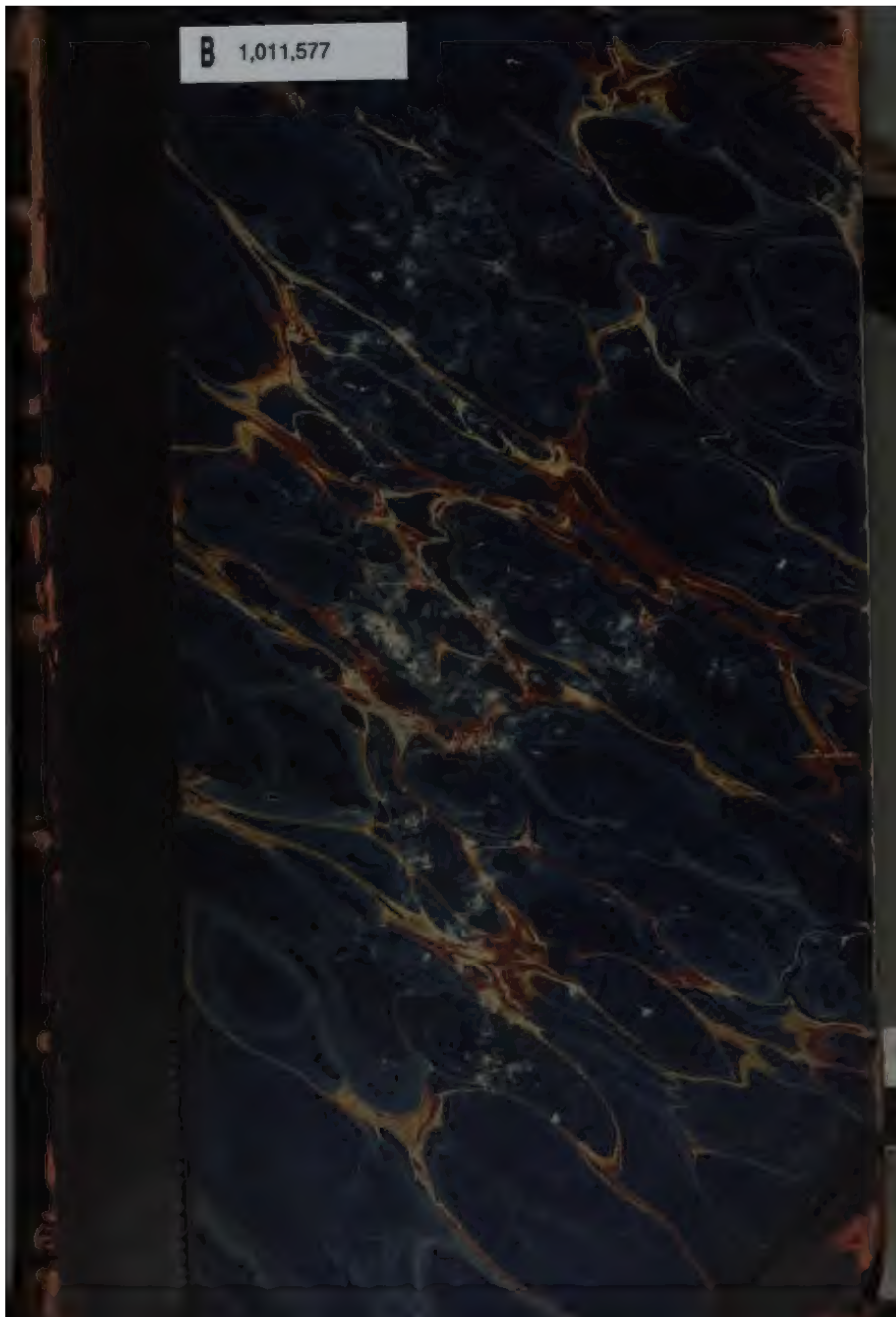
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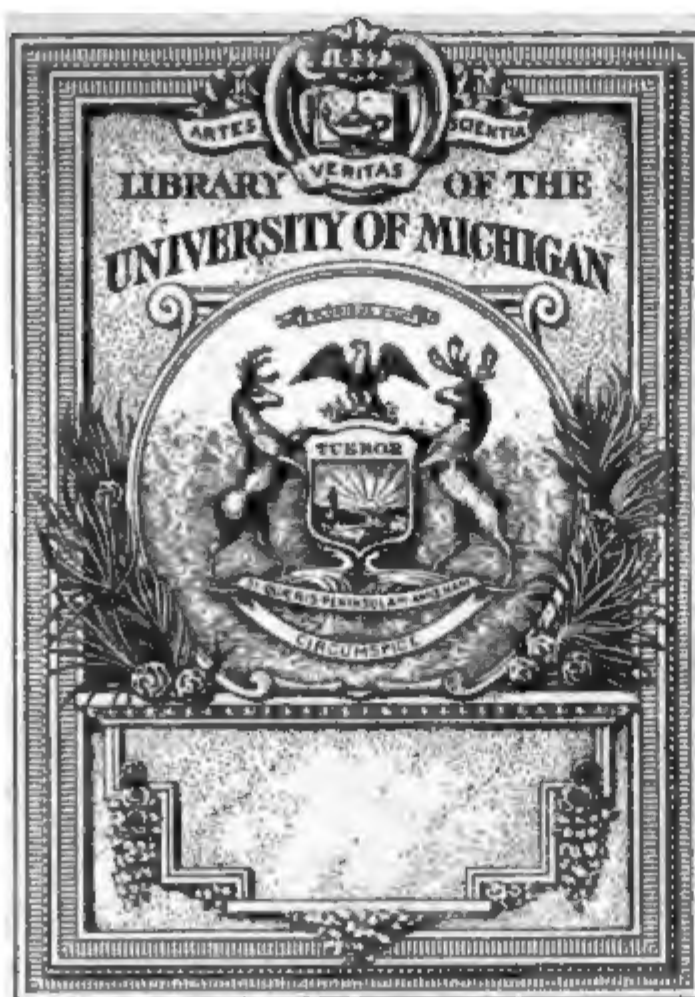
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13. *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire as to the best means of establishing an Efficient Constabulary Force in the Counties of England and Wales.* Published by direction of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. 1839.

UNTIL a recent day there lived a population in the great cities of our empire, of whom the general world knew little, and cared less. In walking along the streets of these proud cities, there comes ever and anon between us and the evidence of abounding wealth, some miserable specimen of juvenile humanity, doling out in a whining tone his tale of sorrow. Clothed in rags, which are simply a parcel of holes sewed together, or in garments never made for him, limping along, with pale emaciated face, he often extorts by importunity what would have been denied to his real or apparent woes. The benefaction given to abate a nuisance, or at best from feelings of general humanity, is received with a passing lip-gratitude, and the boy returns to commence whining at the heels of the succeeding straggler.

Such creatures were not until a recent day regarded as any other than a few miseral strays from the herd of mankind, destined through inscrutable providential arrangements, to wander here in misery. They were unfortunate and forlorn, and must bear the sharpness of their misfortunes, of which it was clear their birth was the first. Thus the people in purple and fine linen passed by, and left them with a general benediction in the hands of God. A few of the benevolent of this world, struck with cases of individual sorrow, dived beneath the surface, into mysterious haunts where civilisation had scarce penetrated, and where were discovered an innumerable hive of beings similarly wretched, over whom the summer of life had passed, and who had become prematurely old under the agony of a winter which appeared to be ever theirs. Uncared for, unknown, they had grown up to a wretchedness of which there was little parallel even in the pages of Eastern story. Children of the State, inheritors of its privileges in name, they found that it had neither a parent's nor a child's affection; that, like the eagle, it had dismissed its young, and known them no more. When living they were disregarded, and were unmourned when covered by some frail memorial under which they had crept to sleep.

They have recently been the subject of an animated practical philanthropy. Howards, actuated with the humanity of the great prison-reformer, have excavated from the obscure depths of London poverty, hordes who were growing up to prey upon a society that heeded them not. In those narrow streets off the Strand, the courts and alleys in the back settlements of West-

minster, the regions of Saffron Hill, you will find a people of whom the elders are pale, languid, unhappy even when sober; the juniors equally wretched, crouching into corners, or at distant intervals emitting a yell as some object excites their curiosity or their apprehensions, and rendering you happy for a moment by the evidence, that the sad depressions of the scene are unavailing to destroy entirely the buoyancy of young existence.

From such haunts it is that our juvenile criminal population is replenished. The circumstances and the place should be noted, that we may the more effectually trace the pollution which is threatening to submerge society.

In Westminster, where sits the legislative assembly that gives law to a great empire—the residence of royalty—the home of nobles—within the sound of the abbey chimes—there exists a portion of humanity who have no higher ideas than those connected with their animal desires, or their servile occupations. Extend the range to Field Lane or Saffron Hill, and a more deplorable scene awaits you. A wilderness of brick fatigues the eye with its look of monotonous desolation. The pure air of heaven itself is made heavy and offensive by putrid exhalations. Lounging about in the wildness of savage freedom, bareheaded, and without coats, are the male inhabitants. Generally smoking, often drunk, always ragged, rough, and filthy, their wan faces are in accordance with the general misery, and the languor of their movements bespeaks the potency of the atmosphere. But the filth without is as nothing to that within; the general desolation of the place cedes to the particular horrors of each abode.

The pestiferous atmosphere which produces even on the temporary visitor the depression of mind under which his energy sinks, has done its work with the inhabitants. The buoyancy of feeling, the delicious sensation of healthy action is never there,

“sed crudelis ubique

Luctus; ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.”

If too young to be of service to themselves, the children in these alleys are made availing to older beggars. How interesting it is to see the meek look of resigned poverty in that gentle mother's face, and how touching is the reference to her sorrows and those of the sleeping infant at her back! It is all a sham and a delusion. The woman is the fiercest blasphemer of the alley; the babe is hired at so much a day, and drugged to sleep to create an interest in its helplessness. As it grows up, it crouches beside its protector, and emits the usual beggar's whine, to excite at once our notice and compassion. More especially in the evenings, as persons emerge from the comforts of a dinner party, with blood warm, and feelings of charity strong, their steps are



dogged by these miserable creatures with their inarticulate moans. If they return without their average earnings, they are welcomed with the ferocious beatings of a fury disappointed of her liquor; and unless fortunate in some scrap of food, picked up in their wanderings, they must retire supperless as well as bruised, to bed.

Nature holds on the uniformity of her plan even with these children of misfortune. In a year or two their frames get stronger spite of cold and wet, penury and hard usage; and they emancipate themselves from the thralldom that oppressed them. Established on their own account, they may be seen wandering through the streets of the great cities, lurking about the stairs, or sitting on the steps of doors, or creeping barefooted along the edge of the pavement on a cold winter's day, sometimes in company with others, but oftentimes alone. When the produce of the day has not produced a meal, they will be found hanging about the provision-stores, or low eating-houses, feasting in fancy on delicacies they shall never taste. Dressed in trowsers cut for a child, they are in all likelihood enveloped in a long coat which had erst adorned the bulky consistence of a man of mature years. With keen and eager look they prowl about, and only fall into the attitude of begging misery when any one approaches. Their gains are sometimes sufficient for the gratification of their small extravagance,—the purchase of sweetmeats, and the attendance at penny-theatres; in which enjoyments they find themselves happy. Any one who has watched them there, covered with filth, but delighted and uproarious like their betters, would be apt to come to the disheartening conclusion that pain and sorrow are equally distributed through all the ranks of life; that all happiness is relative; that if poverty is a struggle how to live, riches are an occupation how to spend; and with these comforting consolations to leave them to their destiny.

In one ragged school of 50 boys, (a fair sample of them all,) 16 were professed thieves, and 27 beggars and hawkers. The rest of them were engaged in the various shifts by which in consistency with the laws, life is supported;—crossing-sweepers, donkey-drivers, ostler-boys; dodgers about omnibuses or cabs, to gain a penny by shutting the door, or helping “the gentleman in,” and at the same time “helping” him of his watch if they can “find” it safely; holders of horses in the streets, casual errand boys, costermonger-boys, sellers of oranges, street-singers, flower-girls, water-cress sellers,—and sellers of lucifer matches, hunting you with boxes at two a penny; a party-coloured group, wild as birds of prey, ignorant of the duties of civilized life, and indifferent to its comforts, which they have never known; without moral culture or domestic training, without knowledge of good and

evil, of heaven or hell, they are scattered units on the great ocean of life, apparently only existing to trouble it and themselves. Many of them are without relations or friends ; others with profligate parents, who neglect them ; others with stepfathers or mothers, who ill-treat them ; and all of them in a state of almost incredible ignorance of the very elements of human knowledge, they find no occupation too disgusting. On the banks of the Thames at low-water, puddling amid the slime, they will be seen scrambling for pieces of coal ; and the “mud-larks” are thus distinguished from the prevailing squalor of the other children, by the super-addition of the foul deposits of the river.

Accustomed to the freedom of their wild existence, they look at first with scorn upon the restraints which the Ragged Schools impose. They come as for a *lark* ; shout, sing, and blaspheme ; and are all in a state of frantic fun at the idea of any one schooling them. But they are susceptible of impression, and the sweetness of human sympathy is triumphant in the end. The novelty of disturbance wears away, and a better novelty comes in its room. The instruction offered them is seized with avidity, and comprehended with a quickness beyond their years. The impressions thus made on the minds of a migratory, restless race may not be lasting ; but experience has proved that much has been done, for which the world should be thankful. Ignorance has been supplanted by a little knowledge ; some idle have been made industrious ; the virtues of filth have been rendered doubtful ; the wild freaks of mud-larks even have been exchanged for the orderly deportment of our common schools ; and, amid the screams and yells of their out-door recreations there will be heard the humming of the hymns that they have learnt. They get up concerts in the courts ; and sometimes on the holidays, raise their voices high and gloriously, above the ribaldry and blasphemy there. When we find such effects from such small beginnings, and when in the improved *morale* of society we perceive its results in the diminution of crime,\* is there not in it all something more than a sentimental sympathy with a new specimen of humanity, and merits that will sustain the noble scheme long after its romance has yielded to more startling things !

But how small are the number that can be reached ! Only 4000 attend the whole Ragged Schools of London ; and yet, in *two* parishes, Bethnal Green and Spitalfields, there were, in 1843, 16,726 children without the advantage of any instruction.† In another district in the western part of the me-

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\* See the statements of the Governor of the Edinburgh Prison cited by Lord Ashley.

† City Mission Magazine, Nov. 1843, pp. 173-7.

tropolis, visited by the agents of the London City Mission, they found 312 houses, 621 families, and 612 children under 12 years of age,—only 65 of whom were receiving any kind of education. These children thus neglected, are left early to their own discretion. It is not in their case a sudden lapse into crime; they have been educated to systematic deceit from early years; their assumed sores and agonies are all impostures. To cheat the compassion of a stranger, is to rob him as effectually as is done on the highway, without the preceding trouble. The distinction, too evanescent even in the keenest view of the theory of moral proportions, is completely disregarded in practice. As the boy grows up he loses the means of exciting our sympathies, and takes to thieving as a trade. Experience enables him to put in practice the precepts which are readily given him; and which he obtains in abundance in those dens to which in large towns he must resort for a home.

The march of modern improvement, and the exigencies of our advanced civilisation, requiring in the hearts of our great cities large spaces for manufactories and railway stations, have swept away many of those obscure streets which, while they were nurseries of disease, were still habitations for the poor. What was thus taken from them has not been otherwise supplied. Few new streets fitted for their abode have been erected in the cities where so many houses have been destroyed; and the masses thus bereft of their miserable dwellings, have been driven upon the scanty accommodation of their poorer neighbours; crowding to suffocation dens already filled. How often in these filthy tenements, swarming with human beings, does the missionary find twelve men, women, and children, mingled together in one room, in all the squalor of promiscuous wretchedness! Take for instance Glasgow, the second city of the empire; in the alleys of which leading out of the High Street, the houses of the Calton, the closes and wynds which lie between Trongate and Bridgegate, and the Saltmarket, there will be found a motley population, which derives its entire subsistence from plunder or prostitution. In every variety of form,—misery, crime, disease, and filth exist there. In the houses,—dirt, damp, and decay reign triumphant.

Is it better in the great city of Liverpool, the emporium of a commerce that has embraced the world? Here there are hundreds of inhabited cellars, in which there are estimated to be 40,000 occupants. There are no windows in them, no communication with external air other than the door at the top. The flooring is the bare earth, and is often the depository of all the filth of the swarms who inhabit these receptacles of misery. Much certainly has been done in the way of improvement within the last

two years; but Liverpool still continues one of the most unhealthy of cities. Birmingham, the blackest and most desolate looking city that the sun ever shone upon—everywhere appearing in dishabille, everywhere offending the eye with gaunt black erections, and the smell, with the intolerable combinations of its manufacturing processes, is not much better. In this city no less than 49,016 persons reside in courts as badly ventilated and drained as those of Saffron Hill. The Police-returns state, that there are 122 beggars' lodging-houses, 252 Irish lodging-houses, 81 reputed to be used as houses for the reception of stolen goods, and 228 described as the resort of thieves.

But let us not bear too hard upon the great cities, in which we must necessarily look for some of the inconveniences attending a crowded population. The evil is universal. Amid the bracing breezes of the far north, we have the capital of the Highlands thus described by its worthy provost, whose sense of duty and whose patriotism had some difficulty in not running into contradiction. "Inverness," said he, "is a *nice* town, situated in a most beautiful country. The people are, generally speaking, a *nice* people; but their sufferance of nastiness is past endurance." It is the worst symptom of the disease, because it shows that the surrounding physical wretchedness has destroyed the mind. "The wretchedness," says Dr. Southwood Smith, "being greater than humanity can bear, annihilates the mental feelings,—the faculties distinctive of the human being."

To give the poor man a home is the sure means not only to his physical comfort but to his moral regeneration. He has something to look forward to in the evening of his day of labour, in a fireside unbeset by miseries which nature loathes—miseries which prevent the expansion of the social feelings—the expression of that tenderness and humanity which bind mankind together, and which are never so beautiful as in the gentle eloquence of domestic affection. Give the father a comfortable and cleanly house, and he can then, if he has any tendency to good, develop it in the seclusion which surrounds him; without that, he seeks to gratify the cravings of his nature in some place where he can taste a little of a home's comforts. He finds in the public-house a fire, brilliant gas-light, attendance; and in the debasing excitement of drink he attempts to drown the consciousness of the sleeping place to which he must return. What must the wife of such a man be but the reflex of himself. Dirty and slattern—forgetful of the delicacies of her sex, brawling and intemperate, she shows how unhappy circumstances may have changed a tidy girl. The children, too, with keener sensibilities, have as keen a sense of discomforts. Driven to the streets, they linger there as long as the weather will permit

them, and fill up their idle time in thieving. Parents and children alike fall. The same scythe that cuts down the flower already fully blown, cuts away the bud still unfolded in its calyx.

No speculator ever dreams of erecting streets for the accommodation of these classes; yet no speculation would be more successful. Look at some of the cellars in our great cities, let at high rents to wretches who scrimp their earnings to meet them; and can it be supposed that human nature would endure such unwholesome cells if well-ventilated accommodation were placed within its reach?

The following extracts from the advertising columns of the London newspapers prove, that although there might be some trouble in gathering the rents, yet that when got an excellent per centage would be obtained for outlay:—

“For sale, for 250 guineas, five small houses, bringing in a clear income of above £70 a-year.”—*Morning Advertiser*.

“A lot of houses to be sold for £250, producing £76 a-year above the ground rent.”—*Ibid*.

“Twelve houses to be sold for the small sum of £200, to pay nearly 25 per cent.”—*Ibid*.

“£150 a-year to be sold for 700 guineas, arising from houses eligibly situated near the city.”—*Times*.

But the class of juveniles to whom we must particularly return, cannot set up an independent *ménage*, even in the range of houses sold at such a sacrifice. Boys and girls under 14, whose parents are dead, or have deserted them, or driven them from a home where their maintenance was a burden, must obtain some lodging-place other than the stairs of houses, or the arches of a bridge. Such lodgings have been provided, and have formed the most efficient instrument, in skilful hands, for eradicating the last shreds of a lingering virtue. They are frequented by both sexes, and more especially by boys and girls of tender years. They are distinct from the beer-shop, the public-house, or any of the other places of accommodation known to respectable life. All who have no character, or whose rags and filth would exclude them from cleanly habitations even though they had money, are welcome. The beggar and the thief meet here when the day's work is done. It is the “flash house” of the district,—the receiving-house for stolen goods,—the school where aged ruffians ruin all that is left of juvenile virtue,—wind up the labours of the day by the scenes of the brothel, and in the total corruption of all morals, commit nameless horrors, which shock the feelings and stagger belief.

“In the lodging-houses in the country,” says a convicted thief, “I have met with all sorts of characters—burglars, thieves, pickpockets, beggars, and receivers; and have frequently seen property of all sorts

sold for half its value, which I have no doubt was stolen.”—*Constabulary Report*, p. 67.

An orphan boy, ultimately convicted, gives this sketch :—

“ When lads run away from home they go to a lodging-house, and if they (the parents) look for them the lodging-house keeper hides them. If a lad once gets into one of them it’s all up with him ; for he sees them drinking and card-playing, and hears them talking of the places they have been in. Young girls are enticed to the houses ; many hundred lads would not go if it was not for them. I have seen nine beds in a room, and two persons in each. I was once in a lodging-house at Warwick where there were 130 men, women, and children, all loose characters.”—*Constabulary Report*, p. 68.

Thieves have their gradations of rank according to their skill. The more proficient are admired and worshipped in these houses by those who have yet to learn ; and the youth at threepence a-night is excited to imitation by the stories that he hears. We have all around us sad evidence of the skill with which the instruction is given and acquired, and of the power with which the plastic elements of humanity are moulded into perfection by accomplished masters. Physically and intellectually young criminals are, in one sense, in a high state of education, though unable to form a single letter, or toss up the first problem in simple addition. People talk of the influence of public opinion ; but public opinion is nothing more than the judgment of the circle of 20 or 100 individuals with whom we associate, or among whom we move. Duties derive their obligation from the opinions of that limited number ; and to the scorn, as to the approbation of the rest of mankind, there is the most profound indifference. Hence the more proficient adepts in thieving are looked upon as illustrious chiefs of a body adorned by their talents ; they keep up its spirit amid the persecution of cruel policemen, and have the sympathy of hundreds when denied in jails and penitentiaries the freedom they love. The means are dwelt on by which they have become great and unfortunate ; and when at last they wind up their brilliant career by the gallows, or by a compulsory travel in a distant land, they bequeath to their companions the benefit of their example. The evils that such men do are thus not limited to the particular outrage for which they suffer. In their ruin they drag down not merely themselves, but the weaker instruments whom they have made their tools. Alceste, after reading Orontes’ sonnet, announced the judgment of every reader of their confessions—

“ Qu’un homme est pendable après les avoir faits.”

The removal of such evils has been attempted by the erection



of houses regulated upon better principles, directed by humane and enlightened men. In Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham, and London, we have seen these establishments in operation, and nothing can be more pleasing than the contrast. Cleanliness, order, quiet are there ; and in some a collection of books. It is gratifying also to know, that, unlike other charitable schemes, they have turned out profitable speculations. Yet, after all, the accommodation so given must be limited in its operation to those houseless isolated stragglers who have no family, and no abiding resting-place. A man with a wife and children, of course, cannot enter a large public lodging-house ; for his case separate dwellings must be provided, if we wish to preserve him as a self-sustaining member of society.

The orphans and deserted children of degraded parents seldom come with a good recommendation to a tradesman wanting an apprentice. When he can get the children of the middle classes, he will seldom drag from the pollution of the London streets the wild creatures who infest them. Without a trade, or an honest means of livelihood, they have thus the sad dilemma offered to them—to thief or die. In that case, (and it is of professional thieves that we are now speaking,) undoubtedly *want* originally gave a direction to their life. Many respectable men have no doubt given it as the result of their experience, that such is not the cause of the vast majority of crimes.\* They assert what is true, that a skilful thief will be able to acquire a far larger income than the best employed workman can ever make, and can riot it in a style of sensual gratification which no workman's income could ever meet. This may be the reason which induces the convicted thief when he grows in years to continue his predatory life ; but, at first, the sole consideration is to get immediate subsistence. If work could have been got they might have been skilful operatives, raising still higher our manufacturing renown ; but excluded from this outlet to their energies, they only serve to raise the prison and the poor rates.

Nothing can be more curious than the revelations which these children make of the practice of their art. The "*Memoirs of Vidocq*" disclosed a history which, in point of interest, yielded to none of the master-pieces of imaginative fiction. The confessions of our own juvenile thieves, if they do not hurry us so often to the brink of improbability and melo-dramatic exaggeration, yet disclose pictures of human life which must be new to many. At one time we find them possessed of large sums of

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\* See the evidence of Mr. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, First Report, Lords, p. 20 ; Surveyor-General's Report, p. 41 ; and evidence digested in Constabulary Report, p. 129.

money, which would have maintained a family for years; and in the following week it is gone. Each has got a "sister," who generally aids in spending the ill-gotten produce, and who is often the best witness for a conviction. Eager for novelty, unscrupulous in the mode of gratifying it, impatient at the quiet monotony of sober life, the thief is soon inured to the roving spirit of his profession, and would feel it as the greatest misery to forsake it.

Most of them begin at the age of seven or eight, which must leave them two years of impunity, as we cannot find from the evidence of any of the witnesses examined before the House of Lords in 1847, that magistrates have ever tried children under nine. They begin their life first by petty thefts of loose articles from the market-stands and shop-doors; they next proceed to pocket-picking, stealing from the shop-till, cheating shopmen, extracting valuable articles from shop-windows by taking out a pane. If what is obtained be money, it is immediately divided; if it be anything else it is taken to the "fences," or receivers of stolen property, who for the most part are Jews, and who, to conceal the nature of their trade, carry on ostensibly the business of furniture-brokers, gold-refiners, and keepers of marine-stores. No one acquainted with the history of a thief's progress will doubt the assertion, that if there were no "fences" there would be fewer thieves. These, in truth, are among the greatest pests of society; they encourage the thief by finding him a market; and many robberies are effected upon their suggestion.

The first serious check the thief receives after the usual short imprisonments of his early youth, generally takes place in his third or fourth year. In pursuing his usual art, he may not have used his usual caution; or in attempting something new, he may not have displayed sufficient skill. A long imprisonment, or perhaps transportation, relieves society from the agent that had troubled it. Of the results of Prison-discipline, we shall have occasion before concluding to speak. But in the meantime we will, from the confessions of one of these juvenile thieves, prove that their profits are far beyond what they ever could have obtained by honest living.

One of them states\* that he was the son of respectable parents, and left them expressly to live by robbing. He and another young man on the first day of their expedition from Manchester made about £4 by picking pockets at Chorley. They then went to Preston, and in a fortnight "got a decent sum—about £30." Thence they went to Garstang, where they took £12 from a drunk man. In the ensuing week at Lancaster and

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\* Constabulary Report, p. 41.



Carlisle they did "very fair." In a short time they went to Hexham, where in about three minutes they "flattened the nose" of a flour-dealer, and relieved him of £25. They left for Newcastle that night, and got into a warehouse, from which they took goods to the value of £15. To Durham they next proceeded "to look at the Cathedral, but did nothing there," and were equally unsuccessful at Darlington; but at Stockton, in the following week, they made about £12, for which they were apprehended, and had a month of solitude in Durham jail. On their emancipation from this *duresse*, they went to Sunderland for a week, where the party making the confession could find no other book but the Bible, in which he read a passage that troubled him for some weeks. On the road between Sunderland and Shields, they made £8; "and determined to work back to Manchester." Before they arrived at York, they "were low," and had only made £14, 10s. At Leeds, they "got some little—about £10;" at Bradford, £3; and arrived in Manchester on the 25th of May, from which they went to Ashton and Huddersfield, and obtained £10 by picking pockets, but "had to fly very quick." Wakefield "stood" 25s.; and Selby and Hull, "some few pounds." At Beverley and Scarboro', they made "£30 at two hauls;" and at Hartlepool, "we lit on an old sailor just landed, who had got £25, (his wages just received,) and picked his pocket." On they drove to Edinburgh, where we "drawed" a grocer's till, which yielded £30. At Glasgow, they were a fortnight, "got about £20 the day before we went out, to help us on the road." Thence to Greenock, which is described as "a pretty town, but we did not choose to do much." Ayr, however, yielded a more liberal return in £40, which was taken from the pocket of a female, but which roused the hue and cry after them. They escaped, however. One left Scotland, crossed to Ireland, where at various places enumerated he made £77, 10s.; his companion having parted from him at Ayr.

Here is an amount of robberies which may be taken as a sample of hundreds contained in these confessions. The misery to the victims—such as the poor sailor, who after perhaps a long year of dangerous service had returned with his hard earned wage—can scarcely be estimated; and yet all this vast amount of money obtained within a period of one single year, was just as recklessly squandered as it was obtained. When apprehended at Manchester, on his return from Ireland, the improvident thief had only £25 remaining. Another of the tribe, who makes a similar confession, adds these significant words:—" *Separate confinement* for a month or two, and as little meat as would sustain health, might have altogether stopped me."—*Constabulary Report*, p. 49.

The Prison-discipline now to be adopted has become of pressing interest. For the last forty years it has been made the subject of a long series of experiments, each thrust forward as an improvement on its predecessor. The damp dungeons which engendered the jail-fevers of former days, at last yielded to the reclamations of humanity, startled by the disclosures of Howard. A feeling of strong commiseration for the victims directed attention to schemes of improvement; one of which was that upon which we have settled. So early as 1775, the Separate-system was established by the Duke of Richmond, in the county of Sussex. The suggestion came from Howard; but it never appears to have been generally adopted, and passed away for many years from the public attention. A system of classification, about thirty years ago, was resorted to. To give it effect, many new prisons were erected, which have since required expensive alterations. The object was to put into various divisions of the prison criminals in the same stage of crime, in order that thereby the more hardened might not influence the penitent. It was a total blunder. It was found impossible to effect any proper classification. For how is it possible to gauge the exact amount of individual corruption, or to require from turnkeys that psychological knowledge which can fathom the consciences of men? It is a dream to expect so nicely to appreciate moral guilt as to assign to each prisoner his place in a graduated scale. It was fallacious, too, upon another ground; for an old offender, who might have escaped for many a year, was perhaps caught for a petty larceny. If judged according to this last crime, and so classified, it is obvious that a great mistake would be committed. The system, besides, partook of the evil of association, the effects of which cannot be exaggerated. To put down this, every motive of humanity, as regarded the individual prisoners, and of policy, as regarded the good of society, induced inquiring men to resort to some other system which should save prisoners from the fearful contamination resulting from unrestricted intercourse. It was found that every association of criminals perverted, and never reformed; and that, although classification might be useful, it was only in an inverse proportion to the numbers of which each class was composed, and was only perfect when it came to the point at which it lost its name and nature, in complete separation.

What was then fallen upon is what has since gone by the name of the silent-system; of which the best examples are at the Maison de Force at Ghent, and the Auburn Penitentiary of New York. The prisoners, during the day, are all in each other's presence. They are compelled to work, and under the pain of immediate flagellation, they are forced to be absolutely silent. It is a modification of this system which does not give

the prisoners useful labour, but puts them upon the tread-wheel under the same rigorous silence.

The discipline here is of a physical nature. It is enforced by the terrors of the lash. It degrades and humiliates, stimulating vindictive feelings, by hardening the heart against so apparently arbitrary a restriction. But rigidly as the discipline was enforced, it altogether failed. On the tread-wheel, with the keeper watching; in the workshops, under the same vigilant superintendence, they communicated with each other. The superintendence could not be always equally vigilant. When it relaxed, the keeper, who was watched, gave an opportunity which was never missed. He could not prevent conversation by the eye. A look, a wink, expressed a feeling: a movement answered it, and the very restraint imposed, gave a zest to the imperfect means resorted to. *Dum tacent clamant*. "I have been," says a prisoner, "on the wheel; and they talk frequently in a low voice there, but they are seldom found out if they don't turn their heads. They can watch the turnkey as much as he can watch them."—1 *Field*, p. 42. The silent industry, in other cases, of a crowded workshop in prison, is imposing; but it is a mistake to hold that you thereby prevent the evils of unrestricted communication. It is what an eminent Scottish Judge declares to be a kind of "Sisyphean torment, to keep men for months and years in company, and yet prevent all communication by the lash."—*Appendix to Lords' Report*, p. 88.

But the great objection to it is, that along with the undoubted evils of bad communication, it completes effectually the ruin of every prisoner, by exposing his presence to his companions. If they cannot speak to him, they at least see and will remember him again. Thus entangled into thieves' society, he finds himself in a net, from which no virtuous resolutions can relieve him. Mr. Baron Alderson gives a striking exemplification of the inutility of compulsory silence. He states that he knew an instance in which a regular plan for a robbery, afterwards accomplished, "was laid, in one of what is called our best regulated jails, and on the tread-mill. The instrument there was a boy, and the principals were adult thieves."—*Appendix to Lords' Report*, p. 42. Thus the system failed, if prevention of crime, along with the punishment of the offender, constituted any part of the theory of punishment. Old associations were kept up in active and daily exercise; and new associations were formed which were never, through the whole of a guilty life, allowed to drop. The obedience too, which was extorted by the lash, not being the act of a free moral agent, was no virtue at all. It was in itself rather a weakness, preparing for evil influence much more than for sound direction.

In a separate cell a prisoner is in many respects free. He has himself to himself. But in the workroom he is a slave—the slave of his companions. If in their presence he give way to any outward sign of penitence, he is jeered and laughed at. The neutrality of the weak and the resistance of the brave are alike swept away. In the cell he could have relief to a mind not hardened, in his bible, his prayer-book, and his tears. But with his bad companions he loses all the good he ever had; and enriches himself at the expense of society, with a knowledge from which it will ultimately suffer. This is in truth only a modification of that old system of unrestricted intercourse which characterized our prisons in former days, when the prison was the vestibule of a life-transportation, or of the scaffold. No deterring effect can ever flow from a system in which the only punishment is that of silence imperfectly enforced. The criminal is not thrown back upon his own reflections in the stern solitude of compulsory separation. He has none of that feeling of desolation which want of companions and the grave-like stillness of a solitary cell necessarily create. To make punishment dreadful, we have only to resort to an isolation which nature loathes—to leave the objects of it

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“suivis,  
Que de leur malheureuse ombre.”

The faces of as few human beings as is necessary to preserve from madness, should alone be seen between the time when the gloomy portals close upon the condemned, until the hour when it is declared the expiation is accomplished.

The system which has received in modern days the almost universal approbation of the most philanthropic men of all countries, is that known as the *separate*. The silent-system of the workhouse, the tread-wheel, and all the other optimist speculations which have each had their day and disappeared, have given place to a system to which our humanity is reconciled, at the same time that it effects the object of punishment. As to its operation much ignorance exists. Part of this is owing to those tales of horror which, a number of years ago, were sent over Europe, relative to the system of separation and of silence adopted in the cells of Virginia and New York. There, human beings were immured in dungeons dark and damp. No intercourse with mankind was allowed from the commencement of the punishment to its close. None of the physical comforts necessary for the support of life were given the unhappy condemned. The ventilation was bad, in pits, entered from the top by a ladder, the orifice of which was secured with a trap.

The consequences of such treatment might easily be anticipated. Human nature could not endure the infliction of such horrors. An uninterrupted solitude in dark pits produced its natural fruits in death and madness. The system was abandoned, both in Virginia where it had its birth, and in New York where it grew into vigour; and is now only useful as shewing that even the best principles will fail when pushed to license.

A true idea, however, once uttered is immortal. It makes its way more rapidly, or the reverse, according to the accidental circumstances which influence the oscillations of public opinion. Though humanity was shocked at the imprisonments of the New World—held up as the results of a fair experiment—there were men who saw the cause of the failure, and hastened to recall public opinion to its senses. It is strange, after our long experience, that there should be found a London magistrate so ignorant of its working as to represent it still, as bearing the fruits of the Virginia cells. Yet Sir Peter Laurie, at a meeting of the London Aldermen, no later than the 13th of September last, is reported in the *Times* to have said, that “its effects were indescribably horrible. Such was found to be the effect of the atrocious system, that no prisoners were now sent to the Pentonville Penitentiary who were not in vigorous health and strength; and he was glad to have the opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of a plan which was calculated to add madness to the other penalties of crime.” Such a statement, even by Sir Peter Laurie, uttered in an influential assembly, renders it necessary to pause, since it has received the sanction of the prison authorities in Scotland, so far as regards juvenile offenders—the class to which of all others it would be most beneficial.

Separate confinement is effected by placing the criminal in a cell tenanted only by himself, in which he never sees a fellow-prisoner, but where he is often visited by the officers of the prison. At Perth, the minimum number of visits which must be paid to every prisoner during a day is ten. Some of these are by the jailors, others by the chaplain, and others by the teachers. He is seized upon by the teacher, who inculcates a knowledge of the first branches of education. The chaplain directs himself to his moral and religious training; and, along with these, he receives from others instruction in some useful employment. This is a very different picture from the gloomy solitude that characterized the experiment in America; and the misfortune is, that it is too beautiful a picture to be useful. In our abhorrence of American cruelty, we are in danger of ruining a good system by pushing it in a different direction. There it failed because it was carried into operation through the instrumentality of measures beneath which human nature sank. Here it is gilded over with

pleasures, that must often make the prisoners doubt the nature of the establishment, and their own identity.

The first effect of a thief's sudden disappearance from active labour is to astonish himself with the unusual circumstance of solitude. Taken abruptly from his companions out of a turbulent and exciting life, he is plunged at once into the deepest silence. His mind receives a shock which startles it. If he has got the slightest power of resuscitation, he has an opportunity for reflection, undeterred by false shame, by the fear of his companions' scorn, or by the constant recollection in their society of the pleasures of the life that reformation would for ever lose to him. The more grievous may have been his outrages upon society, the more painful will be the blow. If remorse does not accumulate upon his conscience, it does upon his memory. There is here a refuge to astonished and affrighted virtue. To those who are desirous of another chance, no system is more calculated to give protection against the ruffianly society, and the still more ruffianly conduct of associates. Its more terrible effects are at the first; the prisoner proceeding in a regular circle of feeling, from dismal to sorrowful, from sorrowful to sad, from sad to serious, from serious to serenity:—

“Through the first week it was lonely,” says a penitential felon; “but when I took to reading, I did not so much mind being by myself. I am quite sure it is a good deal better for me; I do learn something good now; but when we were all together in jail, I learned more wickedness in those three months than in all my life besides.”—2 *Field*, p. 138.

The great mass think this discipline the severest of all. “Their own thoughts,” says Mr. Tray,\* “distress and pain them beyond measure. When alone, they require excitement; and when they are so placed apart and must necessarily reflect on and review their position, they feel it intensely.” They implore the authorities to send them to the wheel, where they will at least have the consolation of human fellowship. A punishment so dreadful comes recommended by the strongest of all arguments—success. The dread of it implies the necessity for its exercise, and establishes the wisdom of enforcing it. And in the total failure of one of the greatest of modern experiments—the Perth Penitentiary—will be seen the ruinous consequences of diluting the wholesome severity of a system which trusts to conscience as the main instrument of punishment and reformation.

“Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo sævior illis  
Quas et cæditius gravis invenit, aut Rhadamanthus  
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.”—Juv. :

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\* Governor of House of Correction, Tothillfields, Evidence, House of Lords.  
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It speaks with a solemn effect, especially to the young ; and if any scheme for the regeneration of fallen humanity can be successful, it must be one which takes care to prevent its good effects from being frittered away by the distractions of social activity, or the laborious bustle of useless (or useful) occupation. Shut out from the numberless things in life which distract attention and divert the thoughts, the prisoner is left to revolve in the quiet monotony of his prison-life the same ideas which in honest days (if he ever knew them) sometimes followed him, and thus permanence and effect are given to what had never been more than occasional meditations.

The assertion that the Separate System is inconsistent with health, has been often made, and as often disproved. Sir Benjamin Brodie declared, in his evidence before the House of Lords, that it was "as little unfavourable as any imprisonment, and less unfavourable than most."—*First Report*, p. 390. He denies that it has the slightest tendency to promote insanity. If further evidence were needed, we would point to those elaborate statistical tables, in criminal returns, which give one so lively an idea of human patience. The chaplain of the Pentonville Prison, in his Report to the Commissioners, has a distinct section upon the question as to the effect of separate confinement on the mind. He states that out of 1000 prisoners under consideration, the greater part were to his knowledge considerably improved. Four hundred and two were totally unable to read with any understanding on their admission ; and there were only forty-eight who left in that condition. One hundred and two were in the higher rules of arithmetic on entrance ; but there were 713 on leaving ; and the conclusion from these and similar data is, that the system has not any injurious effects upon the mind.—*Surveyor-Gen. Report*, p. 49.

The groundless assertions on this subject have had the good of arousing attention. They have produced evidence of a kind the most direct and satisfactory. In 1844, the inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia thus report :—

"The hazard of 'stultifying the mind' has been regarded as a possible concomitant of confinement with labour ; the inspectors desire to record their conviction, in regard thereto, that no case has occurred within their knowledge where such effects have ever been produced."

These considerations are applicable to separate confinement, however applied. In regard to juvenile delinquents, however, a controversy has arisen of an important character. Indeed, it has passed the stage of controversy since an alteration of the systematic plan upon which Prison-discipline is now based has been effected. The old system of association, after it had been abandoned even by speculative men, has been again thrust

before the public as alone suited for juvenile frames. If this be the case it is to be lamented; because it destroys all hope of that effectual reformation which, in their case, the least sanguine might expect. The country must have proof that this backward march is not the result of a too hasty generalization, as it is unquestionably opposed to the whole torrent of authoritative opinions.

“The young will learn,” says a writer of great candour and of great accuracy, who has published the best book on Prison-discipline that has appeared for many years—“The young will learn from each other the lessons of demoralization as effectually and more eagerly than they would receive the vicious instruction of older and more hardened companions. *The ward for juvenile offenders in every Prison I believe to be the most corrupting and pernicious.*”—2 *Field*, p. 376. They have greater pleasure than their elders in communicating their knowledge. The young heart, too, is quickly hardened by contact with the other “braves” of the profession, and when the period of imprisonment expires, they renew an acquaintanceship begun in misfortune. The Reverend R. Burnett, chaplain of Lewes jail, in insisting upon the necessity of separation for all criminals, specially declares, that “of juvenile prisoners, whose sentences are generally short, I believe this to be especially true.”—2 *Ibid.* 377. Captain Hansbrow, the governor of Lancaster Castle, was asked before the Committee of the House of Lords, if “boys go out worse than they come in?” He answered—“Unless they are kept separate. I think that an impression may be made upon them if they are kept separate; but so long as they are associated together, *they go out as bad as they went in, OR GENERALLY WORSE.*”

In truth, a youth so treated passes his life alternately in plundering the public out of prison, and in burdening the Prison-rates within it. He runs through the whole circle of convictions, from the petty theft to the highway robbery and assault; instructing others, as he ascends in the profession, in that ingenuity which has made himself famous, and that daring which has defied all the terrors of punishment, and all the correctives of instruction. He is elated with the thought of having left the ordinary crowd of evil-doers and surpassed them all—*Rien ne fait dire—rien ne fait faire—autant de sottises, que le désir de montrer de l'esprit*, was a remark of the Abbé du Bos, and holds particularly true of Jail society. Can anything be more striking than the evidence of Mr. Sergeant Adams, who declares, that he has often seen little boys, when first brought into jail, overwhelmed with alarm, and clinging with anxiety to the very policeman who brought them there; yet in three days he has



seen these children, under the electrical contamination of Jail association, dancing in the yards in joyful glee, with those reprobate companions among whom compassion or ignorance has thrust them.—*First Report, Lords*, p. 12. The conclusion derived from such facts by lawyers, magistrates, and judges, we shall give in the language of the Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland. “Every imprisonment,” he says, “particularly those of *juvenile* offenders, and for first offences, ought to be on the separate-system, *fully and consistently acted upon*.”—*Appendix to First Report, Lords*, p. 73. And Mr. Clay, the chaplain of Preston jail, thus states his experience in England:—

“I cannot fully impress upon the Committee the value of a system of separate confinement till I shew it in opposition to the ill effect of the former mode. I take, for instance, the committal of boys about and under the age of 17—in the year 1840, I think it was. I traced those boys for two years and a half, and I found, that of those who had come in for the first time in that year, before that year and another year and a half had elapsed, they came in at the rate of 56 per cent. Now, as I have told the Committee, during the two years and a half we have been under the improved system, *we have had altogether only three boys relapsed out of about 110*.”—*First Report, Lords*, p. 139.

In his recent report Mr. Perry, one of the Inspectors of Prisons, states—

“That the places of confinement in the southern and western districts are 80 in number, of which seven are conducted on the separate system. In the year from 29th September 1844 to 26th September 1845, the daily average of prisoners in the whole 80 places was 4361. In the seven on the separate system it was 644;—37 prisoners were affected with insanity, in nine of whom the symptoms first showed themselves during the period of their imprisonment; but of these nine not one occurred in the seven prisons on the separate-system.”

With such evidence, the eminent persons to whom have been entrusted the direction of the great national establishment at Perth, have thought it their duty to return to the old system of association. They announce their resolution in their Ninth Report in the following terms:—

“The results of much personal observation, as well as the reports relative to this subject, which we received from time to time from the chief officers of the Prison, were such as to lead us gradually to entertain great doubts whether the system could in all its rigour be applied with advantage, or even with safety, to prisoners of very tender years, and sentenced to long periods of confinement, such as constitute a large proportion of the juvenile prisoners sent to the General Prison. As our experience extended our doubts increased, and we were ultimately impressed with a strong apprehension that however beneficial the operation of the system might be, in the case of adult

prisoners of both sexes, its strict enforcement could scarcely fail to have an injurious tendency in relation to a considerable number of the very young prisoners, particularly males.”—P. 10.

Reference is then made to a Report by Captain Kincaid, one of the Scotch Inspectors of Prisons, wherein he recommends the change which his superiors adopted, and to which Sir George Grey gave his sanction. All juvenile male prisoners, therefore, to whom the Governor and Surgeon think the indulgence should be extended, are to be assembled together each morning for prayers, and are then to be exercised for half an hour in gangs of eight or ten; and, farther, they are to be taught in classes by the Prison teachers. In other words, the system is practically abandoned with reference to juvenile male criminals; for we hold the discretionary power given to the Governor to mean nothing but a pardonable means to reconcile the public mind gradually to the change.

If this were a matter to be settled by authority the question would be at rest. The Report bears the sanction of a crowd of honourable and right honourable names, which almost awes remonstrance into silence. But when we remember the still more numerous host of honourable men who have erred upon a subject upon which mankind has so often changed its opinions, it will be no disrespect to examine the grounds upon which this startling conclusion rests. The Directors have assigned no reason for their opinion. They leave it upon its naked merits, which, standing opposed to so many other authorities, is a great omission. It stands opposed, moreover, to the following dissent of one of their own number. The Lord Justice-Clerk declares that he signs the Report “under a dissent from the opinion that the separate-system is not beneficially applicable in its rigour to juvenile offenders, for whom I am of opinion that it is in an especial manner most appropriate and serviceable, being convinced that imprisonment, accompanied with any kind of companionship, whether in *work*, or *instruction*, or *exercise*, will have no deterring effect on that class, and be attended with all the bad results of contamination and evil influence.” The grounds upon which the Report proceeds cannot consist in any injury to the physical constitution, because *males* are the parties who are said to suffer; and they ought to be more calculated, from their robuster frame, to endure restraints than females. On turning to Captain Kincaid’s Report, (to which we are indebted for this retrograde movement,) we cannot find any more specific enumeration of the grounds upon which it was made. All that he says is, “that the separate-system, as carried out at the General Prison, though in strict conformity with the rules provided, has an injurious tendency, mentally as well as bodily,

on many of the very young prisoners.”—*Thirteenth Report*, p. 16. He admits, however, that the Prison-authorities of Dundee and Cupar “expressed some astonishment at the idea;” and in the conflict between the two, we have no particulars upon which a judgment could be founded. There is nothing but an unreasoned opinion, the value of which we can only appreciate after its author has told us of the grounds on which it rests. How many of the prisoners were shamming when under examination? What care was taken to ascertain the true cause of suspicious symptoms? How often were they examined either by Directors or Inspectors? Were the visits (other than those of Mr. Whigham) more than once or twice a-year? Was the apparent insanity not the exhibition of a fit of sullenness—the physical decay the result of pre-existing disease? It is common, as Field tells us, to try the “mad trick” upon the sympathies of casual visitors who enter the cells with a stamp of authority, amid the cringing politeness of the keepers, and whom the prisoner’s instinct tells him are the great men upon whose nod his destiny depends, and whose sympathies he must endeavour to awaken.

We doubt the correctness of Captain Kincaid’s generalizing, when we find him, in the first page of his Report, declaring that the Scotch prisons “are in the present day considered to be *in a very satisfactory state*,” at the same time that the pages which immediately follow, prove that they are exactly the reverse. The Prison of Ayr, for example, “was dangerously overcrowded; three, four, or five persons in every cell, the dimensions of which are not usually considered fit for a single prisoner.” It had, moreover, no chaplain, and 140 prisoners.—P. 1. The Prison of Dundee was in a similar condition in regard to accommodation.—P. 4. That of Falkirk “is a damp dilapidated place, incapable of improvement, and totally unfit to be used as a Prison; and yet its two miserable cells are sometimes required to accommodate seven males and three females.” The keeper of the Irvine Prison states, that “he has only one pair of blankets, though the number of prisoners sometimes amount to seven at a time; and that the bed-ticks have not been washed, nor the straw within them changed, for the last five years.”—P. 6. In the Forfar Prison, sometimes nine prisoners “are obliged to occupy an apartment ten feet three and a half inches long, by five feet ten and a half inches in breadth, with the door opening inwards, and in which there is only room for two beds.”—P. 8. And in the Prison even of Edinburgh, “there were only 127 out of 555 prisoners in confinement, to whom the separate-system could be applied, for want of room.”—P. 15.

With such facts recorded by himself, we can scarcely understand the rash statement as to the “satisfactory” condition of the Scottish prisons. If it were intended as a compliment, in the mac-sycophant style of “makin’ everybody pleased wi’ himsel,” or as a rolling quantity of words to turn a sentence, it might be dismissed as harmless. But it shakes one’s confidence in the other generalizations to which this gentleman has come, and which have led to results so important and alarming.

The prison at Perth is one of the most expensive model-prisons in the world. Though supported by large funds, and under the direction of men distinguished for their rank, their humanity, and their knowledge, it has failed to accomplish one single object of its institution ; and the appalling fact has been admitted by one of its Directors, that no less than SIXTY-SEVEN PER CENT. of the prisoners who endure its discipline are recommitted. The reason may be traced to a system at variance with the character of punishment, and which has been treated by Lord Denman thus, in speaking of juvenile offenders :

“ I greatly dread the effect of giving them benefits and privileges which they never could have hoped for, but from the commission of crimes. I own myself extremely jealous of the gratuitous instruction of the young felon in a trade, merely because he is a felon, and of the displacement of the honest from employment, by his success in thus obtaining it. Perhaps this is the most important branch of criminal law ; for the age enquired of is that at which the habits are formed, and the path of life is chosen. I hold the only legitimate end of punishment to be, to deter from crime ; but I think I perceive in some of the theories of benevolent men such a mode of administering the criminal law as to encourage instead of deterring.”—*Appendix to First Report, Lords*, p. 3.

Whether or not this was intended to apply to the prison at Perth it certainly hits off that great renovating shop for the enfeebled constitutions of exhausted criminals. The system there is, a literal reduction to practice of the precept, that when a man strikes you upon the one cheek, you are to turn to him the other also. The comforts of existence are liberally supplied by an injured community, to the ruffians who have wronged them. We take them from the streets—corrupted and corrupting,—place them in the bath,—cleanse them from outward pollution,—clothe them in warm and comfortable garments,—and locate them in an apartment, the possession of which they never anticipated even in their dreams. It is well lighted, ventilated, and warmed. They have employment given them to occupy attention and pass the time. They are addressed in the language of kindness ; educated men interest themselves in their welfare. From a state of humiliation they are raised to a position of self-esteem. They

have the privilege of converse with books. Food of a healthy kind,—sufficient exercise,—instruction in many useful branches of education, and in a trade. This is solitary imprisonment at Perth. A cheerful gaiety is diffused over the severe brow of penal discipline. The suffering of the past is forgotten in the hilarious glow of present enjoyment. All goes merry as a marriage-bell. If this be punishment, what is pleasure? What have the best of us different from this, except the freedom—useless without leisure—to take a longer stroll than a comfortable airing-yard permits? What depressing contrasts these things create! Compare them with the living in the noisome garret, or still more noisome cellar of the honest poor, who have never qualified themselves by a life of crime for the service of skilful teachers during life, and who have not as good a funeral when life shall be no more!

In reading the various reports of the inspectors, one loses patience at the extreme minuteness with which these gentlemen describe their anxiety to have everything clean and tidy. If a miserable spider has been left unmolested in a corner of a cell, or a bluebottle is found buzzing about the ears of a prisoner, these circumstances will be duly chronicled. The prisoners would be the most ungrateful of mankind if they did not consider themselves contented; accordingly, the chaplains and the inspectors of the prisons duly record as a great fact, that John Thomson, or Michael O'Grady, or Betty Mulligan, "expressed themselves happy and satisfied;" as if it was for their satisfaction they are kept in such comfortable quarters. The directors, however, with that candour which is due to themselves and their office, have arrived at a different conclusion, and entertain apprehensions that the murmurings which are heard in Scotland are justified. The Lord Justice-Clerk has truly said that this circumstance has produced much discontent here.—*Appendix*, p. 76. But Mr. Whigham, Sheriff of Perthshire, clenches the matter by stating the results of his more varied and more frequent observations.

"In periods of difficulty in getting work, when those parties know how comfortable the prisons are, they are less unwilling to commit an offence because they may be sent there."—*First Report*, p. 349.

Nay, according to the system upon which they began, prisoners were allowed the value of any overwork that their industry might get through; but this most pernicious course was properly given up, though contrary to the opinion of the inspectors.

Lord Brougham asks the question—

"What part of the reformatory system is it which you think makes

the expectation of the prison less hateful to those people who are to be reformed? because our general experience shews us that these people very much dislike that which is reformatory."

Ans.—"The feeling seems to be that when they get useful and profitable labour, books to read, and the instruction of the teachers, and society for the time, the mind is relieved of the tedium of imprisonment." He adds that all these things "go to diminish the deterring effect. *I do not think that our system has worked well with reference to prisoners generally, in so far as that combination of reformation and deterring has hitherto gone.*" He describes the prisons in Scotland formerly as being "very bad." "*Now they are perhaps more comfortable than the houses the same classes of persons have to reside in while out of prison; there is not the slightest doubt of it as regards accommodation, food, and clothing.*"—*Minutes of Evidence before Lords' Committee*, p. 350.

Lord Brougham also put this question to the learned sheriff:—

"You say that the attempt to combine those two results—the reformation of the criminal and the deterring of evil disposed persons—has hitherto failed; do you think your experience of it has gone so far as to enable you to give that opinion generally?"

Ans.—"I would speak with the caution which I feel to be proper in such a case, because we have not had very long experience; but looking to the experience of five years, and the result, which shows *that sixty-seven per cent. of those who have passed through the General Prison have been ascertained to have been recommitted, it does not seem to me that the combined system is producing such good effects as could be wished.*"—*First Report, Lords*, p. 350.

This is a very cautious answer; but when divested of the hesitation which might naturally be looked for from a gentleman speaking with such authority, we find it to be the deliberate opinion of the Director best acquainted with the working of the institution, that it is nothing more than a large manufactory, in which criminals recover health and spirits, and are turned out again with renewed energies upon the world.

The whole scheme, in truth, is an audacious paradox. We give the dues of labour without the counterpart, and allow fraud to extract from us what we refuse to poverty and misfortune. It is a resuscitation of those schemes of benevolent visionaries with which the world has often been made merry. Men will never be deterred from the gratification of their passions by holding out to them the reward of a comfortable subsistence as the consequence of their gratification. It reverses all our notions of good government to find the industrious poor feeding upon husks, and those of them who have committed crimes, carefully tended. Is this consistent with any correct notion of retributive justice? Is it not, on the contrary, an anomaly in the world of morals—



holding up law and order to contempt, by presenting a caricature in place of a resemblance? It is certainly the introduction of a new code, when its practice is to find the road to knowledge and virtue through the gate of sin. In a frantic impatience to remove the stigma of injustice to the condemned, we have "leapt on the other side," and trampled down all justice to the public.

"Inani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,  
Ultra quam satis est, virtutem qui petat ipsam."

Institutions divine and human corrupt by their nature or by ours; but even where they contain a principle of inherent rottenness, the evolution of it is seldom so rapid as in the case of this unfortunate establishment. In the public estimation its empire has perished almost ere it began; and it now exists only from an anxious wish that an experiment, devised from motives both of enlightened philanthropy and civil polity, should not be endangered by a too hasty impatience of apparent errors.

The country would willingly subscribe to any scheme for the reduction of criminal gangs. In this, our duty runs in unison with our interest. But it rouses the gorge of a people not altogether impatient of burdens to find their substance wasted—their sympathies misapplied—their best efforts turned against themselves. A heavy debt of just expectation remains undischarged. The object of punishment appears to be forgotten. We have proceeded from the cruelty of former days to all the liberalities of a well-meant, but foolish generosity. Experience has only illuminated the track we have passed; and nothing can more illustrate the failure which has overtaken our experiments both in England and here, than the aimlessness and contradictory character of measures for the future. There is no unity of purpose, no confidence in any one principle—no perseverance in a plan. Every year brings its vernal promise, and its autumnal disappointment. All is a chaos of inconsistencies—a medley of contradictions—a series of experiments, in which none is pursued far enough to give much prospect of success, although for the time, the prisoners are kept labouring away with much energy on the edifice of their own social and moral regeneration, and compelled to take it all down again when they have got it half erected. There is no simple and consistent code of regulations. This, with the eminent authorities that direct our institutions, must arise from that philosophical doubt consequent on enlargement of understanding; though the disgrace which has overtaken in Scotland the Separate System of Prison-discipline is attributable greatly to allowing the judgment to be dragged headlong by generous and amiable sensibilities which have no jurisdiction here.

Amid the controversial speculations which penal justice has evoked, there is none more important than the dispute as to its object. It is undoubtedly twofold; the *first*, and most important, being the prevention of crime; the *second*, subsidiary and subordinate—the reformation of the criminal. In endeavouring to effect the subordinate object by instruction, kindness, and the display of all the tender charities and sympathies of life, the first principle has been forgotten. It is no longer a punishment, when everything calculated to excite remorse, or to inflict bodily pain, is carefully removed. We make the punishment a premium by our visits, our anxieties, and our benefits. In the wildest audacity of speculation, who would ever maintain that such a system would operate to deter?

The character of Scotsmen shines particularly out in the Prison Reports. There is nothing upon which inspectors, jailors, and chaplains speak with more complacency than the quantity of work they have got out of the prisoners, and no complaints are more grievous than those made as to a small demand for the produce. There are three evils which this generates. *First*, It depresses the profits of honest tradesmen out of prison, who cannot sell so cheaply. *Secondly*, It prevents the prison effecting the object for which it was established. It ceases to be a penal institution, becomes a place of amusement, or a bad manufactory. *Thirdly*, It may be a question whether any permanent habit is ever acquired by all this compulsory industry. With regard to old offenders especially, we believe the whole system to be based upon a delusion. A thoroughly regenerated man, who has run the gauntlet of two or three convictions, is a phenomenon about whom all Prison-authorities have expressed themselves curious. Few, if any, of the older criminals are ever reformed. Often “they ridicule what the parson says, directly after he turns his back, but cry before him.”—1 *Field*, p. 47. They display penitence in prison, and their history constitutes a considerable portion of the Chaplain’s Report. But this penitence is only a mere negation of virtue, consequent upon the impossibility of doing otherwise. Freedom is no sooner acquired, than the mind returns by an instantaneous impulse to obedience to its old and familiar instincts. The good resolutions which had excited the clergyman’s thankfulness under the influence of low diet, melt away like frost-work before the first appearance of temptation. The religious conversion through which they passed, in its turn passes off with the regular life, the solitude, and necessity by which it was evoked. *Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.* In consequence, the sad conclusion is recorded in every form of varied and emphatic expression by judges and by magistrates, that there is



small hope for the reformation of adult criminals.\* Their habits, long indulged, assume a despotic, though it be a prescriptive empire. Nature herself is not more elastic in her rebound against restraint.

The Separate System is only useful when applied to those of whom we have hopes of reformation. Had it been intimated that the adults should be exercised in gangs, and taught in classes, we believe that few would have uttered a remonstrance. But when the Directors resign the ductile and plastic mind of youth, without taking advantage of the effects of that solitude which is at their command, they resign all chance of making their system effective. The establishment, while it instructs, must also alarm. It may be, that in carrying out the great scheme, some of the unhappy objects of the discipline may sink beneath it. These are the accidents to which we must look, in all general systems intended to regulate the masses of mankind. Perhaps some such instance has occurred; and the authorities, proceeding from a particular instance to general principles, have pushed their conclusions to principles more general. Tested by such a rule, all systems, principles, and institutions would fail. We should in vain legislate, if our legislation must be adapted to the particular character of every unit. If death or madness has been the result of a strict enforcement of solitary confinement in a few cases, these are misfortunes which must be endured. They are counterbalanced by the benefits resulting to the general herd; and the question is resolvable into the simple rule of proportion, whether it is better that society should be for ever tortured by the evils arising from a universal contamination, or whether by the sacrifice of a few, the rest should be restored to the world they had wronged?

“I select a jail,” says Mr. Field, “in which this industrial training has been attempted under circumstances the most favourable. In the General Prison at Perth the officers are exemplary; the order maintained is excellent; all prisoners are in separate confinement, and none for less than twelve months. But there the fatal plan which has been referred to is followed, and the effects are disastrous both to the culprits and their country. The Inspector’s Reports, and the evidence quoted, (vol. ii.) show us that not less than *eighty* (sixty-seven?) *per cent.* of the criminals discharged from this prison are *recommitted*! How, then, shall we account for the fact, that of criminals of the same class, released from the jail at Reading, the proportion recommitted does not amount to *one-tenth* of that number? The cause is easily described; because at Reading, whilst industrial training is not

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\* See 13th Report of Inspectors, p. 36, per Lord Mackenzie App. to Lords’ Report, p. 89, Lord Denman, *ibid.* p. 5, Lord Justice-Clerk, *ibid.* pp. 70-2-6, Lord Cockburn, *ibid.* pp. 93-6.

disregarded, it is subordinate to, and not suffered to interfere with, corrective instruction."—1 *Field*, pp. 173-4.

Additional energy ought to be given to the system of Prison-discipline, by sentencing juvenile delinquents to a moderate whipping. This indeed has become part of the English Juvenile Offenders Act; and it is the only point on which we differ from "a country magistrate," who has published a racy pamphlet, containing more good sense and vigorous writing than we have seen within the same compass for many a day.

"It is," says Lord Mackenzie, "the only thing we are sure they all understand, and are afraid of. Imprisonment, and even transportation, do not seem to be known to them by anticipation, or to impress their imagination with terror beforehand, however great may be the evil these punishments are actually to cause them. If *whipping* be *moderate*, so as to separate the pain from danger to health, or life, or permanent bodily injury, and *private*, so as to separate it from deep ignominy or the boast of profligate hardihood, I rather imagine it would be useful in the case of young criminals. Bodily pain being the great means by which nature deters man from what is fit to be avoided, I doubt whether we can abandon it entirely in criminal justice, without a sacrifice of expediency."—*Appendix to First Report*, p. 86.

How much better would it be to administer a punishment of this description to those boys who are found in almost every prison for stealing apples from a garden, or peas from a field as they pass by.\* In truth, to put these children in jail is the greatest of all perversions of justice; and yet the magistrate has not in this country, as he has in England, the power to dismiss with a rebuke. (See 10 and 11 Vict., cap. 82.) Our space forbids us to dwell upon a subject of such anxious consideration as short imprisonments—which serve no purpose but to habituate the youthful thief to the prison which he shall afterwards have occasion so much to use. The suggestion made by the Lord Justice Clerk, is, however, amply supported by experience, when he recommends that these imprisonments should be of unvaried gloom, without communication with friends, without the distraction of labour, without the exhilaration of exercise. Until some such principle as this be adopted, we may resign all hope of success for reformatory experiments, and we shall learn when too late that the greatest mercy is that discipline which is the severest in its application.

To men of amiable dispositions, who are accustomed to look upon human nature in its revolting moods only in those pictures of imaginative fiction which extract from them such floods of tears, and agonies of admiration, this may seem a cruel system.

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\* See 13th Report of Inspectors of Scottish Prisons, Pp. 7, 13.

It is one, however, which cannot be set aside by the sound of obnoxious epithets, or charges of inhumanity. It is forced upon us by the most unbending of teachers. Experience has proclaimed the necessity for a change. It sets itself against the clamours of an ardent, but weak humanity, and pleads the cause of reason against the vagaries of sentiment—the illusions of imagination. The visionary dreams of romantic emotion cannot stand in the presence of the increasing Prison-rates. Common sense must triumph over a more common but foolish sensibility; and humanity has other objects for its sentiment than what Canning happily termed, “poor suffering guilt.”

To check the appalling horrors consequent upon its increase, all systems of Prison-discipline will, however, themselves be unavailing. They can only reach *detected* crimes, which constitute but a small minority of the great aggregate. It is a fatal mistake to suppose that because there are few convictions there is little crime. The delivery of the white gloves to the judges at the assizes is no warrant for the conclusion that the district is a paradise. A slight inquiry into its morals pushed somewhat beyond the surface, resolves the hasty logic into air. The very virtuous district that this year may have gone the whole circle of newspaper notoriety will next year appear, under the influence of a more vigorous police, side by side with its guilty neighbours. Indeed, the chances of conviction bear a small proportion to the chances of escape. Years, marked in every stage by the commission of crimes, may have passed away without an unlucky condemnation. Convicts, when interrogated upon the subject of other crimes than those for which they were convicted, often answered that it was “impossible to state the number,”—“could not remember a tenth of them,”—“many hundreds,”—sometimes more, sometimes less;—“if I was to recollect I could not tell them all between now and to-morrow.”—*Constabulary Report*, p. 6. Nothing can more clearly prove this than the fact, that to render a pickpocket’s earnings remunerative, he would require to steal six pocket handkerchiefs a-day; but all the uncounted thousands of the crimes committed by him during the average period which he has of his exciting life, are never heard of, except by a few private friends in the querulous complainings of the victim. The only item contributed by him to our criminal statistics is that when the trap catches him at last.

It is obvious, therefore, that whatever system be adopted with reference to detected criminals, you only thereby purify a drop in the ocean. To get at the bottom of the evil it is necessary to pass beyond the prison-walls and extend our labours to the world. We must have inspectors to examine the condition of those who are free; and may the time be hastened when they shall have it

in their power to print, as they have printed about criminals, that the poor are "happy and contented!" The great problem which has been placed before the minds of the generation in which we live, is as to the best means by which the State may discharge its duty, without infringing on the province of parents, by relieving them of the obligations imposed upon them by God and nature. In all schemes for the amelioration of the swarming masses from whom our criminal ranks are fed, there is danger of pushing measures of relief so far as to destroy that independence and self-respect which nourish manly endurance and exertion—the foundation of many social virtues. One unhappy circumstance peculiar to ourselves, adds an artificial to all the natural difficulties that beset the question. In no other country is there such a difference between the rich and poor. Though separated from each other by a single street, they are often as ignorant of the condition of each other as if the waves of the Atlantic rolled between them. A more generous sympathy, shown by words even, would go farther than the most liberal benefactions doled out through the conduit-pipe of a Mendicity Society. But no fibrous intertwinings of feelings ever join them together. The one gives because it is painful to hear of human sorrow,—the other receives without gratitude and as a right. A squalid and wretched population is every year adding to our dangers and responsibilities—a population amid which is fostered those gigantic political and social maladies that afflict us, and which in the bosom of civilisation displays the habits and many of the instincts of savage life. Masses have been left to grow up like the forest trees, taking their chance of storm and sunshine. But this, though conducive to the stability of the oak, is not so for man. Unless carefully tended he sinks beneath the exposure, and in his fall drags down his more favoured neighbours. It is the noblest charity therefore—at the same time that it is the clearest prudence, for society to take the infant man in its arms, watch over his progress through life, and only leave him when laid in the dust. But this of course must be confined more to advice, protection, and superintendence, than to a positive adoption of every unit that can claim with us a kindred country. The greater part must be left to individual exertion and to the development of particular character. This will often prove pernicious to the parties so left to the guidance of their own ignorance; but we must submit with resignation to the inconveniences of individual management, unless we wish to make monasteries of entire social communities.

Each new theorist upon this "great argument" has his own particular scheme of remedy. Each, *cum magno boatu et conatu*, asserts for his own thunder, unqualified merit, and denies it to

that of other people. Many of the suggestions are sanctioned by successful experiment, while the rest have scarcely ingenuity to recommend them, and have been indignantly hurried to the plethoric tomb of impracticable institutions. Let us sum up our observations by a reference to the most important.

1. The first and most obvious is one upon which all are agreed. The prisons as now constituted, and especially those conducted upon the principles of the one at Perth, constitute a premium to the poor to make their children thieves. Their subsistence, however mean, is still a burden upon the stinted resources of the parents. To get rid of children in any way consistent with safety is one of the most important objects of a wretched father's solicitude. To compel the child to steal and be put in prison is to get an immediate relief to himself,—a bursary to his offspring. All the lower and more sordid feelings, therefore, of human nature are embarked against the efficacy of penal justice; and the simple remedy which is proposed is to compel the parent to pay for the child in prison. No impolicy and no injustice could be pleaded against such a law, which would only *declare* those legal liabilities which now exist. It would render, however, *that* practical, which is now too often theoretical, and stimulate parents to the performance of duties which if better performed would have prevented such an assessment. It would take away from them the dangers of the temptation with which they are now beset, and establish securely that great rule in morals—the only one of use in practice—to prevent situations in which our duties are in opposition to our interests.

2. Another practical measure is one likely to be speedily carried into effect. Who can doubt the influence of sanitary improvement upon the moral nature of man?

From the body's purity, the mind  
Receives a secret sympathetic aid.

Is it possible that in the cellars of which we have given a description, humanity could be otherwise than physically deteriorated and morally debased? The Sanitary Act of England will be immediately followed by one with a similar object relative to the two wings of the Empire. The clearing away of dunghills,—the driving pigs from the habitations of men,—the supplying sufficient wholesome water, and all the other accessories of that process of sanitary improvement upon which we have entered, will create as great a revolution in the habits as it will change to the better the health of the poor. If, along with this, more buildings were erected,—if properly conducted lodging-houses were in every street, the most sanguine anticipations might be entertained, of a favourable change in the whole aspect of the

society from which juvenile delinquents come. "Is it your opinion," Lord Brougham asked Mr. Sergeant Adams, "that whatever increases the self-respect of persons, such as cleanly habits, is wholesome as a moral discipline also?" "I have not the slightest doubt of it," said the learned Sergeant; and every one who has studied the effects of the inscrutable relation that subsists between the physical and mental economy of man, will give a cordial assent to the reply.

3. The third and most effectual preventive is, that which is the strongest barrier against idleness—the certain cause of criminal indulgence. To the want of education must be attributed much of the deplorable condition to which the poorer classes are reduced. The time is not far distant when it was an open question—whether education was a blessing to the poor? But now we have been taught by experience, that the only question is—to what extent shall the education be carried? This question would be easily resolved, were it not for the unhappy difference of creeds that has distracted the religious world. All divisions of Christianity should learn from the past—unless they have lost their understanding—that to do good they must lose their animosity, though they retain their distinctions. Though the physical wants of men be supplied—though relieved from the pressure of hunger—though by sanitary improvements their health is preserved, and by a generous benevolence a home is supplied, yet they will never attain moral and intellectual excellence simply as a consequence of that physical amelioration. The physical comfort once supplied, progress in civilisation terminates there, and the propelling energy wastes itself, as in Eastern countries, in a grovelling selfishness.

Add, however, education, and you place within the reach of childhood the experience of age, increase individual power, teach how to lessen the evils incident to humanity, and render tributary to the humblest, both the moral and the material world. In spite of all the statisticians that ever trembled at their own conclusions, we hold education rightly conducted to be the most important check upon criminal desires. That which refines and purifies, which creates prudence and sobriety, teaches the duties of good citizenship, inculcates obedience to the law, strengthens the intellect, stimulates the moral affections, and points out man's responsibilities, cannot be other than the most important agent of order. It is the introduction to civilisation, which is only another name for law and morals.

The influence of education in early life in training children to habits that would fit them for a virtuous existence, cannot be too strongly impressed upon those who wish to create a check to juvenile delinquency. At present, however, in many portions of



the empire, and especially in England, there is nothing of education but the name. Teachers and scholars are much in the same condition. One master being asked by the Commissioners if he taught morals, observed, "That question does not belong to my school; it belongs more to girls' schools." Another, an Irishman, being asked if he taught grammar, very candidly answered, "Faith, and it is I that don't; if I did, I must tache that thing I don't know myself." Another had conscientious scruples about counting her scholars—"It would be a flat flying in the face of Providence; no, no, you sha'nt catch me counting. See what a pretty mess David made of it when he counted the children of Israel!"

A duty incumbent on the State has been left to the irregular and convulsive efforts of private benevolence. These, as might be expected, have failed to meet the requirements of so gigantic an enterprise; and until some national scheme has been devised, which shall reconcile all our scruples, or crush them down upon the plea of an inevitable necessity, it will be worse than idle to flagellate the victims of our neglect. If there were no other motive than that which appeals to our pocket,—the lowest but not the least powerful that can influence mankind,—it is all sufficing to encourage an effort in this direction. What we now pay as Prison and as Poor-rates, exceeds the entire revenue of the nation at no distant date. Let these be increased for a little, with a view of their being ultimately reduced to a point that we can contemplate them without alarm. Our benevolence alone would not be gratified by an educational crusade. Our safety and our interests depend upon it. "Of all the men we meet," said Locke, "nine parts in ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education." Keep this in remembrance, along with the undoubted truth, that men are never in a state of independence of each other. This mutual interest—this dependence of man upon man—of all parts of society upon each other—is the chain which cements it into that compact and living mass, to whose combined action alone we are indebted for the blessings of civilisation.

The knowledge, however, which must be imparted, is a knowledge that must teach not only the relations to man, but the relations to God. Though it is power, it is nowhere identified with virtue. The supremacy of conscience must be asserted at the same time that we teach geography and arithmetic. Religious training and moral culture must go hand in hand with the most scientific training in secular knowledge. The Ragged Schools can serve little purpose if the children return to homes where all the lessons they receive will be effaced by parental ribaldry. Conscious of this, the minister is established in

many cities to bring the parents within the range of the same instruction with their children—a scheme which occupied many of the thoughts of Dr. Chalmers in his later years, and which he so well developed in the West-Port of Edinburgh.

4. It has been urged with great energy by a number of philanthropic men, that all imprisonment will be unavailing, if, when it is ended, the delinquent be sent back among the guilty companions of his early years. He must starve or rob ; he cannot emerge from a long confinement without wasted strength and a ruined character. Necessity urges him, therefore, to take refuge amongst the hordes of thieves who receive his return with open arms,—give him a joyful welcome,—laugh away his scruples,—and hurry him again into the same vortex of infamy.

There is no doubt a literal and gloomy truth in these statements, which do not exaggerate the unhappy condition of the liberated convict. But the remedy adopted is worse than the disease. In various cities houses of refuge have been established for their reception, which confer greater comforts, and bestow more advantages even than our prisons. They will consequently be objects of interest to the poor man ; and here again he will be tempted to teach his son the violation of the moral law, as the best means of commending him to the charity of mankind. It was this that startled Lord Denman, and extorted from him the emphatic condemnation of the system we have cited. It was this that induced the Middlesex magistrates, at a meeting, reported in the *Times* of 12th September last, to refuse their concurrence to the erection of such an establishment. That their fears were not visionary, is amply established by a Police Report in the same paper in the following week, from which it appeared that a society existed for promoting the emigration of parties to New York, whose qualification for the free passage was their having been convicted felons. The complainants in the case were the wives of two men, who had been left destitute through their husbands having been shipped away by the Association. It was stated by Mr. Jackson of the City Mission, that he had for months been engaged in throwing all these noxious weeds upon the soil of our transatlantic neighbours ; that he felt satisfied he had accomplished a great deal of good ; and that the two men in question came peculiarly within the view of desirable emigrants for the Society, inasmuch as they assured him they had been thieves of seven, eight, or ten years' standing, and had been repeatedly convicted, and were not only known to be the companions of thieves and felons, but were also plainly conversant with their haunts and slang. It turned out that Mr. Jackson had been imposed upon, and that, so far from the satisfactory statements made to him having been correct, one of his



protégés had never committed any other offence than that of being out of work, while the whole extent of the other's crimes consisted in an infringement (he being a cab-driver) of the Hackney Carriage Act. It was mentioned to the magistrate, that the positive belief that the parties shipped had led the life of often-convicted criminals, was essential to their applications being entertained. In this case the parties told a lie to get the benefit. In other cases, this might not prove effectual, and candidates would require to qualify by the actual commission of a crime. These facts show the danger of such institutions, and lead us to another, about whose expediency experience and theory are not at issue.

5. This is emigration. The children of the Ragged and Industrial Schools cannot remain there for ever; criminals emancipated from prison must have some employment; and thus people have been driven to look beyond the crowded occupations of our little islands, to the uncultivated wastes in the colonial dependencies of the British Crown. An evil may be improved into a good. The swarms that are an evil here might supply in another hemisphere the labour necessary to evoke the latent energies of its virgin soil. Lord Ashley, the untiring advocate of every scheme of human amelioration, moved in vain in the House of Commons in June last, "That it is expedient that means be annually provided for the voluntary emigration to some of Her Majesty's colonies of a certain number of young persons, of both sexes, who have been educated in the schools ordinarily called Ragged Schools, in and about the metropolis." He proposed to carry 1000 each year, (above fourteen years of age,) 500 boys, and the same number of girls, to the colonies in South Australia, in which, at the present moment, the greatest demand for labour existed. Their removal was to be the reward only of good conduct, and after a certain amount of education had been received.

This is a scheme, without which all institutions like Ragged and Industrial Schools must fail, because their effect is only temporary, and they do not remove the object of their solicitude from the vice by which he is surrounded. Service is sometimes obtained for girls, and boys who have displayed activity in the Industrial Schools are taken as apprentices to trades. But the number thus provided for is small, and the greater part must return to their own shifts when they have grown too old for the school which has given them a temporary shelter. For their case emigration is the cure. That it would be advantageous to the colonies, we have evidence the most decisive.

"Mr. Cuninghame of Port Philip says, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee on Emigration, that 'the want of labour is by far

the greatest impediment to the colony, either social or pecuniary. It is almost impossible to be got at all. The wool is worse got up; and everything but wool-growing is at a perfect stand-still from want of labour. The colony will absorb many more than we could count upon for future years. We can employ any species of labour, because sheep is not an exhausting or fatiguing operation.' This would just be the labour for emancipated juvenile criminals, or those who emerge from the Ragged Schools. In the Times of 20th May 1848, a letter appeared with the following passage: 'You must strain every nerve to send us relief, for fully three-fourths of the 5000 emigrants now coming out will be instantly absorbed on landing, for domestic servants in Sydney, Melbourne,' &c. 'For every 1000 sheep three persons at least are required, with wages of £20 a-year, and weekly rations of 10lb. beef, 12lb. of flour, 2lb. sugar, quarter of a pound of tea, and a house. Thus, at a station of 5000 sheep, fifteen men and boys would be required. Taking the number of farms and stations at 4000, and the number of servants in the bush at 12,000, this would make at each station but three, not one-half of what is necessary. Three, then, to each station would take at once 12,000; if then 1000 were sent annually, it would be to each station only one every four years."

With reference to the females, there would be no difficulty at all. The demand for domestic servants is so great that often five or six gentlemen will be squabbling at the shore to secure any that land. The males in Port Philip are to the females in a frightfully large proportion; and it would certainly be a heaven upon earth to many of the distressed girls who are wearing their lives away in selling oranges, matches, and flowers at the corners of the streets, to end finally in making shirts at sixpence a-piece, or in something worse, were they transplanted to a settlement where they would receive at once all the comforts, and many of the rude luxuries of colonial life.

The Emigration Commissioners see no difficulty in the plan; and assuredly there would be little difficulty in it, if we had only some stern convulsion to sweep away the inanity of official indolence. It ought to be kept steadily, however, before the public mind, as the most practical remedy for our evils. We could send out, for example, at a cost of £30, a young couple about to become paupers, who could not have been supported as paupers or criminals in this country at a less expense than £40 a-year. A like sum for many succeeding years might, moreover, be demanded, besides the ultimate support of some six or ten children. And thus, before they die, they may cost many hundred pounds. Some of the thieves who are now prowling about our streets have had expended upon them a sum, from first to last, that might have set them up as sheep-farmers with a stock in Australia. Let it be remembered, too, that the £30 paid for

the passage of a boy and girl, is the only outlay necessary to convert two starving wretches into a thriving pair, who would return to this country in a short time, in the purchase of manufactures, some £15 or £20 per annum; and it may be fairly reckoned that they would send £5 additional for the support of aged relations. To carry out the scheme, it would be necessary to have an efficient equipment of officers. An Emigration Board, with an agent in each colony, would soon, however, lessen the evils under which we groan, at the same time that they would reanimate the struggling colonies by their labours.

We leave these suggestions with but a slight hope that they can be forced upon Government. The dread of exciting public indignation at new taxes, and the consequence thereof in loss of place, seem ever to haunt the minds of all official men. Things cannot be worse, it is argued, than they have hitherto been, and so long as we can jog on, there is no necessity to tempt untried experiments. The public, however, has been startled from its long indifference by the truth, that it is cheaper in the end to prevent, than to catch and cure. A few years ago, the thieves' literature that then existed directed public attention to the practices of thieves. It has now also been aroused, not from the same morbid appetite for the horrible, but in order to ascertain the criminal organizations that paralyze all our efforts. Crime has been studied in the most philosophical spirit. Even the tendency to commit it—the most difficult question in moral statistics—has been reduced to ascertainable ratios. Given as postulates the numbers of the population, their education and their comforts,—and the whole is settled by a simple arithmetical operation. Philanthropy stands aghast in the presence of these immutable laws. It perceives that the causes which make the law must be destroyed. It is seen to be inhuman to do nothing more than hurry unhappy wretches to the prison and the scaffold, year after year, in the same proportions as to their number, and to the description of their crimes. From age to age, onward till the end of all things, there will be the annual recurrence of these gloomy memorials of our fallen nature, unless we eradicate the source from which crime must necessarily flow. It is sometimes, no doubt, the product of a sudden mastery of a fierce passion over a mind which had prided itself in its strength or its philosophy. But the great mass of crime is traceable to surrounding circumstances, within the range of remedial agency. Selfishness and humanity combined, call upon us to rouse that agency into life on behalf of the millions not born to the purple; and remembering the fallibility of our nature, the best must stand in awe when they think what they might themselves have been under the pressure of similar temptations.

ART. II.—*The Question: Was St. Peter ever at Rome? Historically considered.* By AUGUSTUS SCHELER, Doctor in Philosophy. Translated from the French, by a Clergyman; with a short Preface by the Translator. London: 1846.

THE spirit of Popery is abroad. Calculating upon our forbearance, and relying on the conciliatory character of the times, it has invaded, when we least expected it, our country and our homes, alighting on the lowest cottage, and penetrating to our highest seats of learning. It has come, not as the messenger of charity, in the consciousness of honest though mistaken truth; but as a crafty foe, with a sneaking step and a hidden countenance, to destroy the peace and happiness of families; to rend the bonds of love and kindred asunder; to seduce the child away from the parent's heart, and to beguile the unwary into ruin.

To remain passive spectators of such an aggression, would be mistaking indifference for toleration, and culpable laxity for Christian forbearance. It is true, Rome believes, or feigns to believe, in the existence of that laxity and indifference among us; \* and it is equally true, that, in this point, we may, with a smile, leave her to her deception; but however trifling we may deem the actual danger by which we are threatened; however strong, in our reliance upon God, we may feel ourselves to resist every temptation with which our wily enemy may beset our path, the startling success which has crowned her first efforts,

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\* A confirmation of this we find in the observation of one of her most zealous partizans, Professor Malon of Louvain, who in the Preface to his recently published work, "*La Lecture de la Sainte Bible en langue vulgaire, jugée d'après l'Ecriture, la tradition et la saine raison*," writes thus, "Ce devoir (de conserver à la vérité Catholique tous ses droits) est d'autant plus impérieuse, que l'œuvre des Sociétés bibliques a rendu au protestantisme mourant une étincelle de vie, en concentrant ses forces et son action dans l'entreprise chimérique de fournir de Bibles la race humaine tout entière, et de convertir les païens à la foi par une simple lecture des Livres Saints." (Tom. i. p. 6.) But the same learned professor, a few pages further on, states these remarkable words, "Le mot d'ordre étant donné, les versions de la Sainte Bible se multiplièrent à l'envie, et tinrent lieu presque partout d'avant-coureur et de drapeau à la Réforme. *L'éclair n'annonce pas plus fidèlement la foudre, que ces versions répandues dans le peuple n'annonçaient le protestantisme.*" (Tom. i. p. 12.) Never has, in fewer words, a stronger testimony been given to the usefulness of Bible Societies. Never has the true distinction between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religion more forcibly been characterized; the one is *ignorance*, the other *knowledge* of Holy Scripture. True, most true. Those words of Professor Malon deserve, in our opinion, to be repeated from one end of the Roman Catholic world to the other; for, though he follows them up by a different process of reasoning from what we would do, yet all the most subtle arguments cannot efface or conceal his acknowledgment of the fact.

and the increased vigour with which, elated by triumphant hope, we may be certain she will follow up those efforts, render it, nevertheless, an object of sacred duty for every true Catholic to protect from her encroaching designs, what he holds dearest and holiest in heaven and on earth.

That a strong sense of such a duty is not lacking among us, is proved by the numerous articles which have lately issued from the periodical press, intended to awaken the country at large to the real importance of the Popish movement; and distinguished among them, more than one, if we are not mistaken, from the eloquent and impressive pen of the reverend gentleman to whom the public is indebted for the translation of the essay before us. This essay was originally written by Professor Ellendorff, a *Roman Catholic savant* of Germany, and subsequently published in French, with material additions, by Dr. Scheler, assistant librarian to the King of the Belgians. Neither of these gentlemen, however, has really grappled with the question at issue—the *sojourn* of St. Peter at Rome; but, stopping short of it, they have rather confined themselves to an examination into his *Roman Episcopacy*. We shall endeavour to carry out their design, in laying before our readers a succinct but comprehensive view of *the historical foundation of the Church of Rome*, referring to the work of Dr. Scheler, not the least valuable portion of which is the translator's preface, for such information of a detailed and illustrative character as is necessarily excluded from the limits of an article, and the compass of our design.

The mysterious power which has been one chief agent in drawing the weak idealizing minds of some of our Protestant brethren to the Church of Rome, is her Siren song of *unity*—that song of delusion so fatal to those allured by its deceitful harmonies. Is it surprising that, with unbounded liberty of thought and expression, there should be dissension among us, when by the unbounded exercise of spiritual bondage, Rome herself is unable to preserve unity in the Church? We do not allude to the past, nor to the great dissenting movement in Germany, to which the exhibition of the “Holy Coat” at Treves has lately given rise; nor to the religious factions which, in more or less developed forms, divide the whole Roman Catholic world of the present day; we speak of the collective herd of the “faithful,” who, in regard to their opinions on the most important *fundamental principle* of their Church, are distinguished by the great *party* denominations of Episcopalians and Ultramontanists; the latter *asserting*, the former *denying*, *the Pope to be the infallible head of the Church, the only true Vicar of Christ on earth*.

We will not judge the Romish Church any more than we

would the Church of England, by, or hold her responsible for the individual opinions of her members, except so far as they are openly supported and countenanced by the Church. We will judge her by her own statutes and ordinances. The principal sources whence the doctrines of modern Roman Catholicism must be derived, are, we need not say, the "*Canones et Decreta*" of the Council of Trent; the "*Forma professionis fidei Catholicæ*," promulgated by the Bull of Pius IV., dated 13th November 1564; the *Bulls* generally; the "*Catechismus Romanus*," and the Missals, principally the "*Missale Romanum*" and "*Breviarium Romanum*." In addition to these, the "*Confutatio Confessionis Augustanæ*," and the works of Bellarmin († 1621), chiefly his "*Disputationes de controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus hujus temporis hereticos*," and those of Costerus, Becanus, Bossuet, and others, may be regarded as authorized expositions of the Romish faith.

We may as well here remind our readers, that the Decrees of the Council of Trent were solemnly confirmed by the Bull "*Benedictus Deus*" of Pius IV., dated 26th January 1564. But this "confirmation" was one of a peculiar character. In his truly fatherly solicitude for the proper guidance of his flock, Pius IV. whilst expressing his full approbation of those decrees, at the same time interdicted, upon pain of the severest punishments, any person, whether clerical or layman, from publishing remarks, annotations, or comments upon them, *reserving their interpretation and definition exclusively to himself and his successors*. Sixtus V. so fully comprehended the importance of these "definitions" that, in 1588, he charged a special commission with their execution.

The Council of Trent has not, like that of Florence, devoted a separate paragraph to the confirmation of the Pope's primacy; but it has virtually expressed that confirmation in scattered sentences, when for instance it speaks of him as "*Summo*," or "*Sanctissimo Romano Pontifice*," and "*Dei in terris vicario*;" or of a "*Maximis Pontificibus, Christi Redemptoris nostri in terra Vicariis debita obedientia*;" or when in direct words it assigns to him "*Supremam in ecclesia universa potestatem*." Yet the fact was, *the prelates disagreed among themselves as to whether obedience be due to the Holy Father or not*. Who a more proper person to decide the question than the infallible Pope himself?

In the "*Professio Fidei*," therefore, we find the omission of the "*Decret. Concil. Trident.*" supplied. It is there said: "*I firmly admit and embrace the apostolical AND ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITIONS, as well as all other observances and ordinances of the same Church [of Rome]. . . . I acknowledge the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all*



*Churches, AND PROMISE ON MY OATH TRUE OBEDIENCE TO THE ROMAN POPE, the successor of the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ. . . So help me God, and these holy Gospels of God.\**

The "*Catechismus Romanus*" is still more explicit. It says, "*The Catholic Church has ever venerated the Roman Bishop (pontificem maximum,) whom Cyrillus Alex., at the synod of Ephesus, [431], styled the Archbishop of the whole earth, and the Father and Patriarch of the world. For, occupying as he does the chair of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, WHO MOST ASSUREDLY HIMSELF OCCUPIED IT TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH, he is, in it, entitled to the highest honours, and the most unbounded jurisdiction, as having been conferred on him, not by the decrees of any Council or other HUMAN authority, BUT BY GOD HIMSELF. For which reason he presides, as the father and ruler of all bishops and other ecclesiastics, (although to them also power and office be given,) over the universal Church, as the successor of Peter, and the true and lawful Vicar of Christ on earth.*" †

The same "*Catechismus Romanus*" distinctly asserts the infallibility of the Roman Church, when it says, *This only Church cannot err*; ‡ which sentence is in various passages amplified by *Bellarmin*; but in none more characteristically than in the following: He writes thus, "*The language of the Church, i. e., of the Council, or of the Pope, when speaking from his chair, is not the language of man, i. e., language liable to error, BUT RATHER THE LANGUAGE OF GOD.*" § Here, then, we have in a few words the awful but true language of the Romish Church; a doctrine she openly professes and maintains up to the present day: *God*

\* Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones reliquasque ejusdem ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector. . . . Sanctam Catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistratam agnosco, Romanoque pontifici, beati Petri apostolorum principis successori ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. . . . Sic me Deus adjuvat et hæc sancta Dei evangelia !

† Catholica ecclesia Romanum pontificem maximum, quem in Ephesina synodo Cyrillus Alexandrinus archiepiscopum totius orbis terrarum patrem et patriarcham appellat, semper venerata est. Cum enim in Petri apostolorum principis cathedra sedeat, in qua usque ad finem sedisse constat, summum in eo dignitatis gradum et jurisdictionis amplitudinem, non quidem ullis synodicis aut aliis humanis constitutionibus, sed divinitus datam agnoscit. Quamobrem omnium fidelium et episcoporum ceterorumque antistitem, quocunque illi munere et potestate præditi sint, pater ac moderator universali ecclesiæ ut Petri successor Christique verus et legitimus vicarius in terris præsidet.—*Cat. Rom.* ii. vii. xxviii.

‡ The passage runs thus, "Quemadmodum hæc una ecclesia errare not potest. . . . ita ceteras omnes, quæ sibi ecclesiæ nomen arrogat, ut quæ diaboli spiritu ducantur, in doctrinae et morum perniciosissimis erroribus versari necesse est."—*Cat. Rom.* i. x. xviii.

§ "Verbum ecclesiæ, i. e. concilii vel pontificis docentis ex cathedra non est verbum hominis, i. e. verbum errori obnoxium, sed aliquo modo verbum Dei, i. e. prolatum assistente et gubernante Spiritu Sancto."—*De verbo Dei*, iii. x.



*speaks by the Church ; the Church speaks by the Pope ; the word of the Pope is the word of God.*

From the passages quoted, we learn that Rome rests her pretensions to divine and universal authority on a threefold assertion ; firstly, that Christ appointed St. Peter to be his vicar-general on earth, with power to transfer his charge to whomsoever he might judge proper ; secondly, that St. Peter founded and occupied to the time of his death the Episcopal chair of Rome ; and, thirdly, that the Popes are the duly appointed successors of St. Peter, both to his chair and to his vicarial power. Before we proceed, however, to consider the proofs alleged by the Church of Rome in support of her pretensions, we may be permitted to point out to our readers the leading, and it would appear to us decisive, feature of the question, which, notwithstanding its prominent character, has yet, as far as we know, remained altogether unnoticed by preceding writers.

Were the pretended divine authority of the Popes lodged in an office instituted by Christ, or had it ever been looked upon as such by the Church of Rome, it would be a matter of utter indifference to her whether St. Peter himself, or any one else held it : the *office* conferring divine authority on the occupant, instead of the *occupant* bringing divine authority into the office—possession would be incontrovertible right. In such a case, the Romish Church, as a matter of course, would claim for her Popes, and ever have claimed, that divine authority by virtue of their *office*. But she claims it by virtue of being *the successors of St. Peter*, in whose *person* Christ is asserted to have vested the alleged authority. This authority is consequently insisted on to be of a *personal* character ; and through the *persons* of the Popes to have descended to the present occupant of St. Peter's chair. The circumstance of the apostle having founded and occupied this chair, is only so far of importance, as the appointed Vicar of Christ, *as it were*, identified with its office the far higher charge entrusted to him by his divine master.

Here we have the real point of the question before us. By an "*as it were*" Rome would indeed, if she could, convert a groundless assumption into an indubitable fact ; but it is in vain. The vicarage of Christ and the bishopric of Rome remain two *distinct* charges, though they had been, or still be, united in one person. Or will Rome maintain, that, because St. Peter, the vicar of Christ, and the prince of the Apostles, founded and occupied her Episcopal chair, every one of his successors to that *chair* must of necessity be also the vicar of Christ and the prince of the Apostles ? We will not ask her why she has never claimed for her Popes the title of an "Apostle" of Christ ; but we will remind her that, according to her own tradition, St. Peter

founded yet *another* Episcopal chair—the chair of *Antioch*,—aye, and that he occupied it seven years before he ever set his foot in Rome. Surely, then, the Bishops of *Antioch*, who were as much the successors of St. Peter to his Episcopal Chair as those of Rome were, would have had the *first* right to the vicarage, claimed by the latter; and if between the *two* chairs it had not at once fallen to the ground, it would have been a miracle indeed. For this reason, too, the Church of Rome is yet, for her own sake, compelled to urge her pretensions to divine power, by virtue of this power having descended from St. Peter, through the *persons* of her Popes. In fact, had St. Peter never been Bishop of Rome, yet the Bishops of Rome being his appointed successors to the vicarage of Christ, would be entitled to divine authority all the same. But Rome having no means whatever of proving this, her only resource is to insist on the Roman Episcopacy of St. Peter, as a *kind of historical testimony* to his vicarial power having descended from him to his successors; not because they are Bishops of Rome, but because St. Peter, who was Bishop of Rome, appointed them to the vicarage of Christ.

We need not direct the attention of our readers to the utter flagrancy of such a proof; yet, for argument's sake, we will, for one moment, here admit it—admit that every assertion of the Church of Rome is true—that Christ named St. Peter to be his Vicar-General on earth—that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome—that he appointed (for we will even overlook the embarrassing contradictions of the Romish tradition) St. Linus to be his successor, both to his Episcopal Chair and to his vicarial authority—that the latter appointed, in the same quality, St. Anacletus, and St. Anacletus again St. Clement. But here we must pause. It is a fact of history, which admits of no contradiction, that, already in the very earliest times of the Church, the Popes of Rome were elected, **AFTER THE DEATH OF THE PRECEDING POPE,\*** *by the provincial bishops and the whole community*. In all probability, the immediate successor of Clement was so elected; of one of his next successors we know it for certain.

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\* The meaning of "Pope" is identical with that of our "papa," used by children, and as a term of endearment for "father." This is testified by Hesychius, who says, *sub voce, παπάξιν: πάππα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποκόρισμα πιποῖνται δι' ἡ λήξις ἀπὸ τῶν παιδίων, ἃ λήγει τοῖς πατρῷσι, πάππα*. All bishops were originally styled by the common title of "Pope." Most of the letters addressed to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, bear the superscription "*Cypriano Papae*," and by the *Roman* clergy (Ep. xxx.) he is saluted "*Beatissimus ac Gloriosissimus Papa*." The Alexandrian Presbyter Dionysius calls his bishop *τὸν μακάριον πάπαν*, (Euseb. H. E. vii. 7.) St. Augustine and others are so styled by Hieronymus (Ep. xxxix. 68, 72, 75, &c.) It was not till the days of Gregory VII. that the title became the exclusive property of the Bishops of Rome. (Th. Ruinart. *not. ad Gregor. Turon. Hist.* iv. 26.)

Under any circumstances, the incontrovertible conclusion to be drawn from the fact is this:—*The Bishops of Rome, if ever they were, ceased again to be the Vicars of Christ on earth, when the last bishop, in whose PERSON that authority was vested, died without having appointed his successor*; for the next bishop being elected by the provincial bishops and the community at large, who had only the power to elect a Bishop of Rome, but could not possibly endow him with the divine authority of a Vicar of Christ, thereby became a simple bishop of Christendom.

In whatever way the Church of Rome may turn the question, in whatever manner she may shift her ground, she will, on all sides, encounter the same insurmountable difficulty; and with the benefit of all her fundamental assertions, and the fullest latitude of her tradition granted to her, she will yet be unable, by a consistent argument, to show that the divine authority of Christ continued to descend by the Popes beyond the commencement of the second century of our era.

We will now proceed to examine the *real* claims to universal authority advanced by the Church of Rome. For the first part of her assertion she points to the testimony of Holy Scripture, St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19, and St. John xxi. 15. The latter passage has the words addressed by our Lord to St. Peter: "Feed my lambs;" (*βόσκει τὰ ἀρνία μου*; *pasce agnos meos*;) which Rome construes into Christ having appointed St. Peter to be his Vicar-General on earth, contending that the meaning of *βόσκειν*, *pascere*, is "to rule," "*imperium aut dominatum exercere*." We need not say that she is unable to refer to one single passage, from either profane or sacred writers, in which the word has been used in that sense; and the utter inadmissibility of her interpretation is therefore candidly admitted, even by some of her most zealous adherents, (Steph. Babuzius *in notis ad Servatum Lupum*, p. 425, *seq.*;) nay, it is acknowledged by the enlightened Pope, Silvester II., that the charge of feeding the flock of Christ was not given to St. Peter alone, but to all other bishops of the Church, (*De Episcoporum et Sacerdotum officiis* in Jo. Mabillan. *Analectorum*, tom. ii. p. 217.) But, above all, we have St. Peter's own comment upon the words of his Divine Master, when he thus exhorts the elders of the Churches of Asia Minor: "*Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, . . . not as ruling over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.*"—(1 Pet. v. 3.)

In the second passage quoted, St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19, the words occur: "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, [a rock,] and upon this rock I will build my Church." It is our Lord again who thus speaks to his disciple. Among the old Fathers there is a great diversity of opinion as to the interpretation of

“ rock ” (πέτρα, *petra*) in this place. For our own part, we as freely admit its reference to St. Peter,\* as the learned Roman Catholic Du Pin admits that the primacy of the Popes cannot be proved by the sentence, (*De antiq. eccles. discipl. diss. iv. cap. i. § i. p. 305.*) Indeed, all it shows is, that Christ called his *first-chosen* disciple the foundation of his Church; certainly not, however, to the exclusion of his other disciples, as clearly appears from St. Matthew xviii. 18; St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephes. ii. 20; and Rev. xxi. 14. But what does the whole passage, in reference to the pretensions of Rome, *really prove*? The words of our Lord are truth: will she deny it? Or will she assert that the history of the last sixteen centuries is but a tissue of fictions and of lies? If not, let her read that history; and on every page she will find it inscribed in indelible characters of pride and ostentation—of hatred and malice—of superstition and idolatry—of crimes of every kind and every hue—the Church of Rome is not the Church of Christ, and the tottering chair of the Popes not the rock on which it was built.

That St. Peter, owing to his individual character, and to the distinction shown to him on more than one occasion by his Divine Master, was possessed of high authority among the other Apostles, no one will deny; but it is equally undeniable that such authority rested only on a voluntary deference yielded to him by his fellow-apostles, and not on a constituted power conferred on him by Christ. He exercised it by virtue of his personal influence, not by virtue of any office. In his character as one of the chosen disciples of Christ, he was superior to no other disciple. He calls himself συμπρέσβυτερος, *co-elder*, (1 Pet. v. 1;) and surely, if he had been what the Church of Rome asserts, the very representative of Christ on earth—nay, if he had even held a higher authority of any kind than the other Apostles—it would have been his duty to *claim*, instead of silently *disclaiming* it, when he writes thus to the Churches of Asia Minor:—“ This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you,

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\* It is more than probable that the language in which our Lord habitually conversed with his disciples was the Syro-Chaldaic. The meaning of the Syriac word Keepho, as well as of the Chaldaic כֶּפְחָ (Kepha,) is “ rock,” equivalent to the Hebrew הַר, which latter is so translated in our version of the Old Testament, (Jeremiah iv. 29; Job xxx. 6.) Thence the Greek Κηφᾶς, corresponding to the *sound*, and Πέτρος, corresponding to the *sense*, of the original. Had our first translators herein followed the example of the Evangelists, and of the Latin translators, the Latin word *Petrus* would be unknown in our language as the surname given by Christ to the Apostle Simon (St. John, i. 42.) and the English “ Rock ” as familiar to us as now *Petrus* is, however strange this may appear. Κηφᾶς cannot correctly be rendered “ a stone,” as has been done in our version of the passage just alluded to.

in which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance : that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of *us, the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour.*" We have, therefore, St. Peter's own words for it, that the first part of the assertion of the Romish Church is utterly groundless ; and this is moreover attested by the whole of the New Testament. The reason is simple : Rome did not derive her power from Christ ; she usurped it by fraud and deception, and then turned to Holy Scripture for support—but in vain : the Word of God bears witness to no lie.

For the second—the strictly historical part of the assertion of Rome regarding the Antiochian and Roman Episcopacy of St. Peter, she refers exclusively to the testimony of her tradition ; although numerous and most important data bearing upon the question may be collected from the gospel of St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul and of St. Peter himself. We will, therefore, first, and distinctly from the tradition, examine the sacred text.

From St. John xxi. 17-19, we have reason to infer that St. Peter died a martyr for the sake of Christ ; but *where* and *when*, it is not stated. It must have been, however, before St. John added the last chapter to his gospel. This was written certainly after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in all probability between the years 80 and 90. In the early part of St. Luke's account, the apostolic labours of St. Peter form the prominent feature ; and it is undeniable, that, having his fixed residence at Jerusalem, (Gal. i. 18 ; ii. 9,) he had not left Judea previously to his imprisonment by order of Agrippa the Great, shortly before the death of the latter, and after the martyrdom of St. James. This was at Easter, (Acts xii. 3,) undoubtedly in the year 44, (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. c. 8, sect. 2 ; *compare* xviii. c. 6, sect. 10.)\* God having delivered St. Peter from the hands of the king, he thereupon "departed and went into another place." (Acts xii. 17.) From this time to the holding of the Council of the Apostles, St. Luke makes no mention of his name ; but we know, from Gal. ii. 11, that he was at Antioch, in all probability at the beginning of the year 46.† At the Council of the Apostles,

\* Dr. Scheler (p. 33, *seq.*) erroneously places these events in the year 45.

† With the majority of expositors, Dr. Scheler (p. 52) assumes this visit of St. Peter to Antioch to have taken place subsequently to the Council of the Apostles ; but the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians appears to us to bear such positive marks of having been written before the period mentioned, that nothing but blind attachment to a *theory* intended to remove the difficulties in which the chronology of this portion of the Holy Scriptures is enveloped, can, in our judgment, cause their testimony to be overlooked. A necessary consequence of that assumption is the even still more untenable supposition (Dr. Scheler, p. 51) of the voyage of St.

which was held at the commencement of 49,\* St. Peter is again at Jerusalem. (Acts xv. 7.) After this his name appears no further in the Acts.

St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, i. 11, writes thus: "I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, *to the end that ye may be established,*" and i. 15, 16, "*I am ready to preach the gospel to you also,* for I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." He further says, xv. 20, *seq.*: "Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, *not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation:* but . . .; and having a great desire *these many years* to come to you, whenever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you . . .; and I am sure, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the gospel of Christ." To every Christian who believes in the truth of the Apostle's words; nay, to every unprejudiced and well-constituted mind, it must appear indubitable, that, when St. Paul addressed those passages to the adherents of the Christian faith at Rome, there had not then as yet been an Apostle among the latter to receive them as living members into the congregation of Christ's flock, or, to use the expression of St. Paul, "to establish them." The epistle was doubtless written towards the latter end of 58, or at the beginning of 59. At this period, consequently, St. Peter had not as yet been in Rome; nor was he, nor had he been there on the arrival of St. Paul in the spring of 62, as is clearly proved by the account of St. Luke, Acts xxviii. 24; for when the Apostle of the Gentiles called the chief of the Jews together, (ver. 17,) they knew no more of "that sect," (the Christian,) except "that it was everywhere spoken against." (ver. 22.)

The first epistle of St. Peter was written from Babylon. (v. 13.) During the early period of our era, the Asiatic province of Babylon, with its capital of the same name, belonged to the extensive and powerful kingdom of the Parthians, comprising the whole of the Persian empire. The river Euphrates

Paul to Jerusalem, to which he alludes, Gal. ii. 1, being identical with the voyage related by St. Luke, Acts xv. 2; for there can be no reasonable doubt but that the journey mentioned Acts xi. 30, (comp. xii. 25,) is meant; and without the difficulty attaching to the "fourteen years" (Gal. ii. 1) there would probably not be a dissenting voice on the subject.

\* According to Dr. Scheler, (p. 52,) the Council was not held till the year 52 or 53; and he is supported in this opinion by Ussher, Spanheim, and others. But as it is certain that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans was written towards or at the beginning of 59, consequently only from five to six years afterwards; and as his second and third missionary journeys, during which he made a stay of upwards of four years at Corinth and Ephesus alone, fall in the interval, the incorrectness of the above date will, from a perusal of the Acts, become evident. In favour of the year 49 are also Pearson, Petavius, Baronius, and others.



divided it from the Roman territory. Frequent wars were the consequence ; but alternately victorious and defeated, the Parthians were yet never subdued by the arms of conquering Rome, (Strabo xvi.; Pliny vi. 29, 30; *compare* 1 Maccab. xiv. 2.) The city of Babylon contained a very large population, and an *extensive colony of Jews*, (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. c. 2, sect. 2 ; xv. 3, 1 ; xviii. 9, 1 ; Philo. *op.* ii. pp. 578, 587.) It was therefore, in every respect, a fit place for St. Peter to select as the centre of his later apostolical activity, Babylon being, so to speak, the capital of the East, as Rome, the seat of St. Paul's activity, was that of the West ; and it would seem that the plans of the two Apostles had been concerted by a mutual understanding.\*

The First Epistle of St. Peter, like all the other Epistles, bears no date, but contains sufficient internal evidence to enable us to arrive at the approximate time at which it was written. It is addressed by *the Apostle of the Circumcision to the Christian Churches of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia*, (i. 1,) consisting *principally of Gentiles*, (i. 14, 18 ; ii. 9, *seq.* ; iii. 6 ; iv. 3,) and, at least for the greater part, *founded by St. Paul* and his companions. The first inference to be drawn from this striking fact is, that the epistle must have been written *after St. Paul's death*. It is in vain to attempt any other explanation : the unbiassed judgment will ever return to that one unvarying conclusion. It has been contended, that the fact is satisfactorily accounted for by the supposition of the epistle having been composed during St. Paul's captivity at Cesarea ; but have not *numerous* epistles been written in the course of the very same period by St. Paul himself ? Nothing, we repeat it, but the *death* of St. Paul could have necessitated or warranted St. Peter in interfering with the special duties of the former. In this conclusion we are fully borne out by the passage, v. 12 ; and by the frequent allusions in the epistle to *the Neronian persecution*, (i. 6, 7 ; iii. 13-16 ; iv. 12-19 ; v. 10.) That there can be no question of any other suffering endured by the early Christian Church, is evident from the simple circumstance of its being the

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\* This is confirmed by the following passage from the *Libr. de non iterand. bapt.* (Cypr. *op. ed. Rigalt.* app. p. 139 :)—“ Liber qui inscribitur Pauli praedicatio, in quo libro . . . invenies, post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem, et mutuam altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in urbe, quasi tunc primum, invicem sibi esse cognitos.” That mutual explanation and agreement must consequently have taken place during St. Paul's presence at Jerusalem at the time of the Council of the Apostles, and to which the text seems distinctly to refer ; for had St. Peter visited or resided in the Jewish capital during St. Paul's captivity, St. Luke would assuredly have mentioned it. The pretended “ Praedicatio Pauli ” appears to have formed the conclusion of the “ Praedicatio Petri,” and dates probably from about the middle of the second century, which explains the latter part of the sentence quoted.



*first* of so general and terrible a character, as described by St. Peter, which that Church had to undergo. The expressions, i. 7,—“Though your faith be tried *with fire*,” and, iv. 12, “Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, *as though some strange thing happened unto you*,” compared with Tacitus, Annals xv. 44,\*—can, in our opinion, leave no doubt on the subject.

We have, therefore, every reason to conclude that the first epistle of St. Peter was written, *at the earliest*, towards the end of 64, or the beginning of 65. That it cannot have been written any considerable time before that period, is proved by a comparison of i. 3 with Ephes. i. 3; of ii. 1 with Col. iii. 8; of ii. 13 with Rom. xiii. 1-4; of iv. 9 with Phil. ii. 14, &c. &c.; showing that St. Peter, when he wrote it, was already acquainted with the epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians. A further support for our opinion we have in the passage iv. 17, which contains an evident allusion to St. Luke xxi. 12, and, as such, would again point to the time of the Neronian persecution; and lastly, it is confirmed by the second epistle of St. Peter, inasmuch as it is addressed to the same Churches, (iii. 1,) and plainly refers to the death of St. Paul.

It is there said: “Wherefore, beloved . . . account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation, even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written (ἔγραψεν) unto you; as also, in all his epistles (ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς) speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable, wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.” Would St. Peter have thus written to “the children” of St. Paul (Gal. iv. 19) during

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\* As we shall have further occasion to refer to this passage, we will quote it here:—“Ergo, abolendo rumori (that the conflagration of Rome owed its origin to Nero’s orders,) Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum, supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrociora aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut, ferarum tergis coniecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi, vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quanquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.”

the lifetime of their instructor, who, in case of any doubt as to the meaning of his words, had only to be referred to? Besides, the grammatical construction of the sentence fully bears us out in our conclusion. In the first place, the Greek Aorist, for which we have no corresponding tense in our language, representing in the narrative the pluperfect, and probably nowhere in the New Testament the perfect form of the verb, the meaning of ἔγραψεν may either be rendered by "he (once) wrote," or "he used to write;" for, though we admit that the Aorist is *rarely* employed in the latter sense by the apostolical writers, yet, in the passage before us, it would seem to us certainly to warrant, if not to demand, this construction; more particularly as, in the second place, the article joined to πασαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς denotes the epistles of St. Paul as a definitely closed series, but which they could only become by his death. In some editions of the New Testament, therefore, the article is omitted, but without sufficient critical authority. This epistle was composed when St. Peter expected his approaching death, (2 Pet. i. 14,) after the *first* (iii. 1,) as well as after the epistle of Jude, to confirm which would appear to have been one of its objects, (*comp.* 2 Pet. i. 2 with Jude 2; 2 Pet. i. 5, 12, 13, 15 with Jude 3; 2 Pet. ii. 1-3 with Jude 4; 2 Pet. ii. 4 with Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 6, 10 with Jude 7, 8, &c. &c.; and at a time when the Christians had already commenced to feel disappointed of the promise of our Lord's return. (2 Pet. iii. 4.) For this reason, it has been the opinion of many that the epistle was not written till after the destruction of Jerusalem; but the epistle of Jude having doubtless been composed previously to that event, we do not think there is sufficient ground for such a supposition, and would, therefore, rather assign to it a date between the years 65 and 67.

Having thus stated what we know, or are able to infer from the sacred text, in regard to the later history of St. Peter, we will proceed to examine the accounts of the early Fathers, upon whose testimony the Church of Rome rests her actual power, not less than her pretensions. According to them St. Peter *twice* visited Rome, the first time in the second year of Claudius, A.D. 42, after having previously founded the Episcopal Chair of Antioch. This tradition dates from *Eusebius*, (✠ 340 in *Chronic. ad. ann. ii. Claudii.*) It is confirmed and embellished by *Jerome*, (✠ 420,) who adds to it, that the immediate object of St. Peter's journey was to combat Simon the Magician, and that he held the Episcopal Chair of Rome for five and twenty years, till the last year of Nero, 68, (*in Catal. c. i. comp. Scaliger. not. ad Euseb. chron. p. 189.*) *St. Leo* (✠ 461) subsequently fixed the duration of his Antiochian Episcopacy at seven

years. (Serm. lxxx. 5.) But we have no sooner set our foot on the field of the Romish tradition, than we find ourselves surrounded by inextricable contradictions. *Lactantius*, (✠ 325,) who lived before Eusebius, states that St. Peter did not arrive in Rome till the reign of Nero, (cumque jam Nero imperaret, *De mort. persecut.* c. 2;) and *Origen*, (✠ 253,) who lived before either, assures us that he only went there to die, (ἐπὶ τέλει, *ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1.) What admits of no doubt is, that, as we have already seen from the Acts, St. Peter had not left Jerusalem at the beginning of 44. It is, therefore, *generally* acknowledged, by Roman Catholic as well as by Protestant writers, that the above tradition, at least as far as the second year of Claudius is concerned, is *false*.\*

The origin of the error of Eusebius is easily traced, through Clement Alex. (✠ 220,) (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15,) to a misunderstanding of Justin Martyr, (✠ 168,) who, interpreting the inscription of a statue of the Sabian-Roman deity Semo of Simon the Magician, and bearing in mind, no doubt, the relation of St. Luke, (Acts viii. 18, *seq.*,) accused the Romans of making a god of him, and thereby laid the foundation of the fabulous tradition of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome in the reign of Claudius, and the still more fabulous history of his combat with Simon the Magician—a combat and a sojourn, however, of which he himself knows nothing.†

The Church of Antioch was, according to St. Luke, Acts xi. 19-26, founded by St. Paul and Barnabas, in all probability in the year 39. Yet, if we were to believe the Roman tradition, St. Peter was Bishop of Antioch from the 22d February 36, to 18th January 43. (St. Jerome, St. Leo, St. Gregor. ep. 37;

\* Even *Valesius* says: "Quum anno quarto Claudii mortuus sit Agrippa, ut inter omnes convenit, Petrus ante hunc annum Romam proficisci non potuit." (In Not. ad EUSEB. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 16.)

† The words of Justin are, "Σίμωνα μὲν τινὰ Σαμαρεία τὴν ἀπὸ πάμης λεγομένης Τίττων, ὃς ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις ποιήσας μαγικὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τιτίμηται ὃς ἀνδρῖας ἀνιγήγερται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γιφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην· Σίμωνι δὲ σάγκτω." His error was confirmed and adorned by Irenaeus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Cyrillus Hierosol., Theodoret, Augustine, and others. The statue to which Justin Martyr refers, was in 1574 excavated from the bed of the Tiber. It bears the following inscription:

SEMONI  
SANCO  
DEO · FIDIO  
SACRUM  
COL. MUSSIANUS  
QUINQUENNALIS  
DECUR  
BIDENTALIS  
DONUM DEDIT.

*Martyrol. Rom.*) We should not even have further alluded to an assertion, which has already been proved to be false, were it not to give an illustration of the manner in which the sacred text is treated by the tradition, and the tradition, in its turn, occasionally by the Church of Rome. Jerome (*in Comm. ad Gal. cap. 2.*) tells us that we ought not to wonder at St. Luke's *passing over in silence* the Antiochian episcopacy of St. Peter, because, *by virtue of a historian's license*, he also omits much concerning St. Paul; and that we may, therefore, feel quite assured, St. Peter, although St. Luke *omits* to mention the fact, *was the first Bishop of Antioch, and that he proceeded thence to Rome in the second year of Claudius.\**

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Onuphrius Panvinus, in his work, "Epitome Pontific. Roman. a S. Petro usque ad Paulum IV.," stated, it was clear, that if St. Peter had been twenty-five years Bishop of Rome, and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Nero, he could not have held the chair of Antioch seven years *previous* to his Roman episcopacy. It was his opinion, therefore, that St. Peter, on leaving Judea, had first gone to Rome; had there established his chair; had in the fourth year of his episcopacy, by the edict of Claudius against the Jews, been expelled from Italy; had proceeded to Antioch; had here founded his second chair; had held it up to the time of the emperor's death (13th October 54;) and had then returned to Rome, not being permitted so to do during the lifetime of Claudius. Among the zealous Romanists of the period, this sentence caused much dissatisfaction and uneasiness; but Sixtus V., perceiving its evident advantages in every respect, (what an example, for instance, of a plurality of benefices!) *commanded* it in 1586, to be confirmed by Latinus Latinus, who consequently expressed his full approval of the opinion of Panvinus, "because it would be no easy matter for any one to prove that the chair of Antioch had been founded by St. Peter previously to the second year of Claudius; *before which time, it is clear from the Acts of St. Luke, that he had scarcely set his foot out of Judea; but surely such a fact, which it would seem St. Luke ought to have commemorated above all others, was not to be passed over in silence,*" &c.†

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\* "Nec mirum esse," are his words, "si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, cum et alia multa, quæ Paulus, sustinuisse se replicat, Historiographi licentiâ prætermiserit, et non statim esse contrarium, si quod alius ob causam dignum putavit relatu, alius inter caetera dereliquit. Denique primum Episcopum Antiochenae Ecclesiae Petrum fuisse accipimus, et Romam exinde (anno II. Claudii,) translatum, quod Lucas penitus omisit."

† In this semi-official document:—"Latini Latini Responsio de sententia Honufrii Panvini, quam probat jussu Sixti V., in quaestione Cathedrae S. Petri An-

Here then we have the interesting fact before us, that, on the one side, a Father of the Church maintains, in opposition to the Sacred text, a fiction to be a truth, accusing St. Luke of having, *by virtue of a historian's license*, wilfully suppressed that truth; and that, on the other side, an infallible Pope, *out of his chair*, commands *a tradition of the Church* (not because it is in contradiction with Holy Scripture, but because men will no longer believe that thirty-two are equal to twenty-five,) *to be declared a falsehood*; and yet, *in his chair*, continues to demand of every functionary of the Church *to swear to that falsehood as a holy truth*.

In immediate connexion with the tradition of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome in the reign of Claudius, stands that of St. Mark having written his Gospel in the Roman capital, according to Clement Alex. (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15, and vi. 14,) and Jerome (*Catal.* c. 8,) during the lifetime of St. Peter; according to Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iii. 1,) after his death. St. Mark being the companion of St. Peter at Babylon, (1 Pet. v. 13,) and his interpreter (*ἐρμηνευτής*), writing down from memory what he had heard St. Peter verbally relate of the acts of our Lord, (Papias *ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* 3, 39,) the latter tradition was the necessary consequence of the former, and has no other foun-

tiochenae et Romanae," the writer says among other things :—" Ex historia Act. Apost. de Petri apud Antiochiam Cathedram simulque de adventu ad urbem nihil colligi posse videtur, quod in utramque partem trahi commodò disputando non possit. Nihil enim aliud ex historia de Petro (quod ad hanc quaestionem attinet) certum habemus, quam post carceris liberationem concilia apostolorum interfuisse. Conjecturis igitur Honufrius eam rationem secutus videtur, qua, nisi fallor, etiam si nullam cum haereticis contentionem suscepisset, *expeditior exitus ab obscura et involuta quaestione pateret*. Si enim Petrus annos xxv. Romae cathedram tenuit, quod omnes fere scriptores fatentur, initiumque ejus anno secundo Claudii Imperatoris fuit, id est anno post Christi adscensum x. aut etiam xi., qui simul collecti summam faciunt saltem ann. xxv. manifesto constat id temporis intervallum ad ultimum Neronis Imperatoris annum extendi, ideoque ad septem annos Antiochenae Cathedrae tribuendos ex praedicto numero nihil posse decidi; superaddi vero quicquam non posse. . . . . Haec Honufrii conjectura, si quis, ut ego sentio, diligenter consideret rem, de qua agitur, non absurda, non levis, sed maxime consentanea atque probabilis censeatur necesse est. Antiochiae enim cathedram fundatam a Petro intra id temporis spatium, quod usque ad secundum Claudii annum fluxit, quo tempore ex Judaea Petrum vix pedem extulisse ex Lucae historia aperte constat, non facile quisquam probabit. Ea vero res ut maximi alicujus momenti a Luca commemoranda esse videbatur, non silentio praetermittenda. Quare in aliud tempus, quam in ipsum xxv. annorum curriculum septennium Antiochenae cathedrae incidere commodè non posse Honufrius statuit. Neque id solus vel primus ausus est affirmare. Si enim, quae scripsit Bedas Venerabilis in cap. xiii. Act. Apost. vera sunt, necesse est, credamus Apostolos ex Christi praecepto annos xii. in Judaea evangelium praedicasse, ut refert ipse ex Ecclesiastica historia constare. Quare non video cur hanc Honufrii opinionem aut absurdam aut a Sacra Scriptura alienam accusare vere quisquam possit. . . . Ex aedibus 4<sup>o</sup> Idus Maii 1586. (Latinii Epist. p. 307-9. Romae, 1659, 4to.)

dation. Chrysostom (*Homil. 1 in Matt.*) mentions the Gospel to have been written in Egypt, to which country St. Mark is said to have proceeded from Rome, and there to have founded several churches, (Epiph. li. 6 ; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 16 ; Niceph. ii. 15, 43 ; Jerome, *de vir. illust.* c. viii.) The latter Father adds that he died in the eighth year of Nero ; but which is in contradiction with Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iii. 1,) and proved to be erroneous by 1 Peter v. 13.

On the authority of the concluding note to the Gospel of St. Mark in the Peschito, confirmed by marginal notes of the Philoxeniana, of the Codex Cantab. (but here from a later hand,) and some other manuscripts, Baronius was the first to assert (*Annal. Eccl. ad an. 45*) that it had originally been written in Latin. This, however, is positively contradicted by Jerome, (*ad Damasc.*) and Augustin (*de cons. ev.* i. 4,) as well as by the notes of other manuscripts, (Wetsten. N. T. I., 642.) The note of the Peschito may possibly owe its origin, as De Wette thinks (*Introd.* § 99,) to Clement Alex. (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15 ;) but we hold it sufficiently accounted for by the circumstance of that translation dating certainly not beyond the latter end of the second century, when the tradition of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome had already commenced very much to spread. We have every reason to believe, as will appear from the sequel, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Babylon, after the martyrdom of St. Paul, and consequently designed it for the use of the Latin as well as the Asiatic, mostly Gentile churches, whose care had then altogether devolved on St. Peter. This appears to us to explain in a most satisfactory manner, the occurrence in it of a few Latin words and Latinized expressions,\* upon which the supposition of its having been written at Rome, after all, chiefly rests.

From what precedes, we have seen that St. Peter, as acknowledged by papal authority, cannot, previously to the year 55, have sojourned at Rome, except between the latter end of 44 and the year 47. There is ample and incontrovertible testimony to prove that the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written previous to the Council of the Apostles. The passages ii. 2, and 9 alone, would appear to us to place this beyond a doubt. It

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\* In the 12th chapter, v. 42, λεπτά δύο is explained by κοδράν της, the Roman coin *Quadrans* ; chap. vi. 27, the Latin word σπικουλάτωρ is used ; and chap. xv. 39, 44, 45, that of κεντυρίων, *centurio*, instead of εκατοντάρχης. Chap. vi. 37, and xiv. 5, we find δηνάριον (*denarius*;) chap. xii. 14, κῆνος (*census*;) chap. v. 9, 15, λεγιών (*legio*;) chap. vii. 4, 8, φραγελλώω (*flagello*;) chap. xv. 16, πραιτώριον (*praetorium*;) chap. xv. 15, τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι (*populo satisfacere*;) and chap. v. 23, ἐσχάτως ἔχειν (*in extremis esse*.)



is equally certain that St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem, alluded to chap. ii. 1, is identical with the journey, mentioned by St. Luke, Acts xi. 30; xii. 25. The famine, which chiefly occasioned it, we know from Josephus, (*Antiq.* xx. c. 5. sect. 6,) to have taken place in the years 45 and 46; and which is in perfect accordance with other parts of Holy Scripture. In all probability, therefore, St. Paul arrived at Jerusalem towards the latter end of 45. At that time St. Peter was present in the Jewish capital, (Gal. ii. 8, 9,) to which he had most likely returned immediately after the death of Agrippa, and somewhat later we find him at Antioch, (Gal. ii. 11,) as we have before remarked, in 46; St. Paul having started on his first missionary journey towards the latter end of that year. If at any time, therefore, St. Peter visited some of the provinces of Asia Minor, as Origen, (*ap. Euseb. H. E.* ii. 15,) Jerome, and others, inform us he did *previously* to his going to Rome—and his presence at Antioch would seem scarcely to leave a doubt on this point—he must have visited them in the years 46 and 47; for at the beginning of 49, we know him to have been again at Jerusalem. (Acts xv. 7.)

Scripture and tradition thus unite to show that St. Peter, during the years 44-47, was preaching the Gospel in Palestine and Asia Minor, instead of sojourning at Rome; at which capital, therefore, he cannot, according to the sentence of Panvinus, have arrived till the year 55. St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, and St. Luke's account, Acts xxviii. 15-24, prove that seven years later, the scattered adherents of the Christian faith at Rome, had till then continued without an apostolical teacher, and that the Jews—although, according to the Romish tradition, *the apostle of the circumcision* had for the last *twenty years* held his episcopal chair in the capital—yet looked to *the apostle of the Gentiles* for the *first* authoritative information regarding “the sect that everywhere was spoken against.”

Let us now examine the unanimous tradition of St. Peter having suffered martyrdom at Rome—a tradition, the truth of which is admitted even by the far greater majority of Protestant writers. The earliest testimony which is generally alleged in support of it is that of *Clement*, third Bishop of Rome, who in his first epistle to the Corinthians, (p. 5,) exhorts the latter to look for courage and perseverance to the example set by the apostles; and then draws a parallel between St. Peter and St. Paul, both having suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ. But he does not add one syllable as to *where* and *when* they suffered; and the inference, drawn from his words, is therefore wholly gratuitous; the more so, as he nowhere else mentions that St. Peter ever set his foot in Rome. A similar interpretation is forced upon an



expression of *Ignatius*, in whose epistle to the Romans the words occur: “*I command you not like Peter and Paul, (οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν;)* but, surely, if such expressions be proof, what is there that may not be proved?”

*Dionysius*, Bishop of Corinth, (✠ 176,) writes in an epistle to the Romans, (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 25,*) that both St. Peter and St. Paul, having together instructed the Corinthians, had *at the same time* left Corinth for Italy, and after also *together* instructing the Romans, suffered martyrdom *in the same manner*.\* It is this Father who bears the earliest witness† to the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome, provided the epistle attributed to him by Eusebius was a genuine document. Its authenticity is, however, much doubted. At all events, the last part of the sentence of Dionysius is in direct contradiction of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl. ii. 25*, and *iii. 1*; Tertullian, *contr. Marc. iv. 5*; and Lactantius, *de mort. persecut. c. ii.*; the former with St. Paul’s first epistle to the Corinthians *iv. 15*: *compare iii. 6, 10*; *ix. 1, 2*; and, lastly, the remaining assertion of St. Peter having accompanied St. Paul on his journey to Rome, with the account of St. Luke, *Acts xxviii.*

There is, certainly, another tradition, which states St. Paul to have been liberated from his Roman captivity, (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 22,*) and subsequently to have travelled over nearly the whole known world, (*Niceph. ii. 34*; *Cyrillus, Metaphr., &c.,*) but Eusebius himself says, “it is said,” (*λόγος ἔχει,*) and he seems, otherwise, to rest his own belief in the probability of the report exclusively on 2 Timothy *iv. 17*; assuming this epistle to have been written subsequently to St. Paul’s (first) stay at Rome. A journey of St. Paul to *Spain* has, in connexion with his intentions to that effect, as expressed in his epistle to the Romans, (*xv. 24, 28,*) been also inferred from a passage of Clement of Rome in his first epistle to the Corinthians, *c. v.*, where, in speaking of the apostles, he says, “and when he had come to the boundary of the west,”—(*καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν*)—an infer-

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\* The words of Eusebius are:—“Ὁς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἱμαρτύρησαν, . . . Διονύσιος . . . παρίστησι . . . καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς ἡμιστίαν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσει διδάξαντες, ἱμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν.

† Dr. Scheler, p. 87, states, that the tradition of St. Peter’s (second) voyage to, and his martyrdom at Rome, rests on the earliest testimony of *Papias* (✠ 164.) This is an error. The first of the two passages which he quotes (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 15,*) belongs partly to Clement Alex. and partly to Eusebius himself, who refers to the testimony of Papias only as far as concerns the approval of St. Mark’s Gospel by St. Peter, bearing, no doubt, the very passage from Papias in mind, which Dr. Scheler further quotes, (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.*) With the sentence: “*Porro Marci mentionem fieri aiunt a Petro in priore epistola, quam Romae scriptam contendunt,*” &c., Papias has evidently nothing to do.

ence, however, which in itself is perfectly unwarrantable.\* Origen (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 1.*) evidently knows nothing of St. Paul's journey. This tradition appears, therefore, to be as void of all historical truth as is the doubtful assertion of Dionysius, which has probably no other foundation than the passage, 1 Cor. i. 12.

We know for certain that St. Paul arrived in the Roman capital in the spring of 62, and that "he dwelt two years in his own hired house, preaching the kingdom of God." At first, he had been placed in separate confinement under the guard of a soldier. (Acts xxviii. 16.) The conflagration of Rome commenced on the 19th July 64, (Tacit. *Ann. xv. 41.*) At this period, therefore, we have the strongest reason to believe he was still in that capital. The Neronian persecution broke out immediately afterwards. Let us, from the description of Tacitus, (*see p. 39.*) picture to our mind's eye the terrible scenes which followed, and ask ourselves, can the idea that St. Paul, the head of "the hated for their vileness and their crimes," should have escaped the loosened fury of the Roman populace, excited to madness by the sight of the burning ruins of their city, and led on by the monster Nero in person, for one moment be reasonably entertained? But if there were still room left for the least doubt, it would be dispersed by the testimony of the two epistles of St. Peter; and to the unbiassed judgment the death of St. Paul at Rome, at the very commencement of the Neronian persecution, cannot, therefore, but appear an indubitable fact.

With the testimony of Dionysius of Corinth for the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome, Eusebius combines also that of the Roman presbyter *Gaius*, (✠ 215,) from whose work, "*Adv.*

\* Clement immediately adds :—καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου. The common translation of this passage, and which also Dr. Scheler has followed, is, (and when he had come to the boundary of the west,) "he suffered martyrdom under those in authority, and so he quitted this world." But such a construction, besides its being ungrammatical, connected with a journey to Spain would evidently imply that St. Paul had also died in Spain. Clement has just been alluding to the extensive travels of St. Paul in the east and in the west: Διὰ ζῆλον ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς ἀπίσχειν ἐπτάκις δισμὰ φορέσας, ῥαβδισθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλίος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δόσεως ἐλθὼν, κ. τ. λ. We therefore take the meaning of Clement's words to be, and when he (St. Paul) had come to the end of his travels in the west (namely to Rome,) and testified Christ before the rulers and the mighty, he, &c. There is no reason whatever to refer ἡγομένοι, as has been done, exclusively to Helios and Polykletos, the actual regents of the Roman empire during Nero's absence from the capital. On the other hand, the translation of the word by "*the mighty of the earth*," which De Wette approves of, (Intro. § 122,) would again imply a journey to Spain, inasmuch as it would disconnect "the boundary of the west" from the place of St. Paul's martyrdom. We therefore prefer interpreting the expression of the chief authorities of Rome generally.

*Proculum*," he quotes the following passage: "But I can show the trophies of the apostles. Whether you turn to the Vatican or to the Via Ostia, you meet with the trophies of those who are the founders of the Church." \* Jerome who, as a matter of course, confirms this tradition, translates "trophies" (τὰ τρόπαια) by "sepultus," "sepulchre," and says, "*Sepultus [Petri] Romæ in Vaticano, juxta viam triumphalem;*" in which sense the above passage has generally been looked upon as one of the strongest proofs in favour of the assertion in question. But, in the first place, it has not been considered that the words of Gaius are only by *Eusebius* referred, and, evidently contrary to their sense, exclusively referred to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; and, in the second place, the supposition of public monuments having been erected to the apostles, in the *second* century, at Rome, and in the immediate vicinity of the Vatican, is so preposterous, that it is surprising how it could, at any time, have gained even momentary credence. Moreover, the Neronian persecution, at its first outbreak, was of a most overwhelming character, and the assumption of any Christian having been permitted to witness the sufferings of his fellow-believers, much less to pay the last honours to their earthly remains, without being made to share their fate, is wholly inadmissible. What became of the mutilated bodies and scattered ashes of the innocent victims to a national calamity, and a tyrant's recklessness, God only knows, and no Christian probably ever knew; and as the principal scene of their sufferings was the very locality named by Gaius, (*Tacit. loc. cit.*), it appears to us scarcely to admit of a doubt, but that all the Roman presbyter meant to say, when he wrote the words quoted, and used the word "apostle" in its more extended sense, was, *whether you turn to the Vatican or to the Via Ostia, the whole presents but one scene of suffering; every spot reminds you of a Christian dying for his faith; every stone is a trophy of the martyrdom of those who constituted the earliest Church.*

Thus we find that even the testimony of Gaius in regard to the Roman tradition is, to say the least, of a very doubtful character. For our argument, however, this fact is so far of little moment, as the senior of Gaius, *Irenæus*, Bishop of Lyons, (✠ 218,) affirms the martyrdom of *St. Peter* at Rome in positive terms (*adv. Hær. iii. 1*); and henceforth it is as positively confirmed by *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, and others, with more or less variation. In reference to the latter, we will only remark, that *Tertullian* (✠ 245) still

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\* Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι· ἵαν γὰρ θιλήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τον Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν, Ὡστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσάμενων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν."

has it, that St. Peter died the *same* death as our Saviour ; whilst Origen (✠ 253) is the first to assert that, at his own request, he was crucified with his head downwards—in order, as Rufinus adds, that he might *not* seem to suffer the *same* death as Christ.\*

From the epistles of St. Peter, and the account of St. Luke, reaching to the precise time when the conflagration of Rome happened, *and, perhaps, owing its somewhat abrupt conclusion to this very event*, we have already shown, that St. Peter wrote not long afterwards his first epistle from Babylon, and his second one, in all probability, between the years 65 and 67, from the same capital. This was, supposing the foreboding of the apostle to have proved true, (2 Pet. i. 14, 15,) shortly before his death. It is *possible*, therefore, that he may have gone to Rome, ἐπὶ τέλει, as Origen has it ; *but there is not the very remotest reason for such a supposition*. The latter Father informs us, that it was generally contended, St. Peter had written his first epistle, not from Babylon in Persia, but from Rome in Italy, under the symbolical name of Babylon.† Here we have the key to the whole tradition of St. Peter's sojourn and death at Rome. It rests solely on that positive error.

We say the symbolical interpretation of the date of St. Peter's first epistle is a positive error. Yet, though an anomaly in itself, it has been defended, and defended by Protestant writers too. But there are *two generally acknowledged facts*, which baffle all the most subtle arguments, and will irresistibly bear us out in our assertion :—The symbolical allusion to Rome by the name of Babylon was not known before the Revelation was written.—The first epistle of St. Peter was written before the Apocalypse. On the other hand, the symbolical allusion to Rome in the Revelation having become generally known, probably *a long time* before the presence of St. Peter at Rome is ever mentioned by the tradition, which we have seen was not the case till towards *the third century* ; we have the strongest possible reason to conclude, that the tradition derived its origin from that allusion, and from it alone. Thus we can in the most satisfactory manner account for what is otherwise altogether unaccountable : the contradictory reports of the tradition in regard to the time of St. Peter's arrival at Rome, and to the simple fact of his death, at a period, moreover, at evi-

\* Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. c. xxxvi. ; Origen ap. Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1 : Πίτρος . . . . . ἀνισκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως ἀξιώσας παθεῖν, which Rufinus translates : Crucifixus est deorsum capite demerso, quod ipse ita fieri deprecatus est, ne exaequari Domino videretur.

† His words are (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15) : Τοῦ δὲ Μάρκον μνημονεύειν τὸν Πίτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐκ' αὐτῆς 'Ρώμης' σημαίνειν τι τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πολλὴν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα διὰ τούτων ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνικλικτῇ, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου.

dent variance with his own epistles; the fabulous history of his combat with Simon the Magician, and other absurdities; and, above all, the absence of every authentic information as to his apostolic labours for a space of time of nearly twenty years, (for of the events in *Persia*, how little comes even now to our knowledge!) and *the utter ignorance of the whole Christian Church, during at least the first one hundred years after St. Peter's death, as to his ever having set his foot in Rome.* It appears to us, therefore, all but certain that St. Peter, as he chiefly, since the time of the Council of the Apostles, lived and taught, so—a martyr to his faith in Christ—he died at *Babylon*.

Thus the result of our inquiry shows, that of all the assertions on which the Church of Rome rests her claims to universal authority, not one will bear the least scrutiny; and that they are without any real foundation whatever. As to the Roman *Episcopacy* of St. Peter, it is a tradition which, in its character of a *pure fiction*, is recognised by every enlightened member even of the very Church which still upholds it as a *sacred truth*.

It then only remains for us to trace the origin of that tradition. It is well known that, in the second century, Rome was the arena of all those sectarian disputes which divided the early Church. Both the Gnostics and the Montanists vied with each other to gain over to their own peculiar views so important a body of the Christian community. Then it was that a philosopher, a member of that community, conceived the idea of putting an end to so deplorable a state of schism and incertitude. Expecting to find the Christian doctrine preserved in its primitive purity among the earliest Jewish Churches, he probably sought them out in their retirement, and among the Elkrites met with a speculative, well-developed religious system, which he judged highly qualified at once to be opposed to Paganism, and to unite the various sects of the Christians by one common tie. On his return to Rome, he composed his work *τὰ κλημένια*, which consisted of three prologues and twenty homilies, pretending to contain the long-hidden apostolical truths. With a view to meet any doubts of the authenticity of the work, which he considered likely its late appearance would raise in the minds of those for whom it was intended, he introduced it by a letter, purporting to have been written by St. Peter to St. James, and in which the latter is requested by the former to communicate his sermons exclusively to trustworthy brethren, and under the seal of secrecy upon oath.—(*Hom.* ii. 17.)

The historical apparatus of the work is otherwise simple. The author evidently mistaking Clement, third Bishop of Rome, whose memory was held in great esteem by the Roman community, for Flavius Clemens, a nephew of the Emperor Domitian,

describes him as a highly educated Roman of rank, who, in search after knowledge and truth, travels into the East, and there meets with St. Peter. But so far from representing the latter as the Prince of the Apostles, unto whom Christ himself had consigned the keys of Heaven, he altogether subordinates him to *St. James*, to whom St. Peter is accountable for every one of his actions; and it is *St. James*, who is both to him and to Clement "*the lord*" and "*the bishop of bishops.*" \* For the rest, the author represents *St. Peter*, in opposition to St. Paul, (who, not being an immediate disciple of Christ, cannot, in his opinion, be a true apostle,) as *the true apostle of the Gentiles*, and the founder and first bishop of the Church of Rome: *thus by a pure fiction, in itself altogether subversive of the subsequent pretensions of the Romish Church, laying the first foundation of those very pretensions.* The work gained much credence at Rome, and towards the year 230, was shaped into the well known "*Recognitiones Clementis*," which we still possess in the Latin translation of Rufinus.

The principal inconvenience of the "*Recognitiones*" is, their having created a plurality of first Roman bishops; St. Peter, St. Linus, and St. Clement, either of the two latter, as the case may be, preceded by Claudetus. The author of the "*Recognitiones*," in conferring the dignity of first bishop on St. Peter, is supported by *Eusebius*, (*in Chron.*), and *Jerome*, (*De Vir. Illust. c. xv.*); but the former Father (*in Hist. Eccl. iii. 2, 4*) confers it also on Linus. Herein he follows the testimony of *Irenaeus* (*adv. Hær. iii. 3*), who states, that Linus was ordained first bishop both by St. Peter and St. Paul; and by the "*Constit. Apostol.*" vii. 46, (written towards the latter end of the third century,) which have it, that he was ordained *by St. Paul alone.* *Tertullian*, on the other hand, (*De Script. Hær. c. xxxii.*) gives his suffrage in favour of Clement, ordained, according to him, by St. Peter. Which of these contradictory traditions are we to believe? It would probably be as difficult a matter for the Church of Rome to return a consistent answer to this question, as it would be a thankless office for us, were we to allude to all the various and mostly absurd conjectures by which, from the earliest times of Popery, it has been attempted to reconcile, or rather to explain those contradictions. The most plausible, but to the episcopal dignity of St. Peter, most detrimental construction put upon them, is that of Rufinus.† But the import-

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\* St. Peter writes to St. James as *τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ Ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας*, and Clement, *Ἰακώβῳ, τῷ λυρίῳ, καὶ Ἐπισκόπῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ, δίδοντι δὲ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἁγίαν Ἑβραίων ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰς πανταχῇ Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἰδρυθείσας καλῶς.*

† He says in his Preface to the "*Recogn. Clementis*": "*Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstite Petro, videlicet*



ant fact we learn from the above is, *that up to the latter part of the third century of our era, the Roman episcopacy of St. Peter was exclusively asserted by the author of the acknowledged fiction of the "Recognitiones."* It was not till the commencement of the fifth century his assertion gained general credence in the Latin Churches.

*Cyprianus* is the first Father who designates the Roman chair as "*locum Petri*," (Ep. 52,) and "*Petri cathedram*," (Ep. 55;) but, at the same time, he firmly maintains *all* bishops to be the successors of St. Peter, and probably agreed with Rufinus as to the nature of the authority said to be exercised by St. Peter during his pretended sojourn at Rome, the tradition of which had been gradually spreading since the latter end of the second century. Subsequently the works of Cyprian have been interpolated by the Romish Church in a shameful manner.\* The first Pope who claimed the distinction of being the successor of St. Peter, was Stephen (253—256, *Epist. Cypr.* 75.) During the second century, there was a general tendency observable in the Christian Churches to assimilate their institutions as much as possible to the Mosaic law. One of the effects of that tendency was, that the expression of *κλήροι*, (the flock of God,) by which St. Peter (1, v. 3,) designates the Christians generally, became soon the exclusive property of the clergy; and the

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ut illi episcopatus curam gererent, ipse vero apostolatus impleret officium." Here we have full confirmation of the basis of our general argument, but without the slightest concession made to the pretensions of the Romish Church.

\* In illustration of this, we will here quote the following passage from his work, *De Unit. Eccl.*, placing the interpolated words and sentences between brackets. He writes thus: "Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: Ego tibi dico," inquit, "quia tu es Petrus," &c. (Matt. xvi. 18, 19.) [Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit: "Pasce oves meas." (Joh. xxi. 15.) Super illum unum aedificat ecclesiam suam, et illi pascendas mandat oves suas.] et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat: "sicut misit me pater," &c. (Joh. xx. 21, 23) "tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, [unam Cathedram constituit et] unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis: sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, [et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes et grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur] ut ecclesia Christi una monstretur. Hanc ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, [qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia, deserit] in ecclesia se esse confidit? (see Rigaltii Observ. ad Cypr. p. 162, seq.; Baluzzii, notæ, 11-15, ad Lib. de Unit Eccl., and Richerii Defensio Lib. de Eccl. et Polit. Potest. i. p. 115.) Dr. Scheler does not appear to have been aware that the words quoted by him, p. 138, "*Primatus Petro datur*," &c. are an interpolation. But supposing even they were not, yet from the mouth of Cyprian they would convey a meaning very different from what the interpolators intended, as is proved by his lxxi. Ep., in which he writes thus: "Nam nec Petrus, quem *primum* Dominis elegit, et super quem ædificavit ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumsit, ut diceret. se *primatum* tenere, et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi potius oportere."

spirit of the Jewish law having once been admitted into the Christian constitution, we find the *κλῆρος*, namely, (*τοῦ Θεοῦ*) at an early period, to form a distinct and superior caste, mediating between God and man; and, in this character, to be esteemed higher than father and mother, higher than kings and princes, (Cypr. *Ep.* 55, 69, &c., *Const. Apost.* ii. 26, 33, 34.) The needy and oppressed, widows, orphans, and virgins, were dependent for assistance and protection on the bishop, (Papa, Tertull. *de Pud.* 13; *πάπα ἱερώτατος*, Gregor. Thaum. [✠ 270] *Ep. Can.* i., *Præpositus*, Cypr. *Ep.* 55,) to whose care, and that of the deacons, the whole property of the Church in their diocese was confided. (*Const. Apost.* ii. 44.) He was also, in accordance with 1 Cor. vi. 1, *seq.* and the Jewish custom, (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10, 7, and xvi. 6,) the arbitrator in all public and private differences and quarrels in his district (*Const. Apost.* ii. 45-53.)

In proportion as the number of Christians increased in the provinces, their communities, presided over by deacons, presbyters, or provincial bishops, (*χωρεπίσκοποι*), who were more or less dependent on the bishop of their capital, (*μετροπολίτης*, *metropolitanus*), raised the power and influence of the latter, partly by increasing his income, but chiefly by means of the provincial synods,\* which sprung up in consequence, and since the commencement of the third century began to be held more frequently, in some provinces every year, or even twice in the year. The Council of Nice, *Can.* v., made them a general rule. They assembled mostly in the capital of the province, and were presided over by the metropolitan bishop, whose authority over the other bishops of his district thereby gained a still firmer ground, and finally was established as a principle by the Council of Antioch, *Can.* ix. Still their power continued much circumscribed. The choice of the provincial bishop chiefly rested with the community, (Clem. Rom. *Ep.* i. 44; Cypr. *Ep.* lii. 68; Origen *in Levit. Hom.* vi. c. iii.) and the community had likewise to approve of the presbyters proposed by the bishop, before they could be ordained. Of the inferior clergy alone, had the latter the exclusive appointment. In the discharge of his duties, he had to consult not only the presbyters, (*Conc. Carth.*

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\* Their natural type was the *Κοῖνον*, Commune, i. e. the assembly of the *Civitates* of a province, represented by delegates in the metropolis, for the purpose of deliberating on the common interests. Thus we frequently find inscribed on ancient coins, *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας*, *Κοινὸν Βυθυνίας*, &c. (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.*) These assemblies, or meetings, were subsequently also called *concilium*, *provinciale concilium*, (Codex Theod. lib. xii. tit. 12,) in contradistinction of the Ecclesiastical Synod, *Conc. Nic. c. v.*, *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐπισκόπων*.

*Gen.* iv. *Can.* xxiii.; Cyprian, in many places,) but in certain cases the whole community (*Cypr. Ep.* v. xi. xiii. xvii. xxviii. xxxi.) At the same time, the bishops had already acquired too much influence to steer free of the lust of power, of covetousness, and pride. (Origen in *Exod. Homil.* xi. 6.) Even exceeding ostentation had, at so early a period, crept into the Church. Paul of Samosata, elected Bishop of Antioch in 260, was accused by the Antiochian synod, assembled against him, of drawing illegal advantages from his episcopal jurisdiction, and of imitating the civil magistracy, in having a *βῆμα καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλόν* erected for himself; and of courting applause in the churches, by waving of handkerchiefs, and clapping of hands, a custom which in the fourth century became very general. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 30.)

As regards the origin of the Christian community at Rome, there is a great variety of opinion. It has already been mentioned, that, in the reign of Claudius, the Jews were, by a public decree, expelled from the capital, according to *Orosius*, (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 6,) in the ninth year of Claudius—49, A.D.; and as *Suetonius* (*Claud. c.* 25,\*) states, that the measure was taken against them because they were continually creating disturbances at the instigation, or as the original may also be rendered, on account of one Chrestus, into which name the Greek *Χριστός* is said to have been converted by the Romans, (Tertull. *Lactant.*) it has been inferred that *Suetonius*, in the passage quoted, speaks of actual differences between Christians and Jews. But the name “Chrestus” appearing also frequently on Roman monuments, (Comp. *Heumann, Syllage, diss.* i. p. 568,) and considering above all what *St. Luke* relates, *Acts* xxviii. 17-21: we cannot share in that opinion, nor can we agree with most Biblical expositors, who assume that *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, on their arrival at Corinth from Rome, (*Acts* xviii. 2,) were already Christians. The words of *St. Luke* appear to us positively to express the contrary. But *St. Paul*, taking up his abode with them, not because they were his fellow-believers, but “because they were of the same craft,” they, no doubt, soon embraced Christianity, and, in all probability, became instrumental in sowing the first seed of their new faith in the Roman capital. When *St. Paul*, after a prolonged stay, left Corinth, *Aquila* and *Priscilla* accompanied him as far as *Ephesus*, where they remained. (*Acts* xviii. 19, comp. 26.) This was, according to our computation, in the early part of 53. About six years later we find them

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\* His words are, *Judaeos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit.*

again settled at Rome, for St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, (xvi. 3-5,) says, "Greet Aquila and Priscilla, *my helpers in Christ Jesus*; who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the church that is in their house," &c. Who, in reading these words of St. Paul, can doubt but that the Christian community at Rome, then already numerous, was planted by Aquila and Priscilla? At the earnest entreaty of St. Paul, it would appear they had returned to Rome, to spread and confirm the truths of the Gospel of Christ among its adherents in that capital, until such time as he himself should be able to visit Rome, to the end that the faithful might "be established." Hence he calls Aquila and Priscilla "his helpers in Christ Jesus;" hence he says, "they have for his life laid down their own neck," which is evidently to be taken in a proverbial sense, meaning that for "his life," the promotion of the Gospel of Christ, they have made every sacrifice, and perhaps even incurred personal danger; hence he states them to be deserving not only of his individual gratitude, but of the thanks of every Gentile church. Aquila and Priscilla, as private members of the Christian community, teaching also in private, and most likely only among their immediate friends and acquaintances, the otherwise unexplainable circumstance related in Acts xxviii. 21, 22, as well as other difficulties connected with the subject, would thus be most satisfactorily accounted for. St. Paul, on his arrival in Rome, therefore, found a fruitful soil prepared for his labours, and the Church, established and edified by him, had, on the outbreak of the Neronian persecution, grown into a large and prosperous community. Nor had that persecution, fearful and almost annihilating as it was at its commencement, the effect of at all retarding the progress of the Christian doctrine. On the contrary, the number of the faithful continued rapidly to increase, and the power and influence of the clergy increasing in proportion, the bishops of the three capitals of the Roman empire, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, holding, as they did, the most extensive aparchies, were looked upon as the greatest bishops in Christendom; and to the former a certain honorary distinction, but no real superiority was yielded. (Cypr. p. 79.)

The first instance of an undue interference on the part of the Bishops of Rome occurred in 254, in the case of the Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martialis, who, on account of the most grave offences, had been formally deposed; but on applying to Stephen, then Bishop of Rome, were by him reinstated in their office. Cyprian, however, on being hereupon requested to interfere, and although he believed Stephen to have been deceived

by the false representations of Basilides, highly disapproved of his conduct, and firmly vindicated the independence of the Church. (*Ep.* 68.)

A still more serious difference arose between the two bishops, two years later. In Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, heretics, who wished to be received into the Catholic Church, were then looked upon as unbaptized, and consequently on their admission the sacrament of baptism was administered to them in the regular form; whilst it was the custom of the Romish Church to qualify them for admission by the *gradus poenitentiae*. At that time the sect of the Novatians also had commenced to rebaptize their converts, and doubts as to the propriety of the usage began, in consequence thereof, to be felt even by some of the African bishops. A synod was convoked in 255 at Carthage, for the purpose of deliberating on the question; and a second one was held in the following year. Both, presided over by Cyprian, confirmed the traditional custom of the Africans, and by a synodical letter, (*Cypr. Ep.* 72,) this decision was communicated to the Bishop of Rome. Stephen returned an imperious, disapproving answer. Angry letters were exchanged. The Bishop of Rome dissolved the ecclesiastical communion with the African Churches. Little heeding this measure, they convoked a third synod at Carthage, (1st September 256,) and which positively confirmed their former decisions.

Firmilian, Bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, in an energetical letter, (*Cypr. Ep.* 75,) filled with bitter remarks on the *foolishness* and *arrogance* of Stephen, expressed the fullest approbation of those decisions by all the churches of his province; and Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, also conveyed to Cyprian his public and decided blame of Stephen's conduct. It is from the above letter of Firmilian, whose existence (*cod.* 26) is in every respect so highly vexatious and embarrassing to the Romish Church, that we learn the fact of Stephen's boasting himself to be the successor of St. Peter.

And here let us pause. To trace the further development of that idea into the conception of a primacy of the bishops of Rome; to sketch the various causes which, assisted by fraud and artifice, united to realize that gigantic scheme in the eleventh century, when Gregory VII., as "the infallible vicar of God on earth," raised the papal chair above all the thrones of Christendom,\* and finally turned the Church of Christ into a Roman in-

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\* Popery, some persons say, is no longer what it was or has been; no Pope, in our enlightened age would ever again attempt or think of excommunicating a sovereign prince, and of releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance, even though he had the power so to do. To such a mistaken notion of *Popery* we have

stitution, is foreign to our purpose. On the other hand, with a view to enable our readers to overlook at one glance the result of our present inquiry, we will condense it in the following table:—

Aquila and Priscilla plant the Christian faith in Rome about	A.D. 67		
St. Paul writes his epistle to the Romans towards or in the beginning of	59		
St. Paul establishes the Christian Church of Rome,	62	St. Paul the apostolical founder of the Church of Rome.	Perfect ignorance throughout the Christian world as to St. Peter having ever set his foot in Rome.
St. Luke writes the Acts of the Apostles,	64		
St. Paul suffers martyrdom at Rome, at the commencement of the Neronian persecution.	64		
The Gentile Churches in the West fall to the care of St. Peter.			
St. Peter writes his 1st epistle from Babylon, id. his 2d " about	65		
St. Peter suffers martyrdom at Babylon,	66		
St. John writes the Revelation, in which he alludes to Rome by the symbolical name of Babylon,	68		
Clement of Rome,	80-90		
Ignatius,	100		
Papias,	108		
Justin Martyr,	164		
Dionysius of Corinth,	168		
	178		
In consequence of the symbolical allusion to Rome by the name of Babylon, in the Apocalypse, the date of St. Peter's first epistle begins to be interpreted of Rome.			
The fiction of τὰ Κλημάτια is composed,	190-200	St. James, the bishop of bishops. St. Peter, first bishop of Rome. St. Linus, first bishop of Rome. St. Paul and St. Peter, founders of the Roman Church. St. Clement, first bishop of Rome. St. Peter goes to Rome to die.	The tradition of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome is developing itself, but his having been the bishop of Rome is as yet only known to the author of the fiction of the Clementines.
Irenæus,	208		
Gaius,	215		
Clement of Alexandria,	220		
The fiction of τὰ Κλημάτια is rewritten and shaped into the "Recognitiones Clementis,"	230-30		
Tertullian,	245		
Origen,	253		
Cyprian,	258		
Stephen, 23d Bishop of Rome,	253-5	is the first Roman bishop boasting himself to be the successor of St. Peter.	

The tradition of St. Peter's Roman *Episcopacy* is now beginning to gain ground.

Thus have we shown the hollowness of the *historical foundation of the Papacy*. But this is not the only result of our investigation. It leaves another, not less incontrovertible, and at the same time far more awful truth to be told. It is this:—*Up to the present day the Church of Rome, by her "Professio Fidei," demands of every one of her ministers to firmly admit and embrace upon a solemn oath on the Holy Gospel, and upon that solemn oath every one of her ministers firmly does admit and embrace—AN ACKNOWLEDGED FALSEHOOD.*

a simple answer. Let him who entertains it, look into the "*Breviarium Romanum*," and in the lesson for the 25th of May, the *saint's day of the seventh Gregory*, he will find the following passage: *Contra Henrici Imperatoris impios conatus fortis per omnia athleta impavidus permansit, seque pro muro domui Israel ponere non timuit, ac eundem Henricum, in profundum malorum prolapsum, fidelium communionis regnoque privavit, atque subditos fide ei data liberavit*; and immediately after this passage the following prayer to God: *Deus, qui b. Gregorium confessoris tui atque pontificis pro tuenda ecclesie libertate virtute constantie roborasti, da nobis, ejus exemplo et intercessionis omnia adversantia fortiter superare.*



ART. III.—*Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats*.  
Edited by RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES. London: 1848.

IN order to secure ourselves against being prejudged of injustice to the subject of this notice, we may at once state our opinion, that as surprising powers of merely sensual perception and expression are to be detected in the poems of Keats as in any others within the range of English literature. Herrick surpassed Keats, in his own way, by fits, and in a few single passages; and Chaucer has pieces of brilliant and unmixed word-painting which have no equals in our language; but the power that these great poets attained, or at least exerted, only in moments, was the common manner and easy habit of the wonderful man, who may claim the honour of having assisted more than any other writer, except Mr. Wordsworth, in the origination of the remarkable school of poetry which is yet in its vigorous youth, and exhibits indications of capabilities of unlimited expansion. We also anticipate objections that might be urged, with apparent reason, against the following remarks, by stating our conviction, that the short-comings of which we shall complain, could not have existed in the mature productions of Keats, had he lived to produce them. Indeed, as we shall presently take occasion to show, his mind, which was endowed with a power of growth almost unprecedentedly rapid, was on the eve of passing beyond the terrestrial sphere in which he had as yet moved, when death cut short his marvellous, and only just commenced, career.

To Keats, more deeply perhaps than to any poet born in Christian times,

“Life, like a dome of many coloured glass,  
Stained the white radiance of eternity.”

His mind, like Goethe's, was “lighted from below.” Not a ray of the wisdom that is from above had, as yet, illumined it.

The character of the poet, in as far as it differs from that of other men, is indeed a subject of too much importance to allow of our sacrificing this admirable occasion for extending our knowledge concerning it, to our tenderness, or to that of our readers, for the young writer of whom Mr. Monckton Milnes is at once the faithful biographer, and the eloquent apologist. Mr. Milnes will pardon us if our deductions from the data with which he has supplied us, do not wholly coincide with his own inferences. We confess that we are unable to detect, even in Keats' latest let-

ters and compositions, anything more than a strong promise of, and aspiration towards many qualities of character and genius, which Mr. Milnes regards as already numbered among the constituents of the young poet's life and power.

Extraordinary poetical genius, notwithstanding its resemblance to exuberant health, has not unfrequently been found to be connected with deeply seated disease. In most cases, the poetical power seems to have been the result of an abnormal habit of sensation.

“ We are men of ruined blood  
Thereby comes it we are wise.”

For that the consumption and insanity which have often terminated the careers of men of genius, have been not so much the consequences as the causes of their superiority, is sufficiently attested by the fact, that those diseases have been, in such cases, as in common ones, most frequently hereditary.

It is a curious medical fact, which we have heard stated by first-rate authorities, that instances are not extraordinary of families, in which, while one member has been afflicted with consumption, a second with scrofula, and a third with insanity, the fourth has been endowed with brilliant genius.

In making these remarks, we no more impugn the transcendent value which the productions of genius usually bear, than the naturalist questions the value of a precious gum, in describing it as the result of vegetable malformations or disease. Nor would we be supposed to imply an ordinary absence in the man of genius of a great general superiority of moral character, when compared with the common rank of men. Genius, however fantastical may be the form which it assumes, is, in essence, an extraordinary honesty; an honesty which too often refuses to exert itself beyond the sphere of the senses and the intellect, and which, then, in its highest energy, produces a Raphael or a Coleridge; but which, sometimes, while it purifies the senses, and perfects their expression, prevents also every incontinence of character, and carries manhood to its height in a Milton or a Michael Angelo? Minds belonging to this latter category, the aloe-blossoms of humanity, appear less than others to have been indebted to disease for their pre-eminence.

In almost every page of the work before us, the close connection between the genius of Keats and his constitutional malady pronounces itself. No comment of ours could deepen the emphasis of the following passages, taken nearly at random from the mass of similar passages, of which the letters of the young poet in great part consist.

“ I have this morning such a lethargy that I cannot write. The reason of my delaying is oftentimes from this feeling : I wait for a proper temper. I am now so depressed that I have not an idea to put to paper ; my hand feels like lead, and yet it is an unpleasant numbness ; it does not take away the pain of existence ; I don't know what to write. Monday.—You see how I have delayed—and even now I have but a confused idea of what I should be about. My intellect must be in a degenerating state ; it must be, for when I should be writing about,—God knows what, I am troubling you with moods of my own mind—or rather body—for mind there is none. I am in that temper, that if I were under water, I would scarcely kick to come to the top. I know very well this is all nonsense. In a short time, I hope I shall be in a temper to feel sensibly your mention of my book. In vain have I waited till Monday, to have any interest in that or in any thing else. I feel no spur at my brother's going to America ; and am almost stony-hearted about his wedding.”

“ I am this morning in a sort of temper, indolent, and supremely careless ; I long after a stanza or two of Thomson's ‘ Castle of Indolence ;’ my passions are all asleep from my having slumbered till nearly eleven, and weakened the animal fibre all over me to a delightful sensation,—about three degrees on this side of faintness. If I had teeth of pearl, and the breath of lilies, I should call it languor ; but as I am, I must call it laziness. The fibres of the brain are relaxed in common with the rest of the body, and to such a happy degree, that pleasure has no show of enticement, and pain no unbearable frown. Neither poetry, nor ambition, nor love, have any show of alertness of countenance as they pass by ; they seem rather three figures on a Greek vase ; a man and two women, whom no one but myself would distinguish in their disguisement. This is the only happiness ; and is a rare instance of advantage in the body overpowering the mind.”

“ I feel I must again begin with my poetry, for if I am not in action I am in pain. \* \* \* I live under an everlasting restraint, never relieved unless I am composing, so I will write away.”

“ The relief,—the feverish relief of poetry. \* \* \* This morning poetry has conquered. I have relapsed into those abstractions which are my only life. I feel escaped from a new and threatening sorrow ; and I am thankful for it. There is an awful warmth about my heart, like a load of immortality.”

“ I carry all matters to an extreme—so when I have any little cause of vexation, it grows in five minutes into a theme for Sophocles. Then, and in that temper, if I write to any friend, I have so little self-possession, that I give him time for grieving at the very time, perhaps, when I am laughing at a pun.”

“ We are still here enveloped in clouds. I lay awake last night listening to the rain, with a sense of being drowned and rotted like a grain of wheat.”

All the above passages were written long before the appearance of the acknowledged symptoms of consumption, and to us they seem to have shewn forth the end as infallibly as did the nerveless clasp of the hand, from which Coleridge predicted the early death of Keats, at an equal distance of time from its occurrence.

To theorize justly upon character is the more difficult for the extreme ease with which mere plausibilities may be put forth on the subject; and the common difficulty is greatly increased, in the present case, by the necessity of constantly distinguishing between signs of character and the products of a very peculiar physical temperament, always subject to the influence of a malady, which, in its earliest stages, is frequently so subtle as to defy detection, and to cause its identification for a long period, with the constitution that it is destroying. The case becomes still further complicated, when we take into account the periods of prostration and lethargy, which are the re-action that follows inevitably from the prodigious activity of poetical production. To give anything like a systematic view of the mind and character of Keats, is therefore more than we dare to undertake; all we can attempt is, to select the salient points of the work before us, and to present them to our readers in such juxtaposition and contrast as may seem to be best adapted to the elimination of their significance.

A co-temporary journal of respectable authority, pronounces the writings of Keats to be distinguished by two of the Miltonic characteristics of poetry, sensuousness and passion, and to be wanting in the third, simplicity. We do not think that Keats' verses are characterized remarkably by either of these qualities, in the sense in which Milton understood them, when he proclaimed his famous rule. That Keats' poems, if we except certain parts of the fragment of *Hyperion*, want simplicity, is too obvious to require proof or illustration. His verses constitute a region of eye-wearying splendour, from which all who can duly appreciate them, must feel glad to escape, after the astonishment and rapture caused by a short sojourn among them. As for sensuousness, it is an excellence which cannot thrive in the presence of sensuality; and it is by sensuality, in the broader, and not in the vulgar and degrading sense of the term, that Keats' poems are most obviously characterized. This charge, for such we admit that it is, must be substantiated; and to this object we devote our second batch of extracts. They will be, not from Keats' poems, but from his letters; since the shortest way of establishing the general prevalence of a quality in a man's writings is to shew it to have been constantly present in his personal character.

The first quotation we make is a very important one. It contains Keats' explicit testimony against himself, with regard to the quality in point. Notwithstanding the young poet's unusual honesty of character, he would probably not have made the following confession and complaint, had he not secretly, though certainly very erroneously, believed them to be a revelation of traits of which he was possessed in common with Shakspeare.

“As to the poetical character itself, (I mean that sort of which, if I am anything, I am a member, that sort distinguished from the Wordsworthian, or egotistical sublime, which is a thing *per se*, and stands alone,) it is not itself—it has no self—it is everything and nothing. It has no character; it enjoys light and shade; it lives in a gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated. It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogene. What shocks the virtuous philosopher delights theameleon poet. It does no harm from its relish of the dark side of things, any more than from its taste of the bright one, because they both end in speculation. A poet is the most unpoetical of anything in existence, because he has no identity; he is continually in for and filling some other body. The sun, the moon, the sea, and men and women, who are creatures of an impulse, are poetical, and have about them an unchangeable attribute; the poet has none, no identity; he is certainly the most unpoetical of all God's creatures. If, then, he has no self; and if I am a poet, where is the wonder that I should say, I would write no more? Might I not at that very instant have been cogitating on the characters of Saturn and Ops? It is a wretched thing to confess; but it is a very fact, that not one word I ever utter can be taken for granted as an opinion growing out of my identical nature. How can it when I have no nature? When I am in a room with people, if I am free from speculating on creations of my own brain, then, not myself goes home to myself; but the identity of every one in the room begins to press upon me, so that I am in a very little time annihilated; not only among men, but in a nursery of children it would be the same. I know not whether I make myself wholly understood; I hope enough to make you see that no dependence is to be placed on what I said that day.”

Now this want of identity, as Keats calls it, has been more or less the characteristic of artists of all kinds, who have been endowed only with the first, or sensual degree of genius. In Keats, the preponderance of this nature was, however, overwhelming, especially in the earlier portion of his career. A great revolution must have occurred in his views, if not in his character, had he lived a year or two longer than he did; but, as it happened, it was impossible that his poetry, as a general thing, should be other than sensual, or literal, and for the most part, opposed in quality to the sensuous or interpretative. We hold it to be out of the question, that Keats, with such a physical organization as

his, could have ever entirely escaped from the preponderance of sense in his character and writings; but a year or two more of reflection and emotion must have led him to the determinate and deliberate adoption of a creed of some sort or other, if it had been no other than the wretched one, that all creeds are worthless; and this would have been an immense accession to his mental power. A man without a belief is like a man without a backbone. Keats made the very common mistake of preferring the true to the good; for his rejection of all opinions was nothing more than his refusal to accept of any but such as seemed demonstrably true. Had he lived to think and feel more deeply than he did; had his thoughts and feelings been more ordinarily occupied than they were, about the interests and mysteries of the immortal spirit, despair must have chased him from the regions of indifference, Goodness would probably have asserted her superiority over formal Truth, to which she is the only guide; and, finally, commanded by her, he would have chosen some star to steer by, although compelled to do so in the full assurance that it was, at best, but an approximation to the, perhaps, undiscoverable pole of absolute verity.

Our next extract shall be one in which mere onesidedness of vision and defect of human love demand to be regarded as more than ordinary universality of mind and elevation of feeling. The letter is to his brother in America, who had recently been married:—

“Notwithstanding your happiness and your recommendations, I hope I shall never marry; though the most beautiful creature were waiting for me at the end of a journey or a walk, though the carpet were made of silk, and the curtain of the morning clouds, the chairs and sofas stuffed with cygnet’s down, the food manna, the wine beyond claret, the window opening on Windermere, I should not feel, or rather my happiness should not be so fine; and my solitude is sublime. Then, instead of what I have described, there is a sublimity to welcome me home, the roaring of the wind is my wife, and the stars through my window panes are my children. The mighty abstract idea of beauty in all things I have, stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness. An amiable wife and sweet children, I contemplate as parts of that beauty, but I must have a thousand of those beautiful particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone, than the shapes of Ethic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my spirit the office which is equivalent to a king’s bodyguard. ‘Then tragedy with sceptered pall, comes sweeping by.’ According to my state of mind I am with Achilles shouting in the trenches, or with Theocritus in the vales of Sicily, or throw my whole being into Teio-



lus, and repeating those lines, 'I wander like a lost soul along the Stygian bank, staying for waftage.' I melt into the air with a voluptuousness so delicate that I am content to be alone. Those things, combined with the opinion I have formed of the quality of women, who appear to me as children, to whom I would rather give a sugar-plum than my time, form a barrier against matrimony which I rejoice in."

Let our readers judge whether this letter indicates a mind above or below the enjoyment of domestic relationships. The most excellent notion that Keats can form to himself of a wife is "a beautiful creature," who is capable of being rendered more tempting to sense, by silken carpets, feather-stuffed sofas, Burgundy, and a lodging at Ambleside. With such views, the young poet did very well to remain contented with the roaring of the wind for his wife; but he ought not to have held up his power of being so easily satisfied, as a mark of distinction beyond those who, while they are awake to all the wonder and beauty of material nature, are cognizant likewise of the deeper and more religious worth of humanity, and alive to the "ever new delight" which arises out of woman's harmonizing contrasts with man, and out of her delicate and love-producing subordination to him.

A short period before his death, Keats fell violently in love. In his letters we have a few vivid glimpses of the young lady. Here are two which shew that the lover was faithful to what seems to have been his ideal, at the time when he was "fancy free."

"She is not a Cleopatra, but at least a Charmian; she has a rich eastern look, she has fine eyes and manners, when she comes into the room she makes the same impression as the beauty of a leopardess; she is too fine and conscious of herself to repulse any man that may address her, from habit she thinks that *nothing particular*; I always find myself more at ease with such a woman."

"She is a fine thing, speaking in a worldly way, for there are two distinct tempers of mind in which we judge of things—the worldly, theatrical, and pantomimical, and the unearthly, spiritual, and ethereal. In the former, Buonaparte, Lord Byron, and the Charmian, hold the first place in our minds. In the latter, John Howard, Bishop Hooker rocking his child's cradle, and you, my dear sister, are the conquering feelings. As a man of the world, I love the rich talk of a Charmian; as an eternal being, I love the thought of you. I should like her to ruin me, and I should like you to save me."

This last sentence though it sounds very like nonsense, is, nevertheless, an important one. It is obvious that when Keats wrote it, the first alternative would have seemed preferable to

the second. Indeed, his subsequent story shews beyond doubt that "the worldly, theatrical, and pantomimical," vastly outweighed, in the poet's practical estimation, the "unearthly, spiritual, and ethereal." "This Charmian," whatever the fair qualities of mind and heart of which she may have been possessed, soon engrossed the whole of Keats' being, simply by the peculiar character of her personal attractions.

Mr. Milnes has perceived the liability of Keats' nature to the charge that we are now making against it, and he defends him upon the plea of youth, and an ardent temperament. Could we have convinced ourselves of the validity of this plea, our readers should have heard nothing of the present complaint; but we are persuaded that the quality under discussion was vitally inherent in the nature of Keats; that is to say, that it not only affected his life and writings, but entered into his ideal of what was desirable. A man is to be judged not so much by what he outwardly is, as by what he wishes to become. Let Keats be judged out of his own mouth: "I have been hovering for some time between an exquisite sense of the luxurious and a love for philosophy. *Were I calculated for the former, I should be glad*; but as I am not" (his health was then breaking down) "I shall turn all my soul to the latter."

Mr. Milnes tells us that—

"Keats' health does not seem to have prevented him from indulging somewhat in that dissipation which is the natural outlet for the young energies of ardent temperaments, unconscious of how scanty a portion of vital strength had been allotted to him; but a strictly regulated and abstinent life would have appeared to him pedantic and sentimental. He did not, however, to any serious extent, allow wine to usurp on his intellect, or games of chance to impair his means, for in his letters to his brothers he speaks of having drank too much as of a piece of rare jovialty," &c.

We repeat, that we do not believe Keats' dissipation, such as it was, to have been the spontaneous outbreak of the "young energies of an ardent temperament." To us, Keats seems to have pursued the pleasures and temptations of sense, rather than to have been pursued by them. We often find him feasting coolly over the imagination of sensual enjoyment. "Talking of pleasure, this moment I was writing with one hand, and with the other holding to my mouth a nectarine. Good God! how fine! it went down soft, pulpy, slushy, oozy—all its delicious embonpoint melted down my throat like a large beatified strawberry." He sometimes aspires to be thought a tippler, gamester, &c., but it is with the air of an unripe boy, awkwardly feigning the irregularities of a man.

We have not noticed one-fourth of the passages which we had marked for quotation, as corroborating our views upon this point ; but one proof is as good as a thousand, and we are glad to turn from this part of our task to the more agreeable duty of shewing the truth of our assertion that the mind of Keats, before its withdrawal from the world, was upon the eve of a great intellectual and moral alteration.

It must be remembered that our present purpose is to examine the character of Keats, solely in order to the illustration of his poetry, and of the species of poetry to which it belongs. Otherwise we should have gone more fully into the circumstances whereby the moral agency of young Keats is partly unburthened of the responsibility of much temporarily defective feeling, and erroneous thought. As it is, we can only take a hasty glance at two or three of those circumstances. "His mother, a lively and intelligent woman, was supposed to have prematurely hastened the birth of John *by her passionate love of amusement*, though his constitution at first gave no signs of the peculiar debility of a *seventh month's child*." Keats was, moreover, unfortunate, we venture to think, in some of the friends, who by their powers and their reputations were calculated to exert the greatest influence upon him, at the most susceptible period of his life. Extremely clever, "self-educated" men are not often otherwise than very ill adapted to form the standard of moral taste in a young man, unless, indeed, it be by antagonism. We fancy that we hear the voice of some of Keats' distinguished preceptors, in such sentences as the following, "Failings I am always rather rejoiced to find in a man than sorry for it, they bring us to a level." John Keats was, however, so vastly superior to even the most gifted of his really intimate friends, that their influence, as far as it was undesirable, could not have endured. It was, in fact, rapidly waning, when he was removed from its sphere by his visit to Italy. Here are a few glimpses of an emphatically transitional state :—

"I have, of late, been moulting, not for fresh feathers and wings ; they are gone ; and in their stead I hope to have a pair of sublunary legs. I have altered not from a chrysalis into a butterfly, but the contrary."

"The most unhappy hours in our lives are those in which we recollect times past to our own blushing. If we are immortal, that must be the hell. If I must be immortal, I hope it will be after taking a little of 'that watery labyrinth,' in order to forget some of my schoolboy days, and others since then."

"A year ago I could not understand in the slightest degree Raphael's cartoons ; now I begin to read them a little."

“From the time you left us our friends say I have altered so completely I am not like the same person. \* \* \* Some think I have lost that poetic fire and ardour they say I once had; the fact is, I perhaps have, but instead of that I hope I shall substitute a more thoughtful and quiet power. I am more contented to read and think, but am seldom haunted with ambitious thoughts. I am scarcely contented to write the best verses for the fever they leave behind. I want to compose this without fever: I hope I shall one day.”

The following sentences are addressed to his friend Mr. J. K. Reynolds:—

“One of the first pleasures I look to is your happy marriage—the more so since I have felt the pleasure of loving a sister-in-law. I did not think it possible to become so much attached in so short a time; *things like these, and they are real, have made me resolve to have a care of my health.*” \* \* \* “We can see horribly clear, in the works of such a man, (Burns,) his whole life, as if we were God’s spies. \* \* \* What were his addresses to Jean in the latter part of his life, I should not speak to you—yet why not? You are not in the same case—you are in the right path, and you shall not be deceived. I have spoken to you against marriage, but it was general. The prospect to me, in those matters, has been so blank that I have not been unwilling to die.”

These words, it is true, were written before the “Charmian” fever overtook him, but they are enough to show that it must have been a fever only, and not the final decision and devotion of his being. The next quotation we make is very curious,—

“I said if there were three things superior in the modern world they were ‘The Excursion,’ ‘Haydon’s Pictures,’ and ‘Hazlitt’s Depth of Taste.’ Not thus speaking with any poor vanity that works of genius were the first things in this world. No! for that sort of probity and disinterestedness that such men as Bailey possess, does hold and grasp the tip-top of any spiritual honours that can be paid to anything in this world; and, moreover, having this feeling at this present come over me in its full force, I sat down to write to you with a grateful heart in that I had not a brother who did not feel and credit me for a deeper feeling and devotion for his uprightness than for any mark of genius however splendid.”

This is a peculiarly uncomfortable passage. It is the phrase of a man who has abandoned a lower order of thought and feeling without having attained anything more than a foretaste of the higher order for which the sacrifice has been made. “The Excursion” looks as if it did not well know what to do in the novel society of “Haydon’s Pictures” and “Hazlitt’s Depth of Taste,” and the morality of the passage is uneasily arrayed in

the self-conscious and somewhat melo-dramatic sublimity of the wording; such phrases as, "*Does hold and grasp* the tip-top of any spiritual honours," and "*in that* I had not a brother," &c., being assuredly very unusual modes of language when employed in the enunciation of the ordinary truth,—that an honest man is the noblest work of God.

The next, and the longest quotation we shall make, is valuable on its own account, as well as for the manner in which it illustrates the transitional and improving condition of Keats' mind. In it Keats falls into the vulgar impiety of juxta-posing our Saviour and Socrates, but we fancy that there is also in it an earnestness of heart, an inquisitiveness of intellect, and a deep thirst for, and even foretaste of, a higher region of existence than had as yet been attained by the writer; all of which, working together, must ere long have awakened him to a perception of the weakness of much that he was mistaking for strength, to a knowledge of the ruinous falsehood and real narrow-mindedness of views which he had as yet maintained with a complacent faith in the liberality they conferred upon their holders, and to a conviction of the necessity of meekly submitting all his faculties to an external oracle, if it were only in order to their complete artistical cultivation.

"I have this moment received a note from Haslam, in which he writes that he expects the death of his father, who has been for some time in a state of insensibility; I shall go to town to-morrow to see him. This is the world—thus we cannot expect to give away many hours to pleasure; circumstances are like clouds, continually gathering and bursting, while we are laughing. The seed of trouble is put into the wide arable land of events; while we are laughing it sprouts, it grows, and suddenly bears a poisonous fruit which we must pluck. Even so we have leisure to reason on the misfortunes of our friends; our own touch us too nearly for words. Very few men have ever arrived at a complete disinterestedness of mind—very few have been interested by a pure desire of the benefit of others. In the greater part of the benefactors of humanity some meretricious motive has sullied their greatness, some melo-dramatic scenery has fascinated them. From the manner in which I feel Haslam's misfortune I perceive how far I am from any humble standard of disinterestedness; yet this feeling ought to be carried to its highest pitch, as there is no fear of its ever injuring society. In wild nature the hawk would lose his breakfast of robins, and the robin his of worms; the lion must starve as well as the swallow. The greater part of men make their way with the same instinctiveness, the same unwandering eye from their purposes, the same animal eagerness as the hawk; the hawk wants a mate, so does man: look at them both, they set about it and procure one in the same manner; they want both a nest—they both set about one in the same manner. The noble animal

man for his amusement smokes a pipe, the hawk balances about the clouds; that is the only difference of their leisures. This it is that makes the amusement of life to a speculative mind. I go among the fields and catch a glimpse of a stoat or a field-mouse peeping out of the withered grass; the creature hath a purpose, and his eyes are bright with it. I go amongst the buildings of a city, I see a man hurrying along—to what? the creature hath a purpose, and his eyes are bright with it. But then, as Wordsworth says, ‘we have all a human heart.’ There is an electric fire in human nature tending to purify, so that among these human creatures there is continually some birth of new heroism. The pity is that we must wonder at it as we should at finding a pearl in rubbish. I have no doubt that thousands of people never heard of have had hearts completely disinterested. I can remember but two: Socrates and Jesus. Their histories evince it. What I heard Taylor observe with respect to Socrates may be said of Jesus—that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have his mind and his sayings and his greatness handed to us by others. Even here, though I am pursuing the same instinctive course as the veriest animal you can think of, I am, however, young, and writing at random; straining after particles of light in the midst of a great darkness, without knowing the bearing of any one assertion, of any one opinion. Yet in this may I not be free from sin, may there not be superior beings amused with any graceful, though instinctive attitude my mind may fall into, as I am entertained with the alertness of the stoat or the dexterity of the deer? Though a quarrel in the streets is a thing to be hated, the energies displayed in it are fine; the commonest man shows a grace in his quarrel. By a superior being our reasonings may take the same tone; though erroneous, they may be fine. This is the very thing in which consists poetry, and if so, it is not so fine a thing as philosophy, for the same reason as an eagle is not so fine a thing as truth. Give me this credit—do you not think I strive to know myself? Give me this credit, and you will not think that on my own account I repeat the lines of Milton—

‘How charming is divine philosophy,  
Nor harsh nor crabbed as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo’s lute.’

“No, not for myself, feeling grateful as I do to have got into a state of mind to relish them properly. Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced; even a proverb is no proverb to you till life has illustrated it. I am afraid that your anxiety for me leads you to fear the violence of my temperament, continually smothered down; for that reason I did not intend to have sent you the following sonnet, but look over the two last pages, and see if I have not that in me which will bear the buffets of the world. It will be the best comment on my sonnet; it will show you that it was written with no agony, but that of ignorance; with no thirst, but that of knowledge



when pushed to the point; though the first steps to it were through my human passions, they went away, and I wrote with my mind, and perhaps, I may confess, a little bit of my heart.

“ Why did I laugh to-night? no voice will tell,  
No god, no demon of severe response,  
Deigns to reply from heaven or from hell:  
Then to my human heart I turn at once—  
Heart! thou and I are here, sad and alone;  
I say, wherefore did I laugh?—Oh! mortal pain!  
Oh darkness! darkness, ever must I moan  
To question heaven and hell and heart in vain—  
Why did I laugh? I know this being’s lease  
My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads,  
Yet could I on this very midnight cease,  
And the world’s gaudy ensigns see in shreds;  
Verse, fame, and beauty, are intense indeed,  
But death intenser, death is life’s high meed.”

“ I went to bed and enjoyed an uninterrupted sleep.”

The above sonnet is remarkably fine and of extreme interest. “The cloudy porch that opens on the sun” of Christianity is often made up of such misgivings as are therein expressed. The entire passage is valuable, moreover, as an illustration of the laborious introspection which must have been constantly exercised by the mind of Keats. This introspection or self-consciousness is a very important element of the discipline which every great artist has probably at some time or other undergone, and it is a feature which deserves attentive consideration here, inasmuch as with the peculiar order of poets to which Keats must be said to have belonged, at least up to the time of the composition of “Hyperion,” such self-consciousness becomes an integral portion of the effect, instead of remaining in the background as a subordinated mean of obtaining it. Concerning this characteristic of Keats’ poetry we shall presently speak more at large. As a trait of the young poet’s personal character, this habitual self-contemplation accounts for the apparent want of heart which sometimes repels us in his letters, and which seems to have rendered precarious such of his friendships as were not founded upon one side or the other, in hero-worship. Lastly, of this fragment of a hasty letter it is to be observed, that while for novelty of isolated thoughts and picturesqueness of expression it has scarcely an equal among the brilliant and laboured products of the modern negative and transcendental Socinian school, it is also distinguished from these products by a degree of consecutiveness and integrity which, two or three years later, must have proved

fatal to the maintenance of the philosophy wherewith those qualities are here associated.

The following are a few interesting glimpses of his feelings with regard to his own productions, of his profound sense of the importance of his vocation, and the magnitude of his task, and of his ordinary habits of composition and preparation for composition :—

“ I begin to get a little acquainted with my own strength and weakness. Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on a man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic of his own works. My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what Blackwood or the Quarterly could possibly inflict; and also, when I feel I am right no external praise can give me such a glow as my own solitary perception and ratification of what is fine. T. S. is perfectly right in regard to the slip-shod *Endymion*. That it is so is no fault of mine. No! though it may seem a little paradoxical, it is as good as I had power to make it—by myself. Had I been nervous about its being a perfect poem, and with that view asked advice and trembled over every page, it would not have been written, for it is not in my nature to fumble. I will write independently. I have written independently without judgment; I may write independently and with judgment hereafter. The genius of poetry must work out its own salvation in a man; it cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself. In *Endymion* I leaped headlong into the sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had strayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice. I was never afraid of failure, for I would rather fail than not be among the greatest.”

“ I have copied my fourth book of *Endymion*, and shall write the preface soon; I wish it was all done, for I want to forget it and be free for something new.”

“ The little dramatic skill I may as yet have, however badly it might show in a drama, would, I think, be sufficient for a poem. I want to diffuse the colouring of *St. Agnes' Eve* throughout a poem in which character and sentiment would be the figures to such drapery. Two or three such poems, if God should spare me, *written in the course of the next six years*, would be a famous *gradus ad Parnassum altissimum*; I mean they would nerve me up to the writing of a few fine plays—my greatest ambition when I do feel ambitious, which, I am sorry to say, is very seldom.”

“ I was proposing to travel over the north this summer; there is but one thing to prevent me. I know nothing, I have read nothing, and I mean to follow Solomon's directions of—‘ Get learning and get understanding.’ I find earlier days are gone by; I find I can have no enjoyment in the world but continual drinking of knowledge; I find there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good for

the world ; some do it with their society—some with their wit—some with their benevolence—some with a sort of power of conferring pleasure and good humour on all they meet, and in a thousand ways all dutiful to the command of great Nature. There is but one way for me : the road lies through application, study, and thought ; I will pursue it, and for that end purpose retiring for some years.”

“ I should not have consented to these four months’ tramping in the Highlands, but that I thought it would give me more experience, rub off more prejudice, use me to more hardship, identify finer scenes, load me with grander mountains, and strengthen more my reach in poetry, than would stopping at home among books, even though I should reach Homer.”

“ In poetry I have a few axioms, and you will see how far I am from their centre. 1st, I think poetry should surprise by a fine excess, and not by singularity ; it should strike the reader as the wording of his own highest thoughts, and appear almost a remembrance. 2d, Its touches of beauty should never be half-way, thereby making the reader breathless, instead of content. The rise, the progress, the setting of imagery should, like the sun, come natural to him, shine over him, and set soberly, although in magnificence, leaving him in the luxury of twilight. But it is easier to think what Poetry should be than to write it,” &c.

It would have been difficult to hope too much of a man who had done so much as Keats, and who thought so little of it. We must distinguish between a man’s confidence in his powers and his valuation of their products. A confidence in his own power is the half of power ; whereas an overweening admiration of its results is the surest check upon its further development and exercise. “ Extol not thy *deeds* in the counsel of thine own heart, (for thus) thou shalt eat up thy leaves and lose thy fruit, and leave thyself as a dry tree,” is a precept no less important to the artist than to the moralist—if, indeed, in courtesy to an established error, we still speak of them as two. Keats’ confidence in his capacity seems to have had no limit ; but we would not hazard the opinion that the first was disproportioned to the last. The severe and subtle critic Coleridge, is known to have regarded the promise exhibited by Keats as something exorbitant, unprecedented, and amazing ; although it must be admitted that, judging from what remains to us of his opinions, he seems to have looked upon that promise as being rather gigantic to sense than spiritually great.

From the above passages we also gather that Keats was not likely to have failed for lack of diligence or ambition. “ The sciences,” writes Lord Bacon, “ have been much hurt by pusillanimity, and the slenderness of the tasks men have proposed themselves.” This is equally true of the arts, although the truth

may not be equally apparent. Artists, indeed, have often proposed to themselves great subjects, but they have too often neglected to make great tasks of them. This would not have been the case with Keats, who, we see, looked upon six years' practice of expression, after he had already spent several years at it, and had attained therein to astonishing excellence, as a moderate apprenticeship to the Muses, and a necessary completion of his poetical minority.

"His life is in his writings, and his poems are his works indeed," says Mr. Milnes of the poet; and with especial truth, of Keats. The external events of his history were not remarkable, and may be given in few words. His father was a person in the employ of Mr. Jennings, "the proprietor of large livery stables on the Pavement in Moorfields." His mother was the daughter of Mr. Jennings; he had two brothers and a sister. The three brothers seem, in their boyhood, which was spent at a good second class school, to have been chiefly notable for their attachment to pugilistic amusements. John's "indifference to be thought well of as a good boy," was as remarkable as his facility in getting through the daily tasks of the school, which never seemed to occupy his attention, but in which he was never behind the others. His skill in all manly exercises, and the perfect generosity of his disposition, made him extremely popular. "After remaining some time at school, his intellectual ambition suddenly developed itself; he determined to carry off all the first prizes in literature, and he succeeded." He left school, however, with "little Latin and less Greek." The twelve books of the *Æneid* seem to have constituted the bulk of his Latin reading. His acquaintance with the Greek Mythology, of which he afterwards made such abundant use, was derived chiefly from "Lemprière's Dictionary." His parents both died while he was young, and his share of the property left by them amounted to about two thousand pounds; enough to have kept any one but a poet out of pressing pecuniary difficulty for some time; but we hear of Keats being obliged to borrow money soon after he had attained his majority.

On leaving school, John, without having his wishes consulted, was apprenticed by his guardian to a surgeon at Edmonton, where Mr. Cowden Clark became his neighbour and friend. Mr. Clark introduced him to the poet Spenser, whose writings at once exerted the most powerful, and as the readers of Keats know, the most lasting effect upon the mind of the embryo poet. Chaucer was his next passion, and for a short period he seems to have been pleased with the writings of Lord Byron. In 1817, Keats, being just then come of age, published his first volume of

poems, which exhibited much of unmistakeable promise, and some performance. His most palpable acquisition in consequence of this publication was the acquaintance of Leigh Hunt, Shelley, Haydon, Godwin, Basil Montague, Hazlitt, and some others of distinguished literary standing. This first volume attracted little or no attention from the Reviewers. The nature of the reception of his second publication, "Endymion," is well known, although happily for the credit of poets, it turns out that the reading public has been grossly mistaken in the effect which, somehow or other, has been stupidly supposed to have been produced upon Keats by that reception. John Keats died of inevitable consumption; and the book before us proves past doubt that Blackwood and the Quarterly Review have not the dishonour of having hastened the poet's death by one day. Visits to Scotland, Devonshire, and the Isle of Wight, were made by Keats during the years 1817 and 1818. In 1819, the great "event" of his life began to transpire; we mean the love-affair, of which something has already been said. Concerning this matter we have very few details, and from what we can gather it seems that the emotion did not arrive at its height until Keats was removed from its cause, by his journey to Italy in the autumn of 1820. We quote the following letter, less for its own deep and almost terribly painful interest than because it shows that Keats, contrary to what might be supposed by his writings, was capable of an intense passion, and that he had, therefore, within him what must subsequently have given his poetry a significance and substance that are not to be found in the works which he lived to produce:—

"NAPLES, Nov. 1, 1820.

"MY DEAR BROWN,—Yesterday we were let out of quarantine, during which my health suffered more from bad air and the stifled cabin than it had done the whole voyage. The fresh air revived me a little, and I hope I am well enough this morning to write you a short calm letter—if that may be called one in which I am afraid to speak of what I would fainest dwell upon. As I have gone thus far into it, I must go on a little; perhaps it may relieve the load of wretchedness that presses upon me. The persuasion that I shall see her no more, will kill me. My dear Brown, I should have had her when I was in health, and I should have remained well. I can bear to die—I cannot bear to leave her. Oh God! God! God! everything I have in my trunks that reminds me of her goes through me like a spear. The silk-lining she put in my travelling cap scalds my head. My imagination is horribly vivid about her: I see her—I hear her. There is nothing in the world of sufficient interest to divert me from her for a moment. This was the case when I was in England. I cannot recollect, without shuddering, the time that I was a prisoner

at Hunt's, and used to keep my eyes fixed on Hampstead all day. Then there was a good hope of seeing her again. Now! Oh that I could be buried near where she lives! I am afraid to write to her—to receive a letter from her; to see her hand-writing would break my heart—even to hear of her any how, to see her name written, would be more than I can bear. My dear Brown, what am I to do? where can I look for consolation or ease? If I had any chance of recovery, this passion would kill me. Indeed, through the whole of my illness, both at your house and at Kentish Town, this fever has never ceased wearing me out. When you write, which you will do immediately, write to Rome, (*poste restante*,) if she is well and happy, put a mark thus +; if— \* \* \* \*

“My dear Brown, for my sake, be her advocate for ever. I cannot say a word about Naples; I do not feel at all concerned in the thousand novelties around me; I am afraid to write to her. I should like her to know that I do not forget her. Oh! Brown, I have coals of fire in my breast: it surprises me that the human heart is capable of bearing and containing so much misery. Was I born for this end? God bless her, and her mother, and my sister, and George and his wife, and you, and all!”

The closing scenes of Keats' life are given in the most vivid and heart-rending manner, by the letters of Keats, and of his friend Mr. Severn, the artist, who was with him to the last hour, and who devoted himself to the dying poet in a way that deserves the renown which Mr. Milnes' record will confer upon him. But upon these scenes we willingly drop the curtain, for the painfulness of them is unmingled.

The “Remains,” which occupy the greater part of Mr. Milnes' second volume, are of great interest, as illustrating the growth, and suggesting the limits of the poet's power; but they are, for the most part, of little permanent literary value. Before we speak of them in detail, we shall make a few remarks upon some unexamined peculiarities of that school of modern poetry which is best represented by Keats; namely, the sensual and self-conscious. This school has been the offspring of that extraordinary cultivation of the critical faculties which is the grand distinguishing characteristic of our times.

It would be manifest upon reflection, if we did not know the fact from history, that the best periods of art and criticism are never coincident. The critical period is as necessarily subsequent to the best period of the art or arts criticised, as the artistical age is necessarily subsequent to, and not coincident with the age of the emotion, which is by art depicted and embalmed. Great results of art have always been the product of the general movement of a nation or a time; and such a movement could



not possibly co-exist in its integrity with that advanced stage of the development of consciousness, which is the first requisite of a profound criticism. An analytical spirit, fatal to the production, though conducive, under certain circumstances, to the enjoyment of the highest art, is the life of criticism. Criticism, in modern times, has attained to an unprecedented excellence; and this has been the result of an unprecedented development of consciousness. Into the question of the general absence of faith, which is the cause, and too often the consequence of such consciousness, we must not enter, although it is closely allied to our subject. The habit of consciousness exists, and we should make the best of it. We are fully aware of its many evils, and of the desirableness of a revolution in the spirit of the time; and we are persuaded that that spirit is essentially self-destructive; but it must become more conscious before it can become less so; let us not, then, endeavour to stifle the critical spirit, which now everywhere prevails; that would not be the way to amend: *on ne retrograde point vers le bien*: the work which is on hand, though, for the time, we should have been happier and better had it never commenced, must now be finished: Nature, man and his works and his history are undergoing an examination, which is being prosecuted with amazing diligence and insight; the heat of the investigation will not cease while the fuel lasts; but that cannot be for ever; the critical spirit must turn at length to self-examination; the necessity of doing something more than contemplating that which has been done will be seen and felt; and it is confidently to be hoped that the world will then advance anew, and with steadier and straighter steps, for the long pause which will have been taken by it, in order to view and understand the direction and validity of all its former ways.

Although the same period cannot be at once critical and artistical in the highest degree, criticism and true art are, nevertheless, by no means incompatible with each other, up to a certain point. Wordsworth, Goethe, and Coleridge, have been the offspring of our intensely critical era; and there are few, we imagine, who would at present venture to deny the claim of these poets to a high place among the poets who are for all time. Nor have these writers, by any accident of retirement or peculiar studies, been withdrawn from the influence of the prevailing spirit; they themselves have performed the part generally taken by the first poets of the age; they themselves have been the leading instruments of the age's tendency; and, as such, they have acquired a peculiarity which is worthy of our notice: they seem to have attained to the limits of the critical region of the mind, to have beheld the promised land beyond, and to have become inspired by the prospect; so that it is true generally of the best poets of

later years, that their Muse has been the daughter of Hope, and not of Memory. The published works of Keats seem indeed to constitute an exception to this remark : we have, however, read an interesting fragment of his which enables us to deny the exceptional nature of this case. The fragment, which we regret that Mr. Milnes has not printed, consists of a kind of introduction to *Hyperion*, in which Keats, in the name of the world, bids farewell to the Grecian Mythology, *and to its spirit*. There is no document to inform us, and it is difficult to judge from the fragment itself, whether it was written before or after the publication of that part of *Hyperion* which is in the possession of the public. The question of time, however, does not affect the interest of this production as showing that Keats had begun to feel the necessity of looking to the future for his subject and inspiration.

To take up the thread of our subject where we dropped it, to run our eye over the life of Keats—By the word sensual, when we apply it to an entire school of poetry, we wish to be understood as speaking of a separate activity of sense, whatever may be the sphere in which it acts. The effect of sensuousness is produced when a strong passion of the mind finds its adequate expression in strong imagery of the senses. Deduct the passion, and you destroy the *sensuous*, and leave the *sensual*. Sensuousness, in an entire poem, is rhythm, or harmony ; according as the poem is narrative and continuous, or picturesque and dramatic. Take away the passion, and the separate images, constituting, with their connexion, the general rhythmus or harmony, drop as beads from a string, into an inorganic heap, or lie, as beads when the string is more carefully withdrawn, in an order which seems vital only so long as it is unexamined.

Such a piece of inorganism is the following “Ode to Apollo,” which we extract from the “Remains,” not because it is the best of them, but because it will best serve our purpose :—

“In thy western halls of gold,  
 When thou sittest in thy state,  
 Bards that erst sublimely told  
 Heroic deeds, and sang of fate,  
 With fervour seized their adamantyne lyres,  
 Whose chords are solid rays and twinkle radiant fires.

“Here Homer with his nervous arms  
 Strikes the twanging harp of war,  
 And even the western splendour warms,  
 While the trumpets sound afar.  
 But what creates the most intense surprise,  
 His soul looks out through renovated eyes.

“ Then through thy temple wide, melodious swells  
The sweet majestic tone of Maro’s lyre ;  
The soul delighted on each accent dwells,—  
Enraptured dwells,—not daring to respire,  
The while he tells of grief around a funeral pyre.

“ ’Tis awful silence then again,  
Expectant stand the spheres ;  
Breathless the laurell’d peers,  
Nor move, till ends the lofty strain,  
Nor move till Milton’s tuneful thunders cease,  
And leave, once more, the ravished heavens in peace.

“ Thou biddest Shakespere wave his hand,  
And quickly forward spring  
The passions—a terrific band—  
And each vibrates the string  
That with its tyrant temper best accords,  
While from their master’s lips pour forth the inspiring words.

“ A silver trumpet Spenser blows,  
And as its martial notes to silence fly,  
From a virgin chorus flows  
A hymn in praise of spotless chastity.  
’Tis still ! wild warblings from the Æolian lyre  
Enchantments softly breathe, and tremblingly expire.

“ Next thy Tasso’s ardent numbers  
Float along the pleased air,  
Calling youth from idle slumbers,  
Rousing them from pleasure’s lair :  
Then o’er the strings his fingers gently move,  
And melts the soul to pity and to love.

“ But when *thou* joinest with the nine,  
And all the powers of song combine,  
We listen here on earth ;  
The dying tones that fill the air,  
And charm the ear of evening fair,  
From thee, great god of bards, receive their heavenly birth.”

We have chosen the above collocation of images for our first illustration, chiefly because it pairs well, as far as subject and mere command of language go, with another poem, which we give from an unpublished manuscript of Thomas Taylor, the translator of Plato, and which, besides being a fine example of passionate impetus and admirable harmony of thought, is very characteristic of the feelings and opinions of its eccentric author:

## TO THE RISING SUN.

- “ See ! how with thundering fiery feet  
Sol’s ardent steeds the barriers beat,  
That bar their radiant way ;  
Yoked by the circling hours they stand,  
Impatient at the god’s command  
To bear the car of day.
- “ See ! led by Morn, with dewy feet,  
Apollo mounts his golden seat,  
Replete with sevenfold fire ; \*  
While, dazzled by his conquering light,  
Heaven’s glittering host and awful night  
Submissively retire.
- “ See ! clothed with majesty and strength,  
Through sacred light’s wide gates, at length  
The god exulting spring :  
While lesser deities around,  
And demon powers his praise resound,  
And hail their matchless king !
- “ Through the dark portals of the deep  
The foaming steeds now furious leap,  
And thunder up the sky.  
The god to strains now tunes his lyre,  
Which nature’s harmony inspire,  
And ravish as they fly.
- “ Ev’n dreadful Hyle’s sea profound  
Feels the enchanting conquering sound,  
And boils with rage no more ;  
The World’s dark boundary, Tart’rus hears,  
And life-inspiring strains reveres,  
And stills its wild uproar.
- “ And while through heaven the god sublime  
Triumphant rides, see reverend Time  
Fast by his chariot run :  
Observant of the fiery steeds,  
Silent the hoary king proceeds,  
And hymns his parent Sun.

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\* That is, with his own proper fire, and with the fire of the other planets.

“ See ! as he comes, with general voice :  
All Nature’s living tribes rejoice,  
And own him as their king.  
Ev’n rugged rocks their heads advance,  
And forests on the mountains dance,  
And hills and valleys sing.

“ See ! while his beauteous glittering feet  
In mystic measures ether beat ;  
Enchanting to the sight,  
Pæan,\* whose genial locks diffuse  
Life-bearing health, ambrosial dew  
Exulting springs to light.

“ Lo ! as he comes, in Heaven’s array,  
And scattering wide the blaze of day,  
Lifts high his scourge of fire.  
Fierce demons that in darkness dwell,  
Foes of our race, and dogs of Hell,  
Dread its avenging ire.

“ Hail ! crowned with light, creation’s king !  
Be mine the task thy praise to sing,  
And vindicate thy might ;  
Thy honours spread through barb’rous climes,  
Ages unborn, and impious times,  
And realms involved in night.”

In its phraseology and its separate images, this fine poem is about on a level with the foregoing “ Ode :” but there is a charm in Taylor’s effusion which is wholly wanting in the verses of Keats. Taylor believed what he was writing ; he was, as most of our readers are aware, a light-worshipper, and was in this poem pouring forth real idolatry to the sun. His feeling taught him secrets of the poet’s art, which were not revealed to the lazy labour of Keats, in his lines about Apollo. The frequently repeated and splendidly effective “ See !” was the true and inimitable suggestion of sincere emotion, as is proved by the otherwise inartificial character of the poem ; the alliteration with which the poem abounds is evidently the unconscious effect of passion ; the music is occasionally exquisite ; there are no more beautiful eight syllables in this respect in English poetry than those which constitute the second line of the eighth stanza ; and these are all

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\* A name of Apollo.

of them excellencies which have rarely been arrived at by a poet of the sensual school, however highly cultivated may have been his peculiar faculties.

The characteristic beauties of the sensual school are now so very generally appreciated, that we shall be doing the cause of English poetry the best service in our power by dwelling here almost exclusively upon its less obvious, though still more characteristic faults. Among the principal of these are, imperfect artistical construction, extreme literalness of expression, defective perception of true harmony, and, as a consequence of the last, unskilfulness in the choice and management of metres, and incapacity for the invention of them.

We know not of a single fine measure that is to be attributed to the poets of this order; on the other hand, they have produced a multiplicity of metres which are wholly wanting in law and meaning, and of which the existence can be accounted for only by supposing that the arrangement of rhymes, and of the varying numbers of feet in the lines, arising in the composition of the first few verses, because negligently fixed upon as the form of stanza for the whole poem. The only striking proof of the existence of true metrical power in Keats, seems to us to occur in the measure of a little, and almost unknown poem, called "*La belle Dame sans merci*," which appeared first in one of Mr. Leigh Hunt's weekly publications, and is reprinted now in the "*Remains*." This poem is, indeed, among the most mark-worthy of the productions of Keats; besides being good and original in metre, it is simple, passionate, sensuous, and, above all, truly musical.

Concerning the extreme self-consciousness which characterized Keats, and shewed itself in his poems, we have only space to remark, that this quality was the chief cause of the excess of sense over sentiment, of which we have complained, and to adduce the following additional documentary proof of the existence of this self-consciousness in Keats' habits of thought:—"I think a little change has taken place in my intellect lately. I cannot bear to be uninterested or unemployed; I, who for a long time have been addicted to passiveness. Nothing is finer for the purposes of great productions than a very gradual ripening of the intellectual powers. As an instance of this, observe, I sat down yesterday to read *King Lear* once again. The thing appeared to demand the prologue of a sonnet; I wrote it, and began to read."

We have already stated our belief that this consciousness is a stage through which the modern mind must pass on its road to excellence; it is not, therefore, the less a defect while it exists. Keats died before he had outgrown this stage, as he certainly must have done, had he lived a few years more. As it was, the



best of Keats' poetry, by reason of the quality in question, falls considerably short of the highest beauty, which, whether it be sweet or severe, is always the spontaneous, or unconscious obedience of spirit to law : when the obedience is unopposed, sweetness results, when it meets with opposition, severity is expressed : witness, for example, the “ Venus de Medicis,” and the “ Niobe.” The highest, the only true beauty, is thus the beauty of holiness ; and since obedience is essential humility, beauty, by becoming proud and self-conscious, reverses its own nature, and is not the less essential deformity for its assumption of the shape of an angel of light.

It remains for us formally to introduce to our readers the “ Remains,” which occupy the bulk of the second of the two little volumes before us. Altogether they will not add to the very high reputation of Keats. The tragedy called “ Otho the Great,” is the most important of these productions. It contains extremely little that is truly dramatic ; and that little wants originality, being evidently imitated, even to the rhythms of the separate lines, from Shakspeare, and more often from that bad, but very tempting model, Fletcher. There is, however, one passage that strikes us as being finer, in its peculiar way, than anything in the hitherto published writings of Keats. We quote it the more readily, because it stands almost alone, and constitutes the chief right possessed by the tragedy to the time and attention of our readers ; for, highly interesting as the work must be to *students* of poetry, and of the poetical character, we are bound to confess that, on the whole, it exhibits a strange dearth even of the author's common excellencies.

The Prince Ludolph, driven mad by the sudden discovery of the guilt of his bride, enters the banquet-room in which the bridal party is assembled :

LUDOLPH.

“ A splendid company. Rare beauties here ;  
I should have Orphean lips and Plato's fancy,  
*Amphion's utterance toned with his lyre,*  
Or the deep key of Jove's sonorous mouth,  
To give fit salutation. Methought I heard,  
As I came in, some whispers—what of that !  
'Tis natural men should whisper ;—at the kiss  
Of Psyche given by Love, there was a buzz  
Among the gods !—and silence as is natural.  
These draperies are fine, and being mortal,  
I should desire no better ; yet, in truth,  
There must be some superior costliness,  
Some wider-domed high magnificence !  
*I would have, as a mortal I may not,*  
*Hangings of heaven's clouds, purple and gold,*

*Slung from the spheres ; gauzes of silver mist,  
 Looped up with cords of twisted wreathed light,  
 And tasselled round with weeping meteors !  
 These pendant lamps and chandeliers are bright  
 As earthly fires from dull dross can be cleansed ;  
 Yet could my eyes drink up intenser beams  
 Undazzled—this is darkness ; when I close  
 These lids, I see far fiercer brilliancies,  
 Skies full of splendid moons, and shooting stars,  
 And spouting exhalations, diamond fires,  
 And panting fountains quivering with deep glows.  
 Yes—this is dark—is it not dark ?*

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There should be three more here :  
 For two of them, they stay away perhaps,  
 Being gloomy minded, haters of fair revels—  
 They know their own thoughts best. As for the third,  
 Deep blue eyes—semi-shaded in white lids,  
 Finished with lashes fine for more soft shade,  
 Completed by her twin-arched ebon brows ;  
*White temples of exactest elegance,  
 Of even mould, felicitous and smooth ;  
 Cheeks fashioned tenderly on either side,  
 So perfect, so divine, that our poor eyes  
 Are dazzled with the sweet proportioning,  
 And wonder that 'tis so—the magic chance !  
 Her nostrils small, fragrant, fairy, delicate,  
 Her lips—I swear no human bones e'er wore  
 So taking a disguise."*

Next in consideration to "Otho the Great," stands an attempt in the comic style, called "The Cap and Bells." The humour is of a very indifferent vein, depending chiefly upon the introduction of slang, or extremely colloquial phrases, in immediate connexion with more serious expressions. There are, however, frequent touches of charming poetry ; for example—

" ' Good ! good ! ' cried Hum, ' I have known her from a child !  
 She is a changeling of my management ;  
 She was born at midnight, in an Indian wild ;  
 Her mother's screams with the striped tiger's blent,  
 While the torch-bearing slaves a halloo sent  
 Into the jungles ; and her palanquin  
 Rested amid the desert's dreariment,  
 Shook with her agony, till fair were seen  
*The little Bertha's eyes ope on the stars serene."*

Of the two following stanzas, the first is as good an illustration of the mistakes of the poem as the second is of its beauties :—

“ ‘ Why, Hum, you’re getting quite poetical ;  
 Those *nows* you managed in a special style !’  
 ‘ If ever you have leisure, sire, you shall  
 See scraps of mine will make it worth your while ;  
 Tit-bits for Phœbus !—yes, you well may smile.’  
 ‘ Hark ! hark ! the bells—a little further yet  
 Good Hum, and let me view this mighty coil.’  
 Then the great emperor full graceful set  
 His elbow for a prop, and snuffed his mignonette.

“ The morn is full of holiday ; loud bells  
 With rival clamours ring from every spire ;  
 Cunningly stationed music dies and swells  
 In echoing places, when the winds respire,  
 Light flags stream out like gauzy tongues of fire ;  
 A metropolitan murmur, lifeful, warm,  
 Comes from the northern suburbs, rich attire  
 Freckles with red and gold the moving swarm ;  
 While here and there clear trumpets blow a keen alarm.”

Of the lesser poems “The Song of Four Fairies,” and the fragment called “The Eve of St. Mark,” deserve especial attention, but they are too long to quote. We must close our extracts with a grand and subtle sonnet

## ON THE SEA.

“ It keeps eternal whisperings around  
 Desolate shores, and with its mighty swell  
 Gluts twice ten thousand caverns, till the spell  
 Of Hecate leaves them their old shadowy sound.  
 Often ’tis in such gentle temper found,  
 That scarcely will the very smallest shell  
 Be moved for days from where it sometime fell,  
 When last the winds of heaven were unbound.  
 Oh, ye who have your eyeballs vexed and tired,  
 Feast them upon the wideness of the sea ;  
 Oh, ye whose ears are dinned with uproar rude,  
 Or fed too much with cloying melody,  
 Sit ye near some old cavern’s mouth, and brood  
 Until ye start, as if the sea-nymphs quired !”

Ere we conclude, we must again entreat that we may not be misunderstood in what has been put forth by us concerning the short-comings of Keats in his character as a poet. Were we to speak at full all the praise which we believe his writings merit, we should satisfy the blindest of his admirers ; but we have dwelt rather upon the faults of Keats, because while they have been very much less generally perceived than his excellencies, the perception of them is by no means of less importance to the

health of English literature. When we remember that poets are unconsciously received in the world as the highest authorities upon matters of feeling, and therefore of morals, we cannot think that we have dwelt even fully enough upon the deficiencies of the last phase which our poetry has assumed. We console ourselves with the assurance that it is a phase which cannot be an enduring one. Poetry in England has passed through three great epochs, and is now in the early youth of the fourth, and let us hope the noblest. Natural and religious, almost by compulsion, nearly till the time of Milton, the muse at last endeavoured to be something other and more than these; with Cowley and his train, she affected elaborate, artificial, and meretricious ornament; but the re-action appeared in that school of *sensible* poets, of which Dryden and Pope were the chief doctors; we are now returning to the right path; nothing can be more laudable than have been the *aims* of most of our modern poets, and we found our extraordinary hopes of the final success of the school, less upon any earnest we have received of the harvest than upon the incontrovertible truth that "whatsoever we desire in youth, in age we shall plentifully obtain."

It remains for us to assure our readers that Mr. Milnes, whose prose style is the completest, in its happy way, that we are acquainted with, has executed his task with accomplished taste. For a poet to have conducted the autobiography of a brother poet, as Mr. Milnes has done, without having once overstepped the modest office of an "editor," is an exhibition of self-denial which is now as rare as it is worthy of imitation.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Authorship of the Letters of Junius Elucidated, including a Biographical Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Barré, M.P.* By JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A. London: 1848.
2. *Junius, including Letters by the same writer under other signatures, (now first collected,) to which are added his confidential Correspondence with Mr. Wilkes, and his Private Letters addressed to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, with a Preliminary Essay, Notes, Facsimiles, &c. in 3 vols.* London: 1812.
3. *Identity of Junius with a Distinguished Living Character (Sir Philip Francis) established.* London: 1816.
4. *Letters to a Nobleman, proving a late Prime Minister (the Duke of Portland) to have been Junius, and developing the secret motives which induced him to write under that and other signatures, with an Appendix containing a celebrated case published by Almon in 1768.* London: 1816.
5. *The Author of Junius (Hugh Boyd) ascertained from a concatenation of circumstances amounting to Moral Demonstration.* By GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S.S.A. London: 1817.
6. *The Author of Junius discovered in the person of the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield.* London: 1821.
7. *A Critical Enquiry regarding the Real Author of the Letters of Junius, proving them to have been written by Lord Viscount Sackville.* By GEORGE COVENTRY. London: 1825.
8. *Junius Lord Chatham, and the Miscellaneous Letters proved to be Spurious.* By JOHN SWINDEN. London: 1833.
9. *History of Party.* By WINGROVE COOKE, Esq., vol. iii. Chap. vi. London: 1837. In this Chapter the claims of Colonel Lachlan Maclean are briefly stated, from a Communication made by Sir DAVID BREWSTER to the Author.
10. *Junius. A Letter to an Honourable Brigadier-General, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Canada.* London: 1760. Now first ascribed to Junius; to which is added, a Refutation of the Letter, &c. by an Officer, with Incidental Notices of Lords Townshend and Sackville, and others. Edited by N. W. SIMONS of the British Museum. London: 1841.
11. *The History of Junius and his Works, and a Review of the Controversy respecting the Identity of Junius, with an Appendix containing Portraits and Sketches.* By JOHN JAQUES. London: 1843. Pp. 406.

STAT NOMINIS UMBRA\* must still be the inscription upon the intellectual mausoleum of Junius. Eighty suns have revolved

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\* The shadow of his name survives.

since this political Meteor burst upon our horizon. Under the censure of Junius the Sovereign trembled on his throne;—the corrupt statesman crouched beneath his rod;—the pliant judge smarted under his rebuke;—the fawning courtier writhed under the agony of his lash;—and the Lords and Commons of England were at once the sport of his wit, and the victims of his wrath. Regarding as inseparable the private character and the political acts of public men, and viewing the immorality of the Court as the fountain of social corruption, he dragged into public view the licentiousness of public men, and thus subjected himself to the imputation of writing under the excitement of personal feeling, and of assuming the mask of a political moralist, in order to aim a shaft at the heart of an enemy, or strike a blow at the character of a friend.

It is easy to understand how Junius has been charged with “falsehood and malice” by those whose private character he unveiled, or who were stung with the sharpness of his wit, or smarted under the asperity of his satire; but these charges have never been substantiated; and when we study the disclosures which time is continually drawing forth from the epistolary stores of the past, we have no hesitation in hazarding the opinion, that Junius may yet be proved to have neither magnified the corruptions of the Government which he denounced, nor malignantly calumniated the officials who composed it.

It may be, and has been, a question how far, in the discussion of public measures, we are entitled to pry into the character, and emblazon the vices of public men. In seasons of national emergency, the State may require for its service the talent and practical wisdom of men who may not be distinguished for their religious or moral qualities; but in the settled and normal condition of a Christian land, where the rights of the reigning family rest upon a religious qualification, and where adherence to a Creed is demanded from the functionaries of the State, it would be an insult to the feelings and to the faith of a nation, to place either a sceptic or a profligate in power; and were such a character entrusted with high and responsible functions, we should hold it to be a public duty to expose his profanity, or his licentiousness. There are infirmities, however,—there are even vices, which shrink from the public gaze, and which neither invite our imitation nor demand our rebuke. Charity throws her veil over insulated immoralities, into which great and good men may be occasionally betrayed, and which accident or malignity may have placed before the public eye. When remorse or shame pursue the offender, public censure may well be spared. Vice has no attractive phase, when the culprit is seen in sackcloth or in tears. But when licentiousness casts its glare from a throne,—



or sparkles in the coronet of rank,—or stains the ermine of justice,—or skulks in the cleft of the mitre,—or is wrapped up in the senatorial robe,—or cankers the green wreath of genius,—when acts of political corruption, or public immorality are mingled with individual, domestic, or social vices,—courting imitation or applause, and offering violence to the feelings and principles of the community, it becomes the duty of the patriot and the moralist to hold up to public shame the enemies of public virtue.

Such a patriot and moralist was Junius. The flash of his mental eye scathed as with a lightning-stroke the minions of corruption, and men paused in their career of political mischief in order to avoid the fate of his victims. Envenomed with wit and winged with sarcasm his shafts carried dismay into the ranks of his adversaries, and they struck deeper into their prey in proportion to the polish with which they had been elaborated: And when he failed to annoy and dislodge his antagonist by the light troops of his wit and ridicule, he brought up in reserve the heavy artillery of a powerful and commanding eloquence. In thus discharging the duties of a public censor, and in defending, at the risk of his life, the laws and constitution of his country, we may admire the courage of Junius, and even proffer to him our gratitude, though we disown his political principles and disapprove of his conduct. As the enemy of public corruption and the assertor of public rights every succeeding age will do homage to his intrepidity and success; and if during the prosecution of a lofty purpose he occasionally forgot in the heat of controversy the courtesies of polished life, the patriot will but shed a tear over human frailty, and fix his eye on the great truths which may have been established, or the important victory which has been achieved. In the moral and in the physical world the forces which are called into action must obey the laws from which they originate. The solar ray may occasionally consume when its purpose is but to illuminate, and the tornado which is sent to purify our atmosphere bears in its bosom the elements of death and desolation. In social life the intellectual powers must often perform their functions under the high pressure of the passions and affections, and even when most nobly and generously exercised, they may display the temperature of the one and the taint of the other. The good done by Junius has lived after him, let the evil be interred with his bones.

Although the scenes in which Junius played so conspicuous a part have been, to a certain extent, cast into the shade by the wars and revolutions of modern times, yet the public anxiety to give life to his shade has not abated; and were we to judge by the number of the works which have been published for the purpose

of identifying him with some eminent statesman,\* we should draw the inference that the political changes which convulse the age in which we live have but created a more ardent desire to discover the name of a writer who in "thoughts that breathed and words that burned" defended the inalienable rights of Englishmen, while he warned them against any revolutionary inroads upon the constitution by which these rights were secured.

In attempting to substantiate the charges of malignity and personality which have been brought against Junius, his accusers have availed themselves of most unjust and unpardonable assumptions. He is supposed to have written a number of other letters bearing various signatures, and containing virulent attacks upon public men to whom, in his acknowledged compositions, he had avowed the deepest attachment. He is thus arraigned as the warm friend and the bitter enemy of Lord Chatham, and he is made to occupy the odious position of the worshipper and the slanderer of Lord Shelburne. The accusers of Junius, too, presuming that they have identified him with some contemporary statesman, charge him—and justly charge him, if their hypothesis be true—with attacking those with whom he lived on the most intimate terms, and to whom he was under the greatest obligations.† If Sir Philip Francis were the author of these letters, as some of Junius' accusers believe, we admit at once the truth of the charge. He who assails with intemperate abuse the Government of his country while he is eating its bread and doing its work—who exposes the immoralities and sullies the honour of a noble family while he shares their confidence and enjoys their hospitality—and he who slanders his benefactor, and aims his deadliest shaft at the patron who placed him in office—deserves to be made an outlaw from social life, and stigmatized as the basest of mankind. But Sir Philip Francis was not guilty of being Junius, and Junius was not Sir Philip Francis—not a clerk in the War Office, and the slanderer of Lord Barrington, not the protégé and the calumniator of Mr. Welbore Ellis, (Lord Mendip,) not the guest and the spy at the Duke of Bedford's table. Junius was neither ATTICUS, nor LUCIUS, nor BRUTUS, nor DOMITIAN. These personages must occupy their own niche in the temple of fame: The reputation of Junius requires no supplement from theirs, and the name of Junius shall not be sullied either by their errors or their crimes.

Regarding Junius, aloof from his contemporaries, and unidentified with any brilliant name, let us view him as a shadow hovering

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\* All the works placed at the head of this Article, which have for their object the identification of Junius with some distinguished character, have been published since the peace of 1815.

† Lord Brougham's *Historical Sketches*, &c., pp. 115, 116.

above the mighty obelisk which has been reared to his genius—as England’s Shakspeare in prose—and let us consider what may have been his probable position in the conflict which he waged, and what palliation that position may offer for the ardour of his temperament and the severity of his judgments. Let us suppose him holding office under Lord Shelburne—deprived of that office by a change of ministry—unconnected by ties of gratitude or affection with most of the public characters of the day—prompted and aided by the chiefs of his party—obtaining his materials, sometimes correct, sometimes exaggerated, and sometimes false,\* through the same party channels, and without the power, as an anonymous writer, of inquiring into their truth—daring through the press to stem the tide of political corruption, to stifle in their birth the schemes of ministerial intrigue—to protect the public journalist from malicious prosecutions—to expose private vices when united with the power of doing mischief to the community, and even to remonstrate with the sovereign against the folly and treachery of his servants.† Supposing this to have been the position which Junius held, and these the functions which he fearlessly, and often successfully, exercised, his moral portrait displays a nobler phase than if it bore the autograph of Burke, or of Barré, of Francis, or of Sackville. But even if Junius were identified with some contemporaneous politician, whether a peer of the realm, or a clerk in the War Office, we venture to say that we could point out in the speeches and writings of living statesmen, and in the anonymous essays and reviews which have been ascribed to public men, as grave examples of “virulent abuse,” “envious malignity,” “rash accusation,” and even “ferocious personality,” as are to be found in the genuine, or even in the spurious pages of that immortal author. In an age more religious than his, when the courtesies of society are better known and more widely practised, and under Governments whose functionaries were men of high character, and where corruption was the exception, and not, as it then was, the rule, party spirit has borne the same bitter and noxious fruit ; and whatever be our progress in refinement and civilisation, we shall have to deplore in

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\* On the testimony of Dr. Musgrave, for example, it had been generally believed, and therefore asserted by Junius, that the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Bute had concluded the peace of Paris under the influence of a bribe from France. In our own day, analogous charges have been made against ministers, not anonymously, but even in the House of Commons, and in their own hearing. On the other hand, in order to make out a charge of falsehood against Junius, it has been alleged that Lord Mansfield did not, as alleged by Junius, drink the health of the Pretender on his knees. But it is positively asserted “that Lord Ravensworth, in 1753, before the Privy Council, convicted Lord Mansfield of that offence.”

† In his celebrated expostulation with the king, while Junius expressed it as the first wish of his heart, “that the people may be free,” he as sincerely avowed it to be the *second*, that his majesty “might long continue king of a free people.”

the dialectics of political strife all the malice and asperity and personality which have been associated with the name of Junius.

Such are the general views under which we shall now proceed to the subject of the identification of Junius; but as many of our readers are but imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances under which his letters were composed and published, we must, for their benefit, make a few preliminary observations. The genuine letters of Junius, seventy-one in number, including two to Lord Chatham, which have been only recently published,\* were written between the 2d January 1768, and the 21st January 1772. They first appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, conducted by H. S. Woodfall. They were afterwards collected into a volume by their author, and dedicated, in an eloquent address, to the English Nation. The Duke of Grafton was at the head of the Tory administration, which was then in power. Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief-Justice; Lord Weymouth and the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretaries of State; The Marquis of Granby, Commander-in-Chief; and Viscount Townshend, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The letters of Junius, when not addressed to the editor of the *Public Advertiser*, were addressed chiefly to the three first of these distinguished statesmen; and as Junius was a moderate Whig, with scarcely any leaning to democratic principles, he was the admirer and supporter of Lord Shelburne and Lord Chatham, while he denounced the measures of the Grafton administration, and exerted all his influence to damage it in public opinion, and restore Lord Shelburne to power. At the commencement of these discussions, a controversy arose between Junius and Sir William Draper, which occupies six letters; and about two and a half years afterwards, another controversy sprung up between Junius and the Rev. Mr. Horne, which occupies five letters, all of which are written with a spirit and talent which have been universally admired.

After the publication of his first public letter on the 21st of January 1769, which contained a general review of the character and conduct of the Ministry, and after the termination of the sharp controversy with Sir William Draper, the fame and popularity of Junius were established. The poignancy of his wit and satire, the splendour of his diction, the logic of his argument, and the power of his eloquence confounded the ministry, and inspired the opposition with new energy and zeal. The anxiety of the public, the hatred of his enemies, and even the admiration of his friends, were combined in the attempt to remove his mask, and discover his retreat. Spies of all shades were employed in this

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\* Chatham's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 305, and iv. p. 190.

secret service, and even David Garrick seems to have undertaken the task of detecting him. Junius, however, obtained intelligence of their schemes, and by his own skill and caution, coupled with the honesty of Woodfall, he baffled every attempt to unveil him. When his Letters to the Duke of Grafton and the Duke of Bedford were published, new motives for his detection presented themselves, but when his celebrated Letter to the King appeared, bold beyond all precedent, and eloquent above all eloquence, a new spirit was awakened against Junius, which rendered it necessary for his personal safety to persist in the concealment of his name. Upon this "mighty boar of the forest" Burke, who gave him this name, pronounced a splendid eulogy, and while he denounced the severity of his censure, he admitted that in the Letter to the King, there were "many bold truths by which a wise prince might profit." "It was the rancour and venom," he continues, "with which I was struck. In these respects the North Briton is as much inferior to him as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected in this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both houses of Parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouch, and still crouch, beneath his rage, nor has he dreaded the terrors of your brow,\* Sir. He has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our Royal Eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, Lords, and Commons, are but the sport of his fury. *Were he a member of this House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and his integrity?* He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity, nor could promises or threats induce him to conceal anything from the public." Even Lord North, who was now Prime Minister, and to whom Junius had addressed his fortieth letter on the appointment of Colonel Luttrell, deplored the popularity of Junius, and looked forward to his detection and punishment. "Why, therefore, says he, should we wonder that the great boar of the wood, this mighty Junius, has broke through the toils, and foiled the hunter. Though there may be at present no spear that will reach him, yet he may be sometime or other caught. At any rate he will be exhausted with fruitless efforts; those tusks which he has been whetting to wound and gnaw the constitution, will be worn out. Truth will at last prevail."

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\* The Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Fletcher Norton, "was distinguished by a pair of large black eyebrows."—*Prior's Life of Burke*, vol. i.

Having abandoned the hope of discovering Junius, the Government wreaked their vengeance on Woodfall, the printer, by prosecuting him for a libel upon the king. The jury, however, notwithstanding the unconstitutional charge to them by Lord Chief-Justice Mansfield, that they should find a verdict of "guilty or not guilty," brought in a verdict of "*printing and publishing ONLY*," which defeated the designs of the Government, and gave a new triumph to Junius and the Opposition.

The anxiety to discover Junius now became more eager than ever. So high were his Letters in public estimation that Burke was suspected to be their author. Lord Mansfield, Sir William Blackstone, and Sir William Draper, adopted this opinion. Mrs. Burke once admitted that her husband knew the author, and Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Malone believed that though Burke did not write them, "he polished and finished them for the public eye." Dr. Johnson believed Burke to be Junius, "because he knew no man but Burke who was capable of writing them," but Burke "spontaneously denied it" to Johnson himself. Two pamphlets have been written to prove the identity of Burke and Junius, and Mr. Prior, in his recent life of him, has made an elaborate attempt to confirm this opinion, but his arguments are utterly futile, and prove only what is now almost universally believed, that Junius was an Irishman.\*

After Burke's indignant and spontaneous denial that he was Junius, Sir William Draper and others expressed their conviction that Lord George Sackville was the man, and an elaborate work of nearly 400 pages has been published by Mr. Coventry, in order to confer upon him this honour. That Lord George Sackville had many and peculiar reasons for denouncing, with all the severity of Junius, the administration of the Duke of Grafton and its individual members, will be readily granted, but no arguments have been adduced to prove that he possessed those lofty acquirements, and that power of composition,† which must be demanded from every competitor. Mr. Coventry has given *twenty-four criteria or testimonials*, as he calls them, which must be produced in favour of the true Junius, and by adopting the spurious letters as genuine, he finds no difficulty in producing them all on the part of his favourite; but we have no hesitation in asserting now, what we shall by and bye prove, that his book is as devoid of argument as his hypothesis is of probability.

Many other competitors for the fame of Junius have been

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\* Prior's *Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 186.

† In an address to the public, which Lord George Sackville printed previous to his trial in 1760, he says—"I had rather upon this occasion submit myself to all the inconveniences that may arise *from the want of style*, than borrow assistance from the pen of others, as I can have no hopes of establishing my character but from the force of truth."



presented for public acceptance, and volumes written to establish their claims. Some have even grasped at the high honour of being Junius, while others have imitated his style, and used his expressions, and adopted his sentiments, in order to have some distant chance of bearing his name.\* It would be an unprofitable task, if not at present an impracticable one, to give even the shortest analysis of the arguments which have been employed in favour of the different candidates for the honour of being Junius. Our proper business at present is to lay before our readers some account of Mr. Britton's new work, in which he attempts to identify with Junius the celebrated Colonel Isaac Barré. After doing this, we shall review what have been regarded the superior pretensions of Sir Philip Francis and Lord George Sackville, and also those of Colonel Lachlan Maclean, which in our opinion have a still stronger claim upon public notice.

The object of Mr. Britton's work is thus described by himself:—

“ For the last twelve months I have sought by extensive reading, inquiry, and correspondence, to obtain authentic satisfactory evidence, and the result is that the materials I have accumulated, whilst they serve to elucidate the political and private character and talents of the anonymous AUTHOR of the LETTERS—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BARRÉ, also point out and implicate his intimate associates, LORD SHELBURNE and Mr. DUNNING. There are likewise some extraordinary revelations respecting William Greatrakes, whose career in life, and the circumstances attending his death, with the disposal of his property, abound in mystery, and are pregnant with suspicion. The story of this gentleman is a romance of real life, and like that of the concealed author is enveloped in a cloak of ambiguity and darkness; yet it is confidently believed that he was the amanuensis to Colonel Barré, and also his confidential agent and messenger. To identify these persons and explain their connexion with the public correspondence referred to, to bring out facts of dates and deeds from the dark and intricate recesses in which they were studiously and cunningly concealed, to reconcile and account for contradictions and inconsistencies, have occasioned more anxiety, toil, and scrupulous analysis than

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\* The following is a list of the persons who have been named either by themselves or others as the authors of Junius' Letters. W. H. Cavendish Bentinck, (Duke of Portland,) the Earl of Chatham, the Earl of Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, (Earl of Orford,) Lord George Sackville, Edmund Burke, Dr. Gilbert Stewart, Hugh Macauley Boyd, Counsellor Dunning, (Lord Ashburton,) Richard Glover, (author of *Leonidas*,) W. G. Hamilton, (Single Speech Hamilton,) Sir William Jones, General Lee, (an American,) John Wilkes, John Horne Tooke, Charles Lloyd, secretary to Mr. George Grenville, Henry Flood, M.P., Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, William Greatrakes, John Roberts, originally a treasury clerk, M. De Lolme, Dr. Wilmot, Samuel Dyer, (a literary character, and a friend of Dr. Johnson and Edmund Burke,) Edward Gibbon, Thomas Hollis, Dr. Butler, (Bishop of Hereford,) *Sir Philip Francis*, *Colonel Barré*, and *Colonel Lachlan Maclean*.

can possibly be imagined by any person who has never attempted a similar task. The issue and effects, however, are now submitted to that public tribunal which invariably awards a proper and a just decision, and which I feel assured will ultimately pronounce an impartial verdict, whether favourable or adverse to the author's hopes and opinions."—PREFACE, p. vi.

It has always been believed that Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, was somehow or other connected with the composition of the letters of Junius. When he quitted office in 1768, and went into opposition to the Government which succeeded him, it was highly probable that some of the distinguished individuals who sat in Parliament for his boroughs of Calne or Wycombe, or who held the office of his private secretary, or of Under Secretary of State when he was in power, would embark in the defence of their leaders, and wage war against the ministry which displaced them. The Duke of Grafton, and the other members of the Cabinet, had by their misconduct and intrigues, compelled Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne to resign, and it is among the men who suffered by their resignation, who had imbibed their principles, and were actuated by their feelings, that a disinterested inquirer would naturally look for the original of Junius. That Lord Shelburne knew Junius, and everything connected with the writing of his letters, is placed beyond a doubt by the evidence of Sir Richard Phillips, who had a personal interview with him when Marquis of Lansdowne in 1804, and only a week before his death. After Sir Richard had stated to his lordship, "that many persons had ascribed these letters to him, and that the world at large conceived that at least he was not unacquainted with the author," the Marquis smiled and said, "No, no, I am not equal to Junius, I could not be the author; but the grounds of secrecy are now so far removed *by death* and changes of circumstances, that it is unnecessary the author of Junius should much longer be unknown. The world are curious about him, and I could make a very interesting publication on the subject. I knew Junius, and *I knew all about the writing and production of these letters*. But look, said he, at my condition. I don't think I can live a week—my legs, my strength tell me so; but the doctors, who always flatter sick men, assure me I am in no immediate danger. They order me into the country, and I am going there. If I live over the summer, which, however, I don't expect, I promise you a very interesting pamphlet about Junius. I will put my name to it. I will set that question at rest for ever." When still further pressed by Sir Richard, his Lordship added, "I'll tell you this for your guide generally; *Junius* has never yet been publicly named. None of the parties ever guessed

at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him. I knew him and knew all about it, and I pledge myself, if these legs will permit me, to give you a pamphlet on the subject as soon as I feel myself equal to the labour.”\*

As this remarkable declaration disproved every preceding theory of Junius that had come under his lordship's notice, some attempts were made to discredit the statement of Sir Richard Phillips; but Sir Richard had no motive for practising any such deception upon the public; and even if his personal character did not protect him from such a charge, it would require evidence of a very peculiar kind to justify us even in doubting the truth of a statement so very probable in all its details. As Colonel Barré therefore had never been publicly named as the author of the letters of Junius, and as he was the personal and political friend of Lord Shelburne, Mr. Britton's theory rests upon a sound and rational foundation, and his arguments are entitled to a fair and candid examination. We regret, however, to find that he has taken it for granted that Junius is the author of the unacknowledged letters collected by Mr. George Woodfall, and that he has drawn many of his arguments from this fallacious source. Many years ago, the writer of this Article had communicated to Mr. Woodfall himself his conviction that these letters were not the genuine production of Junius, and we are glad to observe that the same opinion has been recently maintained with much ability in the pages of the *Athenæum*. By rejecting these letters as his, we place the character of Junius in a more favourable light, while we deprive Mr. Britton of some of the strongest arguments in favour of Colonel Barré's claim.

When Mr. Britton was at Hungerford about the end of the last century, he became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Popham of Chilton, who had held for more than twenty years the vicarage of Lacock, in the vicinity of Bowood, the seat of Lord Shelburne. He was an occasional guest of that hospitable house during the period from 1769 to 1772, when the letters of Junius were publishing. Counsellor Dunning and Colonel Barré, for many years, spent the parliamentary recess at Bowood, the one having long represented the burgh of Calne, and the other that of High Wycombe. Dr. Popham was therefore often in their society, and among other subjects he heard the letters of Junius frequently discussed. He was surprised at the “difference of their language,” when that subject was discussed by themselves, and in mixed parties, and he came to the conclusion that they were either the authors of the letters, or were familiar with the writer. On a particular day when Dr. Popham and

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\* *Monthly Magazine*, July 1813.

the three politicians were the whole party at dinner, Junius was not only the subject of conversation, but a certain attack upon him was freely discussed. One of the party remarked, that this attack would be shown up and confuted in the next day's Advertiser. When the paper arrived next day, there appeared a note from the printer stating that the letter would appear in the ensuing number. Dr. Popham concluded from these facts that one of his three friends was Junius; and Mr. Britton informs us that Mr. Bayliff, and Mr. Ralph Gaby, two respectable solicitors of Chippenham, who had frequently met with the same parties at Bowood, entertained a similar opinion.

About the same time, Mr. Britton's attention was directed to a tombstone in Hungerford churchyard, to the memory of William Greatrakes, on which was the following inscription:—"Here are deposited the remains of William Greatrakes, Esq., a native of Ireland, who, on his way from Bristol to London, died in this town, in the 52d year of his age, on the 2d day of August 1781. STAT NOMINIS UMBRA." This gentleman was a great friend of Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, and was an inmate in Lord Shelburne's house during the publication of the letters of Junius. A Captain Stopford, who attended Greatrakes on his deathbed, asserted that he had told him that he was the author of the letters of Junius, and a relation of the family is said to have discovered in his trunk "the letters of Junius, in the hand-writing of the deceased young man, with all the interlineations, corrections, and erasures, which sufficiently established them as the original manuscripts!"\* From these facts, Mr. Britton concludes, that Mr. Greatrakes "was intimately concerned in the letters of Junius," "and that the task which devolved upon him was to copy the letters for the printer, under the immediate superintendence of Colonel Barré."

The opinion that Colonel Barré alone was Junius, was first broached and maintained by Captain Henderson, ordnance store-keeper at Chester, who in 1837 transmitted to the writer of this Article an account of his investigations. Captain Henderson died in March 1847, when he was preparing his remarks on Junius for the press; but Mr. Britton had access to his papers, and a very good abstract of his inquiries is now in our possession.

Isaac Barré was the son of a foreign refugee, "settled by the Bishop of Clogher in a shop in Dublin, because his wife had nursed one of the bishop's children," and he was born in that city about the end of 1726. He was sent to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1740, and his name was entered in one of the Inns of Court in London, with the view of studying for the bar. Disliking,

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\* *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, September 7, 1806.

however, the profession which had been imposed upon him, he obtained an ensigncy in the 32d foot, on the 12th of February 1746. His regiment, which was then in Flanders, returned to England in 1747; and having again gone to the Continent in 1748, it remained there till the peace of Aix la Chapelle in the same year. From 1749 to 1753, Barré was at Gibraltar; and in the years 1754, 1755, (when he was made lieutenant,) and 1756, his regiment was quartered in Scotland. In 1757, Barré left his regiment, and went out as a volunteer with the celebrated Wolfe, then Colonel of the 20th regiment, on the unsuccessful expedition to Rochefort. In order to make amends for the failure, in the same year, of Admiral Holbourne's naval expedition, Wolfe was selected by Mr. Pitt as brigadier under Sir Jeffery Amherst to make a second attack upon Louisburg, and Lieutenant Barré was again chosen to accompany him. After the capture of Louisburg, and in consequence of his ill health, Wolfe, accompanied by Barré, returned to England towards the end of 1758. Wolfe, with the rank of major-general, and Barré, who had been made major of brigade, were appointed to the famous expedition against Quebec—Wolfe to have the special command of it in co-operation with Sir Jeffery Amherst. The expedition set sail in February 1759, Monckton, Townshend, (afterwards Lord Townshend,) and Murray being the brigadier-generals, and Major Barré adjutant-general. The last despatch written by Wolfe "was ascribed by the current report of the army to Major Barré," and part of it is given by Mr. Britton "as a specimen of the style" which, however, does not present the slightest resemblance to that of Junius. On the 13th of September, Wolfe fell on the plains of Abraham; the French General Montcalm shared the same fate; Barré was severely wounded in the eye and head; Monckton, the second in command, was disabled; and hence the honour of transmitting an account of the victory to England, and the command of the army, devolved, for a short period, on Brigadier-General Townshend. Colonel Hale bore his despatches to England, an honour which would have been conferred on Major Barré had Wolfe recovered.

From New York, to which Barré and his wounded comrade Colonel Carleton had gone, the former addressed a letter to Mr. Pitt, (Lord Chatham,) dated 28th April 1760, detailing the events of his professional career, and asking that preferment which would have fallen to his share had he borne to England the despatches of his General. On the ground that "senior officers would be injured by his promotion," his request was refused. This refusal of promotion, Mr. Britton justly enough connects with a very remarkable letter, printed and published in

London between June and October 1760, inveighing in eloquent, severe, and satirical periods, against the conduct of General Townshend, as the successor of Wolfe in the command of the Quebec expedition. This pamphlet, which we have placed in the list of works at the head of this Article, excited much interest at the time of its publication, and led to a hostile meeting, prevented by the arrest of the parties, between Townshend and the Earl of Albemarle, who was suspected of having instigated or employed an anonymous author to traduce the General.\* This letter has a stronger resemblance to the letters of Junius than any other compositions that have been compared with them, and it possesses a double interest as a new feature in the controversy, because it could not have been written in imitation of Junius. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1817, who had seen only a few extracts from the letter in question, was so struck with this similarity of style, that he expressed it as his "strong opinion," "*that if the author of the letter to a Brigadier-General should be known, it would be no difficult task to set at rest the enquiry after the author of the Letters of Junius.*" In the year 1840, the same letter came under the notice of Mr. N. W. Simons of the British Museum, and so "close was the resemblance" which it bore "to the style and composition of Junius," that upon referring it as well to some friends as to other gentlemen of impartiality and judgment, the unhesitating opinion of all was, *that the pamphlet and the Letters of Junius were by the same hand*. Mr. Simons' little volume contains a well written and judicious introduction to the pamphlet, and to "a Refutation of it by an Officer," and it concludes with an Appendix of 30 pages, in which "he gives the parallel passages from the pamphlet and from the letters of Junius, with illustrative notes.† "This letter," says Mr. Simons, "was written, if not by a soldier, at all events by a person skilled in military affairs. In style, phraseology, and matter; in sarcastic irony, bold interrogation, stinging sarcasm, and severe personalities; in frequent taunts of treachery, desertion, and cowardice, it so closely resembles the compositions of Junius, that the identity of their authorship scarcely admits of a doubt. \* \* \* Several passages in it evince also that strong prejudice against the Scotch which is another characteristic of Junius." ‡

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\* Correspondence of Horace Walpole, vol. ii. p. 202.

† A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1843, informs us that an individual, then recently deceased, who had merely seen extracts from the Letter to the Brigadier-General, had not only come to the same conclusion with Mr. Simons respecting the identity between its author and Junius, but had, previously to the illness of which he died, begun to prepare for the press a statement of his opinion.

‡ The references in Mr. Simons' volume, are to the *second* edition of Woodfall's Junius.



The identity of the pamphleteer and Junius being thus almost established, Mr. Britton does not hesitate to ascribe the letter to Barré, who was the friend of Wolfe, and therefore the enemy of General Townshend. The only conclusion which we think legitimate is—that it was written by some individual who accompanied the expedition, and this seems to have been the opinion of the officer who wrote the “Refutation” when he says—“But where has this pamphleteer been to find himself under the necessity of quoting this letter? *He must not have been in England surely,* or must not have read the public papers,” &c. If it was written by Barré, it must have been written in America, as he did not reach England till the 5th October 1760, when he brought home the despatches which gave an account of the surrender of Montreal and the subjection of Canada; and if it was written in America, and was the production of Junius, then it necessarily follows that of all the claimants to the name of Junius, Barré and Maclean, who alone were at the siege of Quebec, are the only individuals entitled to that honour.

We have already alluded to the hostile meeting between General Townshend and Lord Albemarle, and to the suspicion in which it originated, that Lord Albemarle had prompted the composition of the Letters. The officer who writes the “Refutation,” seems to refer to this when he says—“The sneer at the militia, in whose institution General Townshend had so principal a hand, *betrays the sore part of the writer and his PATRON.*” If Lord Albemarle, therefore, was the patron or the person who employed the pamphleteer, Mr. Britton should have tried to point out the connexion between his Lordship and Colonel Barré.

On the 8th of October, three days after his return from America, Barré expressed himself “as bound in the highest gratitude to Mr. Pitt for the attention he had received,” but it was not till the 29th January 1761 that he received his commission as Lieutenant-colonel of the army.

It was at this time that Colonel Barré became acquainted with the Earl of Shelburne, who had succeeded to his father in May 1761. A few months after this Mr. Pitt resigned, and Lord Shelburne joined the ministry of the Earl of Bute. On the 17th October Colonel Barré received a “letter of service” to raise, as “Colonel proprietor,” the 106th regiment of foot, and on the 28th of November he was elected member of parliament for Chipping Wycombe, in place of Lord Shelburne. He had scarcely been three days in the House before he made an assault upon Mr. Pitt so violent that the Earl of Bath characterized it as “a rude and foul-mouthed attack,” and Sir Andrew Mitchell, in a letter to a friend, gives the following account of what he calls “Colonel Barré’s Philippic.” Talking of the manner of

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Mr. Pitt's speaking, he said—"There he would stand turning up his eyes to heaven that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his hand in a solemn manner on the table—that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country."

In the reduction of the army, which followed the peace of 1762, Barré's regiment was disbanded, and on the 8th March 1763 he received compensation for his loss by the lucrative appointment of Adjutant-general to the army. When George Grenville became Premier on the retirement of Lord Bute, Lord Shelburne came into office as First Lord of the Board of Trade, and on the 14th May Barré was appointed Governor of Stirling Castle, which, with his other emoluments, yielded him an income of £4000 a year. On the resignation of Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Bedford entered George Grenville's administration, and when Barré joined the opposition along with his patron, he was on the 7th December 1763 deprived of the lucrative offices of Adjutant-general and Governor of Stirling Castle, while Lord Shelburne was dismissed from the place of Aide-de-camp to the king.

In the summer of 1765 the ministry of George Grenville terminated, and was succeeded by that of the Marquis of Rockingham, which did not last more than a year. Mr. Pitt was induced at the earnest solicitation of the king to form a ministry, and on the 27th of July 1766, His Majesty signed the warrant for creating him Earl of Chatham. He accordingly took his seat in the House of Lords with the office of Lord Privy Seal. The Duke of Grafton was first Lord of the Treasury, General Conway was continued as Secretary of State, and Lord Shelburne as Secretary of State for the southern department, his friend Colonel Barré being appointed one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland, vacant by the retirement of Mr. Welbore Ellis, and at the same time a Member of the Privy Council; Lord Rockingham was made President of the Council; Lord Camden, Lord Chancellor; and Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 12th of August 1767, on the resignation of the Earl of Bristol, Lord George Townshend kissed hands as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, thus forming a part of the administration to which Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré belonged, and which continued in power till the 21st of October 1768, when Chatham, Shelburne, and Barré retired from office.

Previous to this date, and between the 28th April 1767 and the 19th October 1768, there appeared in the Public Advertiser a series of no fewer than *forty-eight* letters, which have been published by Woodfall, under the name of the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, and confidently ascribed to the pen of that

distinguished writer. These letters are filled with such virulent abuse of Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne, individuals to whom the real Junius was deeply attached, and whom he invariably praised, that it is impossible to regard them as of his composition, without viewing him as one of the most degraded of men. Mr. Woodfall has adduced no satisfactory evidence to prove that they are genuine, and even if in point of style they had approached to that of Junius, the sentiments and views which they advocate frequently stand in diametrical opposition to his. Believing, or rather presuming, that the *Miscellaneous Letters* are genuine, Mr. Britton is compelled to regard them as the production of Colonel Barré, and to assign a variety of very trivial reasons in favour of so extraordinary an opinion. That Barré should thus attack the Government under which he held high and lucrative offices—that he should vilify his generous friend and patron the Earl of Shelburne—that he should abuse Lord Chatham who appointed him vice-treasurer of Ireland, and of whom he professed to entertain the most exalted opinion \*—that he should abuse Lord Townshend to whose wife he left the whole of his property—that he should do all this is utterly incredible, and what never can command the assent of any reasonable man.

At the time when Junius ceased to write, Mr. Britton has pointed out no event in Colonel Barré's history which can afford any explanation of so remarkable a fact. He continued in his career of opposition to the Government of Lord North from 1773 to 1782, and it is quite unaccountable that such a man, were he Junius, could have preserved silence as a public censor, during those disastrous events which he reprobated with such animation within the walls of St. Stephen's. When Lord North's ministry was dissolved on the 20th March 1782, Lord Rockingham availed himself of the talents of Lord Shelburne as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of Colonel Barré as Treasurer of the Navy. In consequence of the sudden death of the Premier, in the course of three months, Lord Shelburne was appointed his successor, and Barré was raised to the lucrative office of Paymaster to the Forces. After concluding peace with America, and recognising its independence, events which illustrated his short administration, Lord Shelburne was forced to resign, in consequence of the extraordinary coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North; and Barré, his faithful Achates, followed him into private life, with a pension of £3200 a year, which had been secured to him

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\* See Junius' two genuine letters to Lord Chatham, dated January 2, 1768, and January 14, 1772, published in *Chatham's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 32, and vol. iv. p. 190.

on his retirement from the ministry. The celebrated William Pitt, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Shelburne, held the same office under the Coalition Ministry, and in January 1784, he wisely relieved the Exchequer of Colonel Barré's pension by conferring upon him the sinecure office of Clerk of the Pells, with a salary of £3000 per annum, which had then become vacant by the death of Sir Edward Walpole.

In the new Parliament, which met in May 1784, Colonel Barré sat for Calne. He was incapacitated, however, for public business by a total loss of sight; and he finally retired from Parliament at the general election of 1790. He died at his house in Stanhope Street, May Fair, on the 20th July 1802, in the 76th year of his age, *leaving a large part of his fortune to the Marchioness of Townshend!*

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers a general view of the life of Colonel Barré, and of the grounds upon which Mr. Britton believes him to have been the author of the unacknowledged Miscellaneous Letters ascribed to Junius, as well as of the genuine productions to which he affixed the shadow of his name. Had Mr. Britton endeavoured to identify Barré with the author of the Letters signed Junius and Philo-Junius, he might have made out a case more rational, and more likely to be received than many of those which have been submitted to the public; but when he tries to identify him with *Lucius*, *Atticus*, *Poplicola*, *Domitian*, and many others, the slanderers of Chatham, and Shelburne, and Townshend, with two of whom he lived on the most affectionate and friendly terms, and to whom he owed all his success in life, he fixes the brand of villany upon the brow of his hero, and converts the honest Junius into a public slanderer, without political principles, without consistency of character, and prepared to reprobate to-morrow the man who was to-day his idol. We shall relieve Mr. Britton, however, of the millstone of the Miscellaneous Letters, and consider his hypothesis in relation only to the genuine Letters of Junius. We thus deprive him, no doubt, of some of the points of identity which the Miscellaneous Letters supply between the Letter to a Brigadier-General and the productions of Junius; but as we grant him the truth of this hypothesis, and render it unnecessary that Barré should have witnessed in Paris the public burning of the books of the Jesuits, and that he should have been the slanderer of Lord Townshend, to "whom he was a frequent visitor" in the decline of life, we place him in a more favourable position than his own.

We think it will be admitted by all disinterested judges, that independent even of the actual declaration of the Marquis of

Lansdowne, Junius stood in a peculiar relation to the person, the politics, and the interests of that distinguished and patriotic nobleman. Nothing is more probable than that Barré, as his particular friend and constant companion and political supporter, should have been Junius; but it is equally probable that the private secretary, or the under secretary, or any other political friend of his Lordship, should have been Junius. With regard to Barré, Mr. Britton has not shown, and cannot show, that he possessed the knowledge, the talents, the powers of composition, and, above all, the genuine wit and sarcastic humour which characterize the productions of Junius. There is a species of boldness and vigour, and coarseness in his speeches, but they are otherwise tame and pointless, and his Letters to Lord Chatham have the same character. We think it clear that Junius was not a public orator, or a person who had the faculty of public speaking. To think and speak on his legs, as Lord Brougham defines the art of making an extempore speech, compels the orator to seize the slightest associations. His sentences are long, involved, and parenthetical; and if he ever had the power of sententious and antithetical writing, of constructing symmetrical and well-balanced periods, and of writing with logical accuracy, he necessarily loses it after he has acquired a facility of composing upon his legs. Had we space we could establish this truth by a reference to the productions of our most distinguished orators. Barré, therefore, though he had the position, and the political knowledge, and access to the secret information which Junius must have possessed, possessed neither his brilliant talents nor his powers of composition, nor the smallest trace of his Attic wit and his sarcastic humour. We cheerfully concede to Mr. Britton that Barré, had he possessed the necessary intellectual power, was in a position to have written the Letter to a Brigadier-General, and therefore to have had a high claim to the honours of Junius. But he may have been merely the friend who communicated to the true author the information that was required, or as Lord Albemarle was supposed to be, he may have been the patron who stimulated or encouraged him. But even if all these objections were groundless, it would be a difficult task to persuade the public that Junius held lucrative offices in the State, while he was systematically assailing the King and the Government, and that he who denounced the appointment and the pension given to Sir W. Draper should have been a sinecurist when Junius, and should have spent his latest years as a pensioner on the Civil List.

It has been almost universally admitted that Junius was, and should have been, an Irishman. Barré possessed this title to be Junius, but he wanted another still more essential, and without

which no candidate, however brilliant his talents, and however appropriate his position, can be admitted as a competitor. Junius hated Scotland and the Scotch. He availed himself of every opportunity of abusing them; and we must therefore discover some solid grounds why the representative of so noble and distinguished a writer took such an unfavourable view of a nation which has gained the esteem of statesmen, and whose people, in point of education and moral and religious training, occupy a most exalted place among the nations of Europe. Colonel Barré, certainly in so far as his history can show, had no reasons for hating the Scotch and abusing Scotland, and nothing has surprised us more than the following observations on the subject from the pen of Mr. Britton:—

“His residence in Scotland for *three* years may have induced that prejudice against the Scotch character which is palpably marked in the Letters of Junius. Johnson was equally inimical to the Scotch after a cursory view of them and their homes. Barré, as an Irishman of ardent and enthusiastic temperament, who had mixed in various society, and lived an active life, *must have felt a great contrast between himself and the cold and calculating conduct of Scotchmen.*”—P. 21.

It will be difficult to explain this remarkable sentence, and still more to show how a patriot and a generous soldier like Barré, who had seen much of men and much of the world, could observe a “cold and calculating conduct” in our countrymen. Was it at the hospitable board at which he and his brother-officers must have been courteously entertained? Was it among the sober and religious population of the Lowlands—provident, peaceable, and loyal? Was it in its academic groves, then trodden by so many distinguished men? Was it in the halls of its nobles, among the emblems of a glorious lineage and the realities of living beauty? Or was it among the green mounds which deck the purple heath of Culloden—the resting-place of warriors, faithful to their chieftains and to their Prince—that the English soldier discovered those revolting features of our national character which disturbed him in his youth, and haunted him through life? Or could it be when Colonel Barré was governor of Stirling Castle, and gazed over the field of Bannockburn, the Marathon of the North, where the flower of English chivalry fell, and “the proud usurper was laid low?” No—Barré learned no such lessons in Scotland. He never abused the Scotch, and never wielded the spear of Junius.

There is one other objection to the hypothesis of Mr. Britton, which it will be very difficult to remove. Why did Barré, were he Junius, cease to write in January 1772? He was then in perfect health; he retained his seat in the House of Commons; he was then the friend and correspondent of Shelburne and



Chatham; he received no bribe from the Government; he continued to maintain the same principles, and was associated with the same political friends. In his *last* private letter to Woodfall, dated January 19, 1773, Junius assures him that he had good reason for discontinuing his communications.—“In the present state of things, if I were to write again I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.” In his Dedication to the English Nation, however, which he sent to Wilkes on the 3d November, 1771, he gives utterance to sentiments of a very different kind:—“You are roused,” says he, “at last, to a sense of your danger. The remedy will soon be in your power. *If Junius lives you shall often be reminded of it.*” Junius, if he has ever been named, did live, but did not fulfil his pledge. Barré lived, and lived under circumstances which might well have called him into the field. In a letter, written *two* days after Junius abandons “the cause and the public,” Barré announces to Lord Chatham,\* that the honours of his profession have been withheld from him, though the Secretary at War had, “in a private and unsought for conversation,” promised him promotion in his turn, and that he was thus an object of persecution, and would quit the army if he were “not reinstated according to seniority of rank, and the rightful pretensions of service.” Having, in conformity with Lord Chatham’s advice, transmitted a memorial to the king, his majesty rejected his petition, and gave him permission to retire from the service.† Had Junius been Barré this act of persecution might have summoned him again into the field, or he might have listened to the importunate call of *Sindercombe*, a writer in the Public Advertiser, who, on the 26th December, 1770, implored him to fulfil the promise in his Dedication, and especially the pledge which he had long since given, “that the corrupt administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland ‘shall not be lost to the public.’” Junius remained deaf

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\* Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 242, dated January 21, 1773.

† Lord Shelburne, in a letter to Lord Chatham, dated February 27, 1773, thus notices the retirement of Colonel Barré:—“Your lordship has been informed of what has passed relative to Colonel, now Mr. Barré. Lord Barrington, after an interval of eight days more, signified the king’s acceptance of his resignation, since which Lord North and the Bedfords have avowed separately and without reserve their disapprobation of the measure which occasioned the step. This leaves no doubt from what quarter the measure comes. It is but just to apprise your lordship what proscribed people you honour sometimes with your correspondence.”—*Chatham’s Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 253.

to these calls. He had truly abandoned the "cause and the public," and we have no doubt that he was influenced by motives which no patriot could avow, and which prompted him to preserve his name from the reprobation of posterity.

Although we cannot concur in the hypothesis of Mr. Britton, we are bound to thank him for the interesting information which he has collected regarding the life and character of Colonel Barré. Every attempt to identify Junius with one of his contemporaries should be received with gratitude, and whether it signally fails, or is favourably received, it cannot but throw some light upon the problem, or remove some difficulty from its solution. But independently of its intrinsic value, Mr. Britton's work has been the cause of placing the controversy upon a new foundation. An able writer in the *Athenæum*,\* as we have already seen, has, in a notice of that work, assigned the most satisfactory reasons for rejecting the great mass of the Miscellaneous Letters ascribed to Junius, and even the few which he does admit as *appearing* to be genuine, he admits with a caution which will justify the rejection of them on any question which concerns either the personal character or the identity of Junius.

"A letter by Domitian," says the writer in the *Athenæum*, "is said to be referred to by Junius in a private note of the 7th of December 1770; and coupled with other circumstances—amongst these his private note of the 22d February 1772, *the evidence appears sufficient*. Let 'Domitian,' therefore, be received as Junius. 'Testiculus' *may also be allowed* on the *inconclusive* memorandum, on private note, and date of publication, and *if so*, 'Testis' claims protection. Two short notes by 'Vindex' *may be received on like authority*."—P. 747.

After an able exposure of the temerity of Dr. Mason Good, the editor of the edition of Junius which contains the Miscellaneous Letters, the writer in the *Athenæum* justly and indignantly remarks,—

"We hope, therefore, never again to hear the character of Junius traduced and calumniated on the strength of the letters which Good has been pleased to attribute to him. These have been added for the most part, as we have shown, without authority and without probability—and sometimes in direct defiance of facts, and they have left us a Junius who is a moral monster, by whom we can prove anything."

The character of Junius having been thus restored, and the field of controversy cleared of the gigantic stumbling-blocks which covered it, we shall now proceed to inquire into the claims of three competitors who have very recently been recommended

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\* *Athenæum*, July 1848, pp. 711 and 745.

to public favour, namely, Sir Philip Francis, Lord George Sackville, and Colonel Lachlan Maclean.

There is perhaps no portion of literary history more extraordinary than that which relates to the identification of Sir Philip Francis and Junius. The work in which the attempt is made, entitled "*Junius Identified*," is one of the most singular examples of ingenious and inconclusive reasoning which we have ever had occasion to examine. Circumstances the most trivial, and points of resemblance the most general, twisted into many different shapes, and presented under many different aspects, have been accumulated into a mass of evidence which, after deceiving the world by its bulk, has broken down under its own weight and incoherence. In order to bring the question clearly before the minds of our readers, we shall state in distinct propositions the grounds on which we consider it demonstrable that Sir Philip Francis was not Junius.

1. Sir Philip Francis has given two distinct denials of the charge of his having written Junius. To Sir Richard Phillips he denounces it in 1813, as *a silly and malignant falsehood*. He denied it to his biographer on the 23d December 1817, a year only before his death, and he has left among his papers no document connected with the subject.

2. Sir Philip Francis had neither the experience nor the talents, nor the knowledge, nor the *wit*, that were requisite for the productions of Junius. He was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when Junius' first letter was published, whereas Junius speaks of his long experience of the world, and every page of his writings displays that knowledge of character, and that practical wisdom which could only be obtained from an extensive intercourse with various classes of society. Sir Philip Francis had never even received an University education, and he had never exhibited any taste or turn for composition before he entered the War Office. With regard to his wit, his published writings prove that he was destitute of that faculty; and the writer of this Article possesses a letter from the late Lord Chief-Commissioner, Sir William Adam, who was intimately acquainted with Francis, and was in constant intercourse with him, not only in society but in business of all kinds—in which he states that Sir Philip had neither wit nor humour; and that there are many coarse passages in Junius which he was too fastidious and sensitive to have written.

3. Sir Philip did not occupy the position necessary for obtaining the information which Junius had at his command, or possess the wealth which he had at his disposal. He was not connected with Lord Shelburne or his friends, and he was only an inferior clerk in the War Office, with an income of scarcely

£450 a year. Junius describes himself as a man of fortune, ready to indemnify Woodfall against any pecuniary loss.

4. Sir Philip occupied his position in the War Office during the whole period that Junius' Letters were writing—from 1763 till the 23d March 1772, when he resigned his situation.

5. To suppose that a clerk holding office under Government should have laboured systematically for four years to vilify and overturn the Government by which he was fed, is a supposition too monstrous to be for a moment admitted.

6. Mr. Welbore Ellis, (Lord Mendip,) was the early patron and friend of Francis—Lord Barrington was the Secretary at War under whom he served, and to whom he was indebted for the splendid appointment which was given him in India;—and yet Junius launched against both these noblemen the fiercest and most galling abuse.\* Sir William Adam informed the writer of this Article, that he constantly met with Francis at the Duke of Bedford's table, and that he never could believe that any person who had so maligned that nobleman's character† could have dared to accept of his hospitality.

7. If the Letter to a Brigadier-General was written by Junius, Sir Philip Francis could not be Junius, because he was not at Quebec, and was only nineteen or twenty years of age when it was composed.

8. No reason can be assigned why Sir Philip Francis should have exhibited such bitterness and malignity against Scotland and the Scotch. He never was in Scotland. He never had any occasion, in his official position, to come into collision with any of our countrymen; and those who identify him with Junius have not been able to assign a single reason, or to refer to a single fact in his life, either public or private, which could afford the slightest explanation of so remarkable a feature in the character of Junius.

9. It has been universally believed that Junius was in the army, and had held some official military appointment in actual service. Sir Philip Francis never was in the army, and never held any such position. Lucius‡ indeed says, "I am not a soldier," and supports his opinions on certain military matters, by stating what "he had heard from military men," but Lucius has been found not to be Junius. In the correspondence with Sir William Draper, Junius exhibits an extensive and accurate knowledge of the state of the army, and denounces its misman-

\* Mr. Calcraft, whom Junius abuses, left Francis a thousand pounds.

† Sir William Draper characterizes one of the Letters to the Duke, "as a most inhuman letter, which he had read with astonishment and horror."—*Lett.* xxvi.

‡ *Miscellaneous Letters*, vol. iii. p. 154.

agement. Sir William broadly insinuates that Junius was acquainted with Lord Shelburne, and refers him to that nobleman for the truth of one of his statements. Could Sir William have believed, or can any person believe, without legal evidence, that an inferior clerk in the War Office, who took an official part in all military arrangements, was the author of statements affecting the character of the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary at War his own superior, and the members of the Government which he served?

10. The speeches and writings of Sir Philip Francis, all composed and published since the Letters of Junius appeared, display neither the talent nor the wit, nor the peculiar style of Junius. Butler, in his *Reminiscences*, after a careful comparison of the writings of both, declares “that all internal evidence is against Sir Philip;” and Dr. Parr, a competent judge, has pronounced the same decision in still more elaborate expressions, “Sir Philip Francis,” says he, “was too proud to tell a lie, and he disclaimed the work, (the Letters of Junius.) He was too vain to refuse celebrity which he was conscious of deserving. He was too intrepid to shrink when danger had nearly passed by. He was too irascible to keep the secret, by the publication of which he at this time of day could injure no party with which he was connected, nor any individual for whom he cared. Besides, we have many books of his writing upon many subjects, and all of them stamped with the same character of mind. Their general *lexis* (as we say in Greek) *has no resemblance to the lexis of Junius*; and the resemblance in particulars can have far less weight than the resemblance of which there is no vestige. Francis uniformly writes English. There is Gallicism in Junius. Francis is furious, but not malevolent. Francis is never cool, and Junius is seldom ardent.” To these excellent observations we may add the following remarks of Mr. Butler, on the parallel passages from Junius and Francis:—“If these passages shew that Sir Philip was no mean writer, they also prove that he was not Junius. To bring the question to a direct issue—Are the glow and loftiness discernible in every page of Junius *once visible* in any of these extracts? Where do we find in the writings of Sir Philip those thoughts that breathe and words that burn, which Junius scatters in every page?—a single drop of the *cobra capella* which so often falls from Junius?” In one of the parallel passages quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, and in which Sir Philip’s attack upon Lord Thurlow is compared with Junius’ attack upon Lord Mansfield, the inferiority of Sir Philip is so great in the estimation of Mr. Butler, and, we believe, of every competent critic, “as to render it impossible that he should have been the author of Junius’ Letters.” But independent of

these views, the similarity of diction or of sentiment, which some have found in the writings of Junius and of Francis, wherever it may occur, is the *similarity of imitation*. Every polemical writer, whether in politics or in religion, has during the last *eighty years* been, to a greater or a less extent, an imitator of Junius. His thoughts, his metaphors, and even his words, have been stolen, and like Sir Philip Francis, many of our most noted orators and politicians have not scrupled to draw an arrow, poisoned though it may have been, from the ample quiver of the great intellectual gladiator.

11. The appointment of Sir Philip Francis to the situation of a Judge in India just about the time when Junius ceased to write, has been regarded as a strong argument in favour of his being Junius. We are willing to give it all the force which it would have had if there had been any other grounds for the same opinion, for we are convinced that Junius ceased to write in consequence of an arrangement with the Government. But the appointment of Francis requires no such explanation. Had Lord Barrington or the Government known or even believed that Francis was Junius, dismissal from his place in the War Office would have been the smallest portion of his punishment. But Francis had served nine years in the War Office, and had distinguished himself by his talents and habits of business, and it was by no means strange that at the age of thirty-three he should have received that appointment. The late Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, informed Mr. Butler, "that Sir Philip Francis owed the continuance of his seat in the War Office to the kindness of Lord Barrington, the prelate's brother, and that Sir Philip's appointment in India was chiefly if not wholly owing to his Lordship's recommendation of him to Lord North."\* Had Francis been an enemy of the Government, his appointment might have required some such explanation as that which has been given of it. He who receives an office from his political opponents, and especially from those whom he has systematically abused, must have surrendered something in exchange for the generosity of the gift.†

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\* Reminiscences, p. 97, note.

† The following remarks by Mr. Barker express so fully our views on the general improbability of Sir Philip Francis being Junius, that we cannot withhold them from our readers:—

"If the author of Junius should prove to be Sir Philip Francis, it will certainly stand out as one of the most extraordinary and unaccountable occurrences ever known, that he, a mere clerk in the War Office, should have commenced his literary career by a series of papers perfect in their style of composition; and his political career by professing those high public principles which belong only to the tongues or the pens of men who have been for a series of years running their course of usefulness and of fame; and that he should have denounced the conduct of the ministry in the severest terms, with the apparent style of an experienced



Although we have thus resisted the claims of Sir Philip Francis, and given him a lower niche than Junius in the Temple of Fame, we cannot concur in any attempt to depreciate his talents, or degrade his name. In the "*History of Junius and his Works*" by Mr. Jaques, the latest work on this exciting controversy, such an attempt has been made. Perplexed with the antagonism of the "internal evidence against Sir Philip," and the fancied "external evidence in his favour," Mr. Butler reduces to zero the pretensions of the distracted knight, and transfers the honour of Junius to Lord George Sackville. Anxious, however, to reconcile the two classes of evidence which he considers as neutralizing each other, he places both hypotheses at right angles to each other, as in the parallelogram of forces, and conducts his reader into a third or diagonal hypothesis, in which he expects him complacently to rest. He restores, as he expresses it, to each hypothesis its individual activity, by supposing *that Sir Philip was not Junius, but THE AMANUENSIS of Junius*—that the real Junius was too high to be bought, so that when he made his terms with Government he was contented to remain in a proud obscurity, but stipulated *a boon for his scribe*; and was of consequence enough to insist that the boon should be liberal!! Mr. Jaques accepts of this hypothesis as the solution of the long agitated problem, and summarily removes every remaining difficulty by the following oracular decision :—"It may probably be objected that no personal intercourse has been traced between Lord George and Mr. Francis—the answer to this is, that it was essential to the preservation of the secret that they should keep aloof, and appear strangers to each other. It is evident that Mr. D'Oyley *was* THE CONNECTING LINK between the man of high rank, mature age, and independent fortune, *having a personal hatred against the King and his Ministers*, whose hand-writing is found to bear a strong resemblance to some of the *short private notes* written by Junius to Woodfall, AND the clever young inferior clerk who was intrusted with the 'slavery of writing' or copying for the press the *longer and more elaborate letters*."\*

Had Sir Philip Francis lived to witness his ignominious

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rhetorician, the exact knowledge of an able statesman, the lofty tone of an independent spirit, and a Demosthenic vehemence of diction unparalleled in the history of human eloquence.

"If Sir Philip Francis did, in such circumstances, write the Letters of Junius, then the history of the world itself has exhibited no similar or second instance of this sort; the phenomenon cannot be explained by all the philosophy of the human mind, and nothing is too little or too great for human credulity."—BARKER'S *Five Letters on the Author of Junius*, p. 6.

\* Jaques's *History of Junius and his Works*, p. 382.

fall from Junius to a copying clerk,—from the “mighty boar of the forest” to the most harmless of the quadrupeds,—he would not have expressed his indifference, as he did, to the “silliness and malignity of the falsehood.” He might have laughed at the insult by a parody upon Johnson’s example of the anticlimax :—

“Sir Philip Francis the great god of war,  
And Clerk assistant to the Earl of Mar.”

It is unfortunate for great men to have such commentators as Mr. Jaques, and unfortunate for truth that a grand question of literary criticism should be submitted to a species of logic by which anything may be proved. There are many reasons, argues the logician, for believing that Sir Philip Francis was Junius, and there are more for believing that Lord George Sackville was the man; *ergo*, Junius was written by their joint labours—by the mind of the one and the pen of the other. Why not take in a third or a fourth writer into the firm? Colonel Barré or Macleane could be made useful by supplying the materials for the Letter to a Brigadier-General, Junius’ earliest production. It is of no importance that Barré, and Macleane, and Sackville, and Francis, were not known to be acquaintances, “for it is essential that they should keep aloof and appear strangers to each other!” It is of still less importance that Lord George is in that letter taken to task for his cowardice at Minden, because in one of the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius, his prototype candidly confesses “that he loves to be stationed in the rear!”

As the claims of Lord George Sackville have been again so pertinaciously pressed upon the attention of the public, it will be necessary to examine briefly the grounds upon which they rest. Lord George Sackville, the third son of the first Duke of Dorset, was born in June 1716, and had reached the age of *fifty-three* when Junius began his Letters. Prior to this epoch he was made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty’s Forces, and a member of the Privy Council. At the battle of Minden, which was fought on the 1st August 1759, Lord George commanded the cavalry. During the heat of the action, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Ligonier, to order Lord George to bring up the cavalry. This order had scarcely been received when Colonel Fitzroy came up with a modified order, that Lord George should march with *only the British cavalry*, and to the left. Lord George received the order with some confusion, and replied,—“This cannot be so; would he have me break the line?” Fitzroy (to use Horace Walpole’s words,) young, brave, and impetuous, urged the command. Lord George desired that he would not be in a

hurry. "I am out of breath with galloping," said Fitzroy, "which makes me speak quick; but my orders are positive: the French are in disorder; there is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves." Lord George still hesitated, saying, "it was impossible the Prince could mean to break the line." Fitzroy stuck to the Prince's order. Lord George asked which way the cavalry were to march, and who was to be their guide? "I," said Fitzroy, bravely. Lord George, pretending the different orders puzzled him, desired to be conducted to the Prince for explanation; in the meantime he despatched Smith, his favourite, with orders to lead on the British cavalry, from which he pleaded no delay could happen. Smith whispered to Lord George, to convince him of the necessity of obeying. Lord George persisted in being carried to the Prince, who, at Fitzroy's report, was much astonished. Even when Lord George did march, he twice sent orders to halt to Lord Granby, (second in command,) who was posting on with less attention to the rules of a march, but with more ardour for engaging. Before they arrived the battle was gained.\*

In the beginning of September 1759, Lord Barrington notified to Lord George Sackville that his Majesty had no farther occasion for his services as Lieutenant-General and Colonel of Dragoon Guards. Lord George demanded a court-martial, but as the witnesses were engaged on foreign service, it was not held till the 7th March 1760, on the return of the English troops from Germany. The proceedings closed on the 3d April 1760, when the Court pronounced the following sentence:—"This Court is of opinion that Lord George Sackville is *GUILTY of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick*, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey as Commander-in-Chief, according to the rules of war. And it is the farther opinion of this Court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby *ADJUDGED, unfit to serve his Majesty* in any military capacity whatever." His Majesty confirmed the sentence, struck Lord George's name out of the council-book, and forbade his appearance at Court.

We have referred thus fully to this unfortunate event in Lord George Sackville's life, because upon it, and upon it alone, has been founded the hypothesis of his being Junius. Regarding his dismissal from the army as an act of the witnesses at his trial, and his prohibition to attend the Court as a personal act of the King, (George II.,) Lord George Sackville is supposed to have cherished the deadliest hatred against every individual who

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\* Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*, vol. iii. p. 194. 2d Edition. 1846.

had contributed to his degradation, and to have assumed the mask of Junius in order to expose them to the world. The Marquis of Granby is assailed because he was a witness, and the Duke of Grafton because he was the brother of Colonel Fitzroy; and the reason assigned for the attack upon Lord Mansfield is, that his Lordship had *erroneously* assured Lord George, previous to his trial, that he could not be convicted; while Lord George's hatred and abuse of the Scotch is ascribed to the fact that *there were ten Scotch officers* on the court-martial that condemned him! Such are the motives which are supposed to have impelled an English nobleman to assail the Sovereign, the Government, and the Judges of his country, and thus, under the pretence of being a patriot, to hazard his property, his liberty, and even his life, in the gratification of a personal animosity. But admitting that any honourable mind could surrender itself to so ignoble a course, let us see how it was pursued by the mortified and dishonoured soldier. That the volcano of his fury should have broken forth under the sting of his degradation might have been expected; that it would have scattered its ashes indiscriminately around till its fires were spent and its missiles exhausted, might be readily admitted; but that it should smoulder for nearly *ten* years, and then eject a Junius from its crater, is too ridiculous to be believed. And how did this avenging Junius launch his first thunderbolt against the supposed enemies of Lord George Sackville? In January 1768, he addresses to Lord Chatham a letter, (*Private and Secret, to be opened by Lord Chatham only,*) giving him information respecting the insincerity and ingratitude of his associates in the Cabinet—a letter that could neither gratify malignity nor satiate revenge. The same Junius, charged with such puny impulses, remains quiet for more than a year; and on the 21st January 1769, he commences his genuine letters with an argumentative examination of the financial and military condition of the country.

But it is stated that Lord George did, previous to the appearance of Junius, wreak his vengeance against his enemies in writings both with his name and anonymously; and we may therefore suppose that he had thus exacted a sufficient penalty from his enemies, without making a more severe demand upon them in the person of Junius. On the accession of George III., in 1760, Lord George appeared at Court with the sanction of the Earl of Bute; and though a party prevented a repetition of this informality, yet so little ground had he for hostility against the King, that he was made a member of the Privy Council in 1765, and in the same year appointed one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland. It is true that, for reasons

not known, he resigned this office in the following year, when the Duke of Grafton came into power; but this was a mere loss of place, and not an injury sufficient to justify the assaults of Junius against the Government, and against a King who, instead of having injured him, had, under peculiar circumstances, placed him among the number of his Privy Councillors.

Let us now consider the position and conduct of Lord George Sackville during the time of Junius. Lord George, like several of the leading politicians of the day, held many of the opinions of Junius; but it is impossible, for one moment, to believe that he could have written the violent attacks upon George III., and upon Lord Mansfield, against whom he had no ground of offence. In supporting Sergeant Glynn's motion for a Committee to inquire into the administration of Criminal Justice, which was made in the House of Commons on the 6th December 1770, Lord George made the following observations, in which he clearly alludes to Junius, and to the famous letter addressed to Lord Mansfield, and published only three weeks before:—

“All the records of our Courts of Law,” says Lord George, “and all the monuments of our lawyers, are ransacked, in order to find sufficiently odious names by which he may be christened. The libellous and virulent spirit of the times has overleaped all the barriers of law, order, and decorum. The Judges are no longer revered, and the laws have lost all their salutary terrors. Juries will not convict petty delinquents, when they suspect grand criminals go unpunished. Hence libels and lampoons, audacious beyond the example of all other times; libels, in comparison of which the “North Briton,” once deemed the *ne plus ultra* of sedition, is perfect innocence and simplicity. The sacred number forty-five, formerly the idol of the multitude, is eclipsed by the superior venom of every day's defamation. All its magical and talismanic powers are lost and absorbed in the general deluge of scandal which pours from the press. When matters are thus circumstanced; when the Judges in general, and Lord Mansfield in particular, are there hung out to public scorn and detestation, now that libellers receive no countenance from men high in power, and in the public esteem; what will be the consequence when it is publicly known, that they have been arraigned, and that their friends quashed the inquiry which it was proposed to make upon their conduct? \* \* \* I cannot help thinking that it is the wish of Lord Mansfield himself to have his conduct examined, nay, I collect as much from the language of a gentleman who may be supposed to know his sentiments. What foundation, then, is there for obstructing the inquiry? None at all. It is a pleasure to me to see my noble friend discovering such symptoms of conscious innocence. His ideas perfectly coincide with my own. I would never oppose the minutest scrutiny into my behaviour. However much condemned by the envy or malice of enemies, I would at least show that I stood acquitted in my own mind, and *quis fugit judicium ipso teste, reus est.*”

That these observations were not part of a vein of satire and invective, as Mr. Coventry calls it, running throughout the whole speech under the mask of friendship for Lord Mansfield, must be obvious to every reader; and in proof of this we have only to refer to Lord Sackville's dying declaration to Lord Mansfield which he made at Tunbridge Wells, in the presence of Mr. Cumberland. Lord Sackville sent Cumberland for Lord Mansfield, who immediately obeyed the summons of his friend. Having just dismounted from his horse, and had time to recover his breath, Lord Sackville addressed his visitor in the following words:—"But, my good Lord, though I ought not to have imposed upon you the painful ceremony of paying a last visit to a dying man, yet so great was my anxiety to return you my *unfeigned thanks for all your goodness to me, all the kind protection you have shown me* during my unprosperous life, that I could not know you were so near me, and not write to assure you of *the invariable respect I have entertained for your character*, and now in the most serious manner to solicit your forgiveness if I have appeared in your eyes, at any moment of my life, unjust to your great merits, or forgetful of your many favours." \* Lord Mansfield made a reply perfectly becoming, says Cumberland, and highly satisfactory.

Having exhibited in his speech of the 28th March 1776, much knowledge of American affairs, Lord George Sackville was publicly thanked for his observations, which Lord North went so far as to characterize "as worthy of so great a mind." He now voted with the Government against his friends in the opposition; and so high was the value which was put upon his support, that Lord North resolved to remove Lord Dartmouth, and his Majesty appointed Lord George Sackville Secretary of State for the American Colonies on the 7th September 1775!—Junius—a deserter of the opposition,—a Secretary of State,—the friend of the Sovereign whom he had maligned,—asking and receiving favours from the Crown, and inexorable to the calls of humanity and justice, by supporting the king in his determination to prosecute the American war to the uttermost! This is incredible. Lord George occupied this unfortunate position till the year 1782. The surrender of the British troops at York Town led to the termination of the American war, and when the peace was concluded Lord George resigned his office, and in 1782 was created a British peer, with the title of Viscount Sackville—"one of the few peerages, says Wraxall, which, in the course of half a century, George III. has been allowed to confer wholly independent of

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\* "When I record this speech," says Cumberland, "I give it to the reader as correct: I do not trust to memory at this distance: I transcribe it."—*Cumberland's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 250.



ministerial intervention, or recommendation from the impulse of his own inclination.”\* Lord Sackville did not long survive this honour. His enemies in the House of Lords denounced this act of the Sovereign as derogatory to the House; and some of them even pronounced it to be “an insult to their Lordships to see a person created a peer whose disgrace was entered in the orderly books of every British regiment.” Lord Shelburne (the friend of Junius) declared that *he had suffered many professional injuries from the person (Lord Sackville) who was the subject of debate, and that smarting with a sense of those injuries at the time, a sort of enmity had taken place between him and the person in question!* The attempt, twice made, to obtain a decision of the Peers against his promotion completely failed, and Lord Sackville spent the rest of his days in calm resignation to the persecution which he had suffered, kind to all around him, and regularly and respectfully attentive to his religious duties. He died on the 26th August 1785, in the 69th year of his age.

Such was the Junius of Mr. Coventry, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Jaques. Such was Lord Sackville—a great and good man if not Junius; if Junius—a traitor to his king and his country, a hypocrite in his life, and a liar at his dying hour. The laurels of Junius, green and unfading when enwreathing his own hallowed shade, wither and decay by transplantation. The moral life that bears them perishes beneath their pressure, and the intellectual glory of which they are the badge grows dim without the lustre of an honest name.

After these details we need not say much more about the claims of Lord George Sackville. His Lordship himself stated to a friend that “he should be proud to be capable of writing as Junius had done, but that there were many passages in his letters which he should be very sorry to have written;” and *not many days before his death* he said to Mr. Cumberland, “by way of jest,” that he was among the suspected authors of Junius. Mr. Cumberland adds, “I did not want him to disavow it, for there could be no occasion to disprove an absolute impossibility;” and, he might have added, that there was less occasion for its disavowal after his farewell address to Lord Mansfield. To these observations we shall only add, that those who give credit to the statement of the Marquis of Lansdowne to Sir Richard Phillips, or who believe that Junius wrote the letter to a Brigadier-General, or the famous miscellaneous letter dated 22d October 1767, in which the cowardice of Lord George Sackville is mentioned,

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\* The King and Lord Mansfield knew who Junius was. This fact we state on the very highest authority.

will acquit this nobleman of any share in the productions of Junius.

We come now to call the attention of our readers to the claims of a new candidate for the honours of Junius—Colonel Lauchlin, or Laughlin Maclean. This gentleman, like many of the other competitors, was supposed by several of his private friends to be Junius, but his pretensions were never brought before the public. His name was first mentioned by Almon in the introduction to his edition of Junius, but it has never appeared in any of the lists of the “false Juniuses” which are to be found in every work on the subject. Upwards of thirty years ago, when Sir David Brewster was looking over the papers of the late James Macpherson, Esq., M.P., he found several letters addressed to him with the signature of L. Maclean, and bearing the dates of 1776-7, a few years after Junius ceased to write. Mr. Macpherson and Colonel Maclean were agents for the Nabob of Arcot, and Colonel Maclean was the friend and confidential agent of Warren Hastings. These letters related to the affairs of India; and though many of them were hurried notes, bearing only Maclean’s initials, yet they were vigorously and elegantly written, and contained passages such as might have been expected from Junius. One of these began with the following sentence:—“I shall follow your advice, my dear sir, implicitly. The feelings of the man are not fine, but he must be chafed into sensation.” This and other similar passages were shown to Mr. Macpherson of Belleville, who recollected that the name of Maclean was mentioned in Galt’s *Life of West* in connexion with that of Junius. A copy of the book was immediately sent for, when to the great surprise of the parties the following passage was discovered:—

“An incident,” says Mr. Galt, “of a curious nature has brought him (Mr. West) to be a party, in some degree, in the singular question respecting the mysterious author of the celebrated letters of Junius. On the morning that the first of these famous invectives appeared, his friend, Governor Hamilton, happened to call; and enquiring the news, Mr. West informed him of that bold and daring epistle. Ringing for his servant at the same time, he desired the newspaper to be brought in. Hamilton read it over with great attention; and when he had done, laid it on his knees in a manner that particularly attracted the notice of the painter who was standing at his easel. This letter,” said Hamilton, in a tone of vehement feeling, “is by that d——d scoundrel Maclean. What Maclean?” inquired Mr. West. “The surgeon of Otway’s regiment; the fellow who attacked me so violently in the Philadelphia newspapers, on account of the part I felt it my duty to take against one of the officers. *This letter is by him.* I know these very words. I may well remember them; and he read over several phrases and sentiments which Maclean employed

against him.\* Mr. West then informed the Governor that Maclean was in the country, and that he was personally acquainted with him. He came over," said Mr. West, "with Colonel Barré, by whom he was introduced to Lord Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne,) and is at present private secretary to his lordship."†

This remarkable anecdote, taken in connexion with the casual discovery of Maclean's letters, induced Sir David Brewster to enter upon an inquiry foreign to his own studies, but not without an interest to those who like himself were admirers of the writings of Junius. In this inquiry he has been engaged for nearly thirty years; and though he does not pretend to have identified Maclean with Junius, he believes that in favour of no other candidate can such an amount of evidence be produced.

Lauchlin Maclean was born in the county of Antrim in 1727 or 1728. His father, John Maclean, was a nonjuring clergyman, nearly connected with the Macleans of Coll, and was driven from Scotland in consequence of his attachment to the exiled family, and of his refusal, along with many others, to pray for King George the First and the Royal family. This must have taken place previous to 1726, for he married after he arrived in Ireland, and took up his residence in the north of Ireland, near Belfast. He was a man robust in stature and independent in his principles, and he had occasion to exhibit both these qualities during his residence in Scotland.‡ When he was one day coming out of church, a quarrel arose between him and some officers of the army, who had no doubt been chiding him for his disloyalty. After some altercation, they told him that nothing but his coat prevented them from giving him a good beating. Maclean immediately threw off his coat, exclaiming, "*Lie you there, Divinity, and Maclean will do for himself,*" and gave the officers a sound drubbing. After the Rebellion in 1715, "the criminal records of Scotland were for some years engrossed with prosecutions against Episcopalian clergymen," who refused to pray for the King; and in a prosecution of one of these clergymen in Edinburgh, so late as the year 1755, it was stated by the Judge on the bench, "that non-juring Episcopalian clergymen of the

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\* All the Colleges and Repositories of newspapers in America have been ransacked in vain for the paper containing this attack upon Governor Hamilton.

† Prior, in his *Life of Goldsmith*, makes the following reference to this event : — "In 1761, while Maclean was surgeon to Otway's regiment, quartered in Philadelphia, a quarrel took place with the Governor, against whom Maclean, who was a man of superior talents, wrote a paper distinguished by ability and severity, which drew general attention. Colonel Barré, subsequently so well known in political life, then serving there with his regiment, and who was probably involved in the quarrel, is said to have formed a regard for him in consequence of the part he took."—Vol. ii. p. 150.

‡ This anecdote was communicated to us by the late Alexander Maclean, Esq., of Coll.

prisoner's activity were dangerous to the present happy establishment !”

Thus driven from the house of his father, and forced to seek an asylum in a sister-land, an ardent mind like that of John Maclean must have cherished strong feelings of dislike and even hatred against the dominant party by whom he was persecuted; and in the legacy of revenge which he doubtless bequeathed to his son, we see the origin, if he were Junius, of that unconquerable hatred of Scotland and the Scotch which rankled in his breast. In no other candidate for the mask of Junius can we find such powerful reasons for his bitter and never-ending anathemas against our country. Mr. Maclean does not seem to have remained in the Church, for we find him characterized as a gentleman of small fortune. Lauchlin, his second son, was sent, in 1745 or 1746, from a school near Belfast to Trinity College, Dublin,\* where he became acquainted with Burke and Goldsmith. He afterwards went to Edinburgh to study Medicine; and on the 4th January 1756,† he was introduced by Goldsmith to the Medical Society, of which he became a member. Goldsmith having become surety for the debts of a fellow-student which he was unable to pay, was about to be thrown into prison, when the liberality of Maclean and of another fellow-student, Mr. Sleight, relieved him from this distressing embarrassment. After completing his medical course, he obtained the degree of M.D. on the 6th August 1755;‡ and some time after this he entered the army as surgeon to Otway's regiment. (the 35th.)

We have not been able to learn if Maclean was in any of the expeditions to North America, which were fitted out in 1757 or 1758, but we know that he accompanied the celebrated expedition in 1759, when Wolfe fell on the heights of Abraham, and the command of the British troops devolved upon Brigadier-General Townshend. Major Barré and his countryman Maclean shared in the dangers and honours of that eventful day, and had their illustrious commander survived the battle, Barré would have been the bearer of the despatches, and would have received promotion. Barré had, by his conduct at the siege of Louisburg, gained the approbation of General Sir Jeffery Amherst; and upon the surrender of Montreal, on the 8th September 1760, he was made the bearer of the despatches to Government.

\* The following is the entry in the College Register :—"1745 (1746), *Maii* 29°. *Lauchlin MacLeane Pens.* :—*Filius Johanni Generosi—Annum agens 18—Natus in Comitatu Antrim—Educatus sub Ferula, Mro. Dennison.—Tutor, Mr. Read.*"

† It is a curious fact, that Maclean and Barré and Goldsmith were all residing in Scotland at the same time.

‡ His Thesis, entitled *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis de Erysipelate*, was dedicated to the Duke of Hamilton.

Brigadier-General Townshend was unpopular in the army, and particularly obnoxious to Barré and Maclean, and the other friends of Wolfe. According to Horace Walpole, "he, and his friends for him, attempted to ravish the honours of the conquest from Wolfe. Townshend's first letter said nothing in praise of him. In one to the Speaker of the House, he went so far as to assume the glory of the last efforts, \* \* \* ; and in other more private despatches, he was still more explicit."\* Irritated by this selfish and ungenerous conduct, the friends of Wolfe, and who could they be but Barré or Maclean, drew up and published, in 1760, the celebrated Letter to a Brigadier-General, already mentioned, which so clearly resembles in its temper, and style, and sentiments, the Letters of Junius. If Junius, therefore, wrote this letter, all the arguments of Mr. Britton in favour of Barré's being the author of it, and therefore Junius, are equally applicable to Maclean; and if we have proved that Barré could not be Junius, it follows that, under these assumptions, Maclean is entitled to that distinction. This conclusion we may fairly corroborate by a reference to one of the miscellaneous letters, signed *A Faithful Monitor*, and ascribed to Junius, although there is no sufficient evidence that he wrote it. But as it is possible, and to a certain degree probable, that it may prove genuine, we are entitled to add this indeterminate quantity to our argument. "I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. (Lord Townshend, and his brother Charles, then Chancellor of the Exchequer.) *I have served under the one, and have been forty times promised to be served by the other.*"† Now, who but Barré or Maclean are likely to have written this sentence? They both served under Lord Townshend; and though it is not probable that Barré could have been promised any situation under the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is very likely that Maclean might have received such a promise.

Early in 1761 General Monckton was appointed governor of New York, and in December of the same year he left that city with a strong force for the reduction of Martinique. Otway's regiment was part of the eleven battalions which went from New York for this purpose, and Maclean accompanied the General

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\* *Horace Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*, vol. iii. p. 222, 2d edit. 1846.

† Mr. Jaques, in the early part of his volume, interprets this passage as declaring, that Charles Townshend had forty times promised to serve under the *Faithful Monitor*, or Junius, without availing himself of this perversion of very plain words; but he afterwards makes use of it as an argument in favour of Lord George Sackville, under whom he thinks Charles Townshend might have promised to serve! The passage has no application in favour of Sir Philip Francis.—See Jaques' *Hist. of Junius*, pp. 136 and 370.

as his private secretary. The English fleet, rendezvoused at Barbadoes, came before Martinique on the 7th January 1762, and obtained possession of it on the 4th February. After the reduction of the French West India islands, and the peace of 1762 which followed it, the regiments to which Barré and Macleanne belonged were disbanded. We have not been able to obtain much information about Macleanne after the taking of Martinique. He seems to have settled in Philadelphia as a physician, and to have remained there for some years. A gentleman in Philadelphia mentions "Dr. Laughlin Macleanne and his lady as acquaintances of his grandfather, and visitors at his house sometime between 1761 and 1766."\* Mr. Prior informs us, that when in Philadelphia Macleanne acquired great medical reputation, followed by its common attendant, envy, from the less fortunate of his brethren, and he gives us the following anecdote of him, which Almon quotes as an example of what he terms "true magnanimity." "A rival practitioner, extremely jealous of his successor, who had adopted every means, not excepting the most unfair, of injuring his credit, was at length afflicted by the dangerous illness of an only son; a consultation became necessary; and as possessing the first character for professional skill, Mr. Macleanne was solicited to attend. His zeal proved unremitting; he sat up with the patient many nights, and chiefly by his sagacity and indefatigable efforts, succeeded beyond expectation in restoring the young man to health; refusing all consideration for his labours, and saying to his friends, —'now am I amply revenged.'"

It appears to have been in 1761, before he accompanied General Monckton to Martinique, that he published the attack upon Governor Hamilton, to which we have already referred, and in which he employed the very same *words, phrases, and sentiments*, which six or seven years afterwards were used by Junius. It is not easy to forget the very terms of asperity and invective by which we may have been assailed, and as Governor Hamilton declares that "he might well remember them," we cannot refuse to give great weight to his testimony that Macleanne was Junius.

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\* "The latter (Mrs. Macleanne) rarely missed a day, when the weather was favourable, of calling upon her countrywoman, my grandmother; and I well remember she was always attended by a small white dog enormously fat, in which quality he even exceeded his mistress, who yielded to few of her species and sex in the possession of an enviable *embonpoint*. The doctor was considered to have great skill in his profession, as well as to be a man of wit and general information, but I have never known a person who had a more distressing impediment in his speech."—*Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, 1811. Chap. ii.



Mr. West states, and we have elsewhere met with a similar statement, that Macleane came over to England in the same ship with Colonel Barré, who had formed such a high opinion of his talents and acquirements, that he introduced him to Lord Shelburne, who appointed him his private secretary. In 1766, Macleane met Barry, the painter,\* at Paris, and had an opportunity of being useful to him on his way to Italy; and Burke, in one of his letters to Barry, written in the beginning of 1767, informs him "that Macleane is Under Secretary in Lord Shelburne's office, and that there is no doubt but he will be, as he deserves, well patronized there."

Having been Lord Shelburne's private secretary, and afterwards his Under Secretary for the Southern Department, Macleane had now embarked on a political career which must have led to wealth and honours; but in consequence of the Duke of Grafton's intrigues in the Cabinet, all his prospects were blasted. So early as July 1768, "the Bedfords" had begun to persecute Lord Shelburne. The King preferring Mr. Lynch, refused to confirm his nomination of Lord Tankerville to be Resident Minister at Turin, and Lord Shelburne was so indignant at his refusal, that he would have resigned, had not the Chancellor, Lord Camden, "persuaded him to the contrary." In August "the removal of Lord Shelburne was proposed in the closet and objected to;" but his enemies seem to have prevailed, for in September Mr. Lynch was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sardinia. Lord Chatham had resolved, under these circumstances, to resign, and in mentioning his resolution to the Duke of Grafton on the 12th October, he added, "that he could not enough lament the removing of Sir Jeffery Amherst, (from the government of Virginia,) and that of Lord Shelburne." Lady Chatham had told the Duke of Grafton "that Lord Shelburne's removal would never have Lord Chatham's consent or approval, as thinking it quite contrary to the King's service. He has a great regard and friendship for him, and thinks his abilities make him necessary in the office he is in, to the carrying on of his Majesty's business. My Lord would think either (viz., that of Sir Jeffery Amherst also) most unhappy and very unfortunate for his Majesty's service."† The Duke of Grafton, however, was determined that Lord Shelburne should resign, and accordingly Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne retired from the Ministry on the 21st October 1768. Macleane of course followed the fate of his chief, and doubtless felt keenly his dismissal from the honours and emoluments of office. In

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\* Prior's *Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 208.

† Chatham's *Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 337, note.

less than *three* months Junius launched his first formidable philippic against the Ministry.\* Can it be doubted that this attack emanated from Lord Shelburne's party? Lord Shelburne, Barré, and Maclean, were the principal persons aggrieved by the change in the Ministry, and it is among them alone that Junius can be found. The whole of Mr. Britton's facts and reasonings confirm this opinion, and we are left only to choose between Barré and Maclean.

In these proceedings the King had taken an active part, and so early as May 1767, his Majesty speaks of Lord Shelburne's party as "a hydra-faction," and Lord Shelburne himself as "a secret enemy."† The conduct of the King therefore could not but irritate the friends of Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne, and it was doubtless to the strong feeling which it engendered that we owe the celebrated address to the King, which forms so conspicuous a feature in the history of Junius. From 1768 to 1771, during the greater part of the time the Letters of Junius were publishing, Maclean sat in Parliament for the borough of Arundel, but owing to an impediment in his speech, he was not distinguished as a speaker, and his great talents were therefore to a considerable extent concealed from the public. He was the friend of Lord Shelburne and Barré, and from the former he could easily obtain all that knowledge of what was going on at Court which Junius possessed in so remarkable a degree. That Maclean had this knowledge was believed by his contemporaries, for when Major Campbell wished to shew how Hugh Boyd, whom he believed to be Junius, got the necessary information, he stated that he got it *through his friend Maclean*, who then moved in the first circles. But we have now much clearer evidence of the means which were employed to obtain this information. Jeremy Bentham informs us that Lord Shelburne told him that he knew "all that passed" at Court, through the two Ladies Waldegrave, the daughters of the Duchess of Gloucester, who lived at Court as "Ladies of Honour, or some such thing," and that "they used to write to the Miss V——'s, who were inmates of Lord Shelburne's family, and report what passed at Court." Bentham himself experienced the effect of the influence of Lord Shelburne. He had written in the *Public Advertiser* for 1789, some letters signed *Anti-Macchiavel*. On the day, or the day after the publication of one of these letters, he called at Lansdowne House, where the following incident occurred:—

\* Dated January 21, 1769.

† The King's Letter to the Earl of Chatham, May 30, 1767, published in *Chatham's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 206.

“ ‘ You are found out,’ cried Lord Lansdowne, laying hold of me, ‘ Lady L. it was that detected you,’ and he told me by what mark. He was in a perfect ecstasy. Never shall I forget the rapidity with which we vibrated arm in arm talking over the matter, in the great dining-room. A day or two after there came out in the same paper an answer, under the signature of ‘ A Partisan.’ ‘ So,’ says he, ‘ here’s an antagonist you have got! Do you know who he is?’ Not I, indeed.’ ‘ Well, I will tell you, it is THE KING. *That he had means of knowing this was no secret to me. For a considerable length of time, a regular journal of what passed at the Queen’s House had been received by him; he had mentioned to me the persons from whom it came.* The answer was, of course, a trumpery one. The communication produced on me the sort of effect that could not but have been intended. JUNIUS had set the writings of the day to the tune of asperity. I fell upon THE BEST OF KINGS with redoubled vehemence.’ ”\*

Not satisfied with these means of information, Lord Shelburne had still more active agents. Bentham tells us that Captain Blankett and Mr. Jekyll were *necessary instruments* to Lord Shelburne, and that it was their business to *watch in the quarters of the enemy*. “ His Lordship,” continues Bentham, “ did not care much about Hastings; *but knowing the part the King took, and having all the King’s conversations repeated to him, he professed to take Hastings’ part.*” And when the conversation turned upon Lord Mansfield, Bentham learned “ *that he was the object of undisguised antipathy to Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden,*” the two great friends of Junius. When we combine these remarkable disclosures, only recently brought before the public eye, with the cardinal facts mentioned by the Marquis of Lansdowne, almost at his dying hour, that he knew Junius,—that he knew all about the writing and production of his Letters,—that he had not yet been named,—and that there was no longer any reason for concealing his name, we can scarcely refuse our assent to the opinion, that either Barré or Maclean was Junius. We have already seen that Maclean was the friend, the countryman, and the fellow *collegian* of Burke; and that “ *it is an undoubted fact,*” according to Prior, “ that Burke himself indirectly acknowledged to Sir Joshua Reynolds that *he knew the writer of Junius.*” We know also that Mrs. Burke, Sir Joshua, and Mr. Malone, all believed that Burke polished the compositions of Junius for the public eye; and if we put any faith in these statements, it will be difficult to find any other friend than Maclean for whom Burke could have performed this act of kindness. It is demonstrable from Junius’ answer to *Junia*, written by Caleb Whiteford, that he had coadjutors by whom he was often un-

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\* Dr. Bowring’s *Life of Jeremy Bentham*, p. 112 : see also p. 116.

willingly influenced, and it is therefore the less improbable that these coadjutors may have occasionally given him some assistance.

The connexion of Wilkes with Junius is well known. They were at one time apparently friends, and at another enemies. In taking Wilkes' part against the King and the Ministry, Junius says, "I know that *man much better than any of you* ;\*" that Nature intended him for a good-humoured fool, but that a systematical education, with long practice, had made him a consummate hypocrite."† And yet in a month or two we find him writing letters to Wilkes as a political friend, and assisting and advising him in his proceedings. Now this was precisely the relative situation of Maclean and Wilkes. Maclean had not only been his political coadjutor, but had lent him money. Wilkes, however, seems to have taken offence at his conduct, and to have been a party to an attack upon Maclean in the *Public Advertiser*, in January 1771. Having obtained what he thought evidence that Wilkes was the author of this attack, Maclean sent him a challenge through Major Maclean on the 29th January. Wilkes refused to accept it,—denied that he was the author of the offensive letter, and thus compelled Maclean to publish the correspondence in the *Public Advertiser*.‡ It is a curious fact, and one of some value in the Junius controversy, that in this attack of Wilkes upon Maclean, Wilkes *himself* "is injuriously treated," a circumstance which Wilkes pleads as a proof that he did not write the letter. To this Maclean replies that "there is not a syllable of what Mr. Wilkes calls 'injurious to him' which does not point to the source from which the letter sprang. His favourite foibles alone are touched upon, and with a very gentle hand. But is it not the stale trick of all assassins when they stab in the dark to give themselves a slight wound that they may escape suspicion?"§

About this time a remarkable change seems to have taken place in the views and position of Junius, and an analogous change took place in the views and position of Maclean. Lady Shelburne died on the 5th January 1771, and soon afterwards Lord Shelburne left England for the Continent. If Maclean had hitherto been private secretary to his Lordship, he must now

\* After Wilkes had been in exile, "he appeared," says Prior, "accompanied from Paris by Mr. Laughlin Maclean, an old acquaintance of Mr. Burke, privately in London, early in May 1766, and was determined, as he said, either to make his fortune from the fear of the Government, or to annoy it."—*Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 152.

† Letter LII., 24th July, 1771.

‡ After Junius' friendly correspondence with Wilkes from August to November 1771, two of his letters relating to the Bill of Rights Society were misrepresented to the public. He suspected Wilkes to have done this, and desired Woodfall to tell him "that he will not submit to be any longer aspersed," and adds, "between ourselves let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with Patriots."

§ The writer of this article owes the knowledge of these curious letters to the kindness of N. W. Simons, Esq., of the British Museum.

have been thrown out of employment, but whether this was the case or not he seems at this time to have shown a disposition to favour the Ministry. He is said to have written early in 1771 a pamphlet in “Defence of the Ministry on the subject of the Falkland Islands,”\* and thus to have gained the patronage of Lord North. On the 8th May 1771, he resigned his seat for Arundel by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds. In the same month Lord North appointed him superintendent of Lazarettos, with a salary of £1000 per annum, and two pounds per day of travelling expenses. In January 1772 he received the appointment of Collector of Philadelphia, and, what is curious, his absence from England agrees with the interval in the correspondence between Junius and Woodfall—an interval which continued from May 10, 1772, to January 19, 1773. Macleane, too, returned in 1773, to receive a new and lucrative appointment from the Government; and Junius reappeared from *his occultation of eight months*, not to expostulate with the Ministry, or fulfil his patriotic pledge to the English nation, but to disappear like a meteor from the political horizon, and be seen and heard of no more! Even after Macleane received his appointment to the Collectorship Junius wrote no more under his real signature, and in his private note, dated January 19, 1777, he took a final leave of Woodfall in the following expressive strains:—

“I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have *good reason* for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.”

In the month of April 1773, Macleane was appointed Commissary-General of Musters, and Auditor-General of Military Accounts, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in India, an appointment worth about £5000 a-year,† and one which “was thought to be the reward of some greater service than the defence of the Ministry on the affair of the Falkland Islands.” He went out to India in the same ship with Sir Philip Francis,—discharged

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\* There is not a copy of this pamphlet in the British Museum, nor any other library, public or private, where we have made inquiry after it, and our inquiries have been very extensive.

† In a letter now before us, to Mr. Macpherson from Colonel Dow, who succeeded Colonel Macleane in these offices, he states, that the new Members of Council had proposed to restrict Macleane from continuing to draw 25 per cent. on certain military stores with which he supplied the army, which Colonel Dow calculates as worth 50,000 rupees per annum. Macleane’s annual income, therefore, must have greatly exceeded £5000.

with consummate talent and success the important duties which were entrusted to him by the Company; and resigned his office early in 1775. Before he left India, he received from Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General, authority to act as his confidential and political agent; and, having stopped at Madras, he was entrusted with a similar agency by the Nabob of Arcot. After his arrival in England in the winter of 1775, he and Mr. Macpherson devoted their time to the affairs of the Nabob of Arcot and Mr. Hastings, and discharged these duties with an energy and zeal which were deeply appreciated by their employers. Mr. Gleig, the biographer of Hastings, expresses his satisfaction that it has "fallen to his lot to bear testimony to the noble exertions and disinterested friendship of Lieutenant-Colonel Macleane;" and in the same work our readers will find explained, "the true nature of that series of transactions which led first to the tender by Colonel Macleane of Mr. Hastings' resignation, and subsequently to the refusal of Mr. Hastings to acknowledge the authority under which such tender was made. They will find also in the admirable letters of Macleane, which Mr. Gleig has given in full, a satisfactory explanation of his conduct, and ample evidence that he had all the knowledge and talents which were necessary for the compositions of Junius.

The interests of his friends rendered it necessary that Macleane should again visit India, and return with the greatest despatch to England. He accordingly set out in July 1777, and proceeding through France to Marseilles, he embarked in a ship for Alexandria, and crossing the Desert to Suez, then no easy matter, he embarked on board the *Sea-horse*, Captain Parker, for Madras, where he arrived in about two months and ten days. After remaining only a few days at Madras to transact business with the Nabob of Arcot, he embarked in a packet for the Cape of Good Hope, to which he had a speedy passage. Before he left the Cape, he wrote a letter to a friend in India, saying that he was about to embark for England, "in a crazy vessel, commanded by a crazy captain." This vessel was the "*Swallow*" packet, which foundered at sea, and Macleane and all on board perished. He left a will, by which he bequeathed a variety of "profuse" legacies, without any available funds to pay them. He had purchased four estates in Grenada, for which he paid £200,000;\* but strange to say, his heirs declined to administer to his will. His son-in-law, the late Colonel Wilkes, governor of St. Helena, informed the writer of this article, that application had been made to him to give a title to some of these properties, but that he

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\* We have before us a list of these estates with their prices, and a memorandum stating that "in all these estates, Mrs. Macleane has a clear right of dower." This paper is docketed by Mr. Macpherson as one "relative to Mrs. Macleane," with the date January 1781.



uniformly declined to do this, from a conviction that the estate was insolvent, and hence a considerable West India estate became the property of its steward.

Such was the melancholy termination of a life singularly eventful, associated with the early history of Goldsmith, the death of Wolfe, and the destinies of Warren Hastings; and now closely related to the mysterious history of Junius. It is with some diffidence that we have ventured to point out this relation, but accident placed in our hands documents of some weight, and we have felt it a duty to use them in contributing to gratify, so far as we can, a laudable curiosity. The preceding details are sufficient of themselves to place Macleane on as high a level as any of the competitors for the laurels of Junius. We humbly think, without insisting on others holding the same opinion, that he stands pre-eminent above them all, and in order to substantiate this conviction, we shall endeavour to remove some objections which have been urged against our views, and to illustrate some facts which may contribute to their support.

1. One of the objections against the preceding theory is founded upon the second letter of eighteen lines, signed *Vindex*, in which Macleane's pamphlet on the Falkland Islands is referred to in such terms\* as it is supposed Macleane himself could not have used. We deny that there is any proof that this letter was written by Junius. It has no resemblance to his style, and is utterly unworthy of him. What motive could Junius have, if he was not Macleane, to correct a trivial error, and accompany it with an ungenerous sneer at Macleane's impediment of speech? But if Macleane and *Vindex* were Junius, the letter in question was an excellent method of misleading his enemies, and one particularly appropriate when both Macleane and Junius were beginning to desert "the cause and the public." Macleane, as we have just seen, charges Wilkes with the very same trick only *five weeks* before the date of *Vindex's* letter; and Macleane himself, if *Vindex*, gave himself a slight wound to escape conviction.†

2. If we suppose that Junius was *Vindex*, and therefore acquainted with Macleane's defence of the Ministry, is it not *inexplicable* that he should have omitted an opportunity of denouncing his conduct with all the bitterness and eloquence which he generally brings to such a task?

3. It was the opinion of several of Macleane's personal friends

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\* "Pray tell that ingenious gentleman, Laughlin Macleane, &c.," (correcting a trifling mistake about the king of Spain's titles), "In spite of Mr. Laughlin's disinterested, unbroken, melodious eloquence, it is a melancholy truth," &c. Letter xc., March 6, 1771.—Woodfall's *Junius*, vol. iii. p. 343.

† See page 138. The writer in the *Athenæum*, already referred to, has wisely stated that Junius must often be judged by contraries, of which this is a fair example.

in Scotland, while the Letters of Junius were publishing, that they were written by Maclean.

4. Sir William Adam, the personal friend of Maclean and Francis, stated in writing to the author of this article, that, in his opinion, the former possessed the wit and talents necessary for the productions of Junius.

5. The Rev. Mr. Parish informed the writer of this article that his father, who was chaplain to Lord Townshend, when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had heard Lord Townshend express his belief that Maclean was Junius; and he saw at Dublin Castle a print called the *Tripartite Junius*, in which Maclean was represented with other two individuals as his co-adjutors.

6. Junius' answer to *Junia* is a very remarkable production, and one which we could prove, were it expedient, to be more likely to issue from the pen of Maclean than from that of any of the other claimants.

7. As Maclean was a physician we might expect metaphors and expressions connected with the medical profession. Expressions of this kind are extremely common, (about forty in number,) and some of them, such as "the *caput mortuum* of vitriol," could scarcely have come from the pen of a writer who had not been familiar with medicine or chemistry. It is a curious fact that a writer upon this subject actually infers from some of these expressions that Junius must have been a chemist.

8. The late Mr. Woodfall, and others, have remarked a similarity between the hand-writing of Maclean and Junius, and there are resemblances also in the spelling of particular words, and also in particular modes of expression. We place little value on any argument derived from the hand-writing of Junius. It is evident that Junius must have either used a feigned hand, or the hand of an amanuensis, or a friend. Had Junius written his Letters in his usual hand, his detection would have been instantaneous. There is certainly no resemblance of any importance between the hand-writing of Junius and that of any of the individuals with whom he was identified.\*

In studying the history and character of Junius there are important lessons, moral and social, to be learnt. We have said that Junius was a patriot and a moralist, and we have no doubt that many of our readers were startled by the statement. We spoke of him as the invisible organ of a party—wielding its weapons, struggling on its ramparts, or cheering on its forlorn-

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\* Mr. Britton has stated, in his work on Junius, "that George Chalmers, in an appendix to his 'Supplemental Apology to the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers,' has examined and confuted Maclean's pretensions to the authorship of the *Mystic Letters*," pp. 37, 38, *note*. This assertion is an entire mistake, as Mr. Britton himself admits. Mr. Chalmers has not even mentioned Maclean's claims in the work referred to, or in any other work.

hope. His patriotism, therefore, becomes that of his party, and his morality that of his associates. If he has been the advocate of great truths we must extend to him our gratitude, whatever may have been his motives. If he denounced political corruption without being himself corrupt, and exposed the vices of his opponents without being himself vicious, we must hail him as a moralist, unless we find him careless about his facts, or cognizant of their falsehood. In order to form a right estimate of the character of a party writer, we must peruse the writings of the party to which he is opposed. His personalities may have been called forth by theirs; their ferocity may justify his; and in his exposures even of private failings we may discover but a faint reflection of the conduct of his adversaries. In the times of Junius the personalities and calumnies of the supporters of the Ministry, purchased by the Government and paid for by the nation, were such as to justify the utmost severity of retaliation.

But though the character of Junius, while he himself remains in the shade, may be pure and noble, it may assume a different aspect when he is identified. Were Lord Chatham, or Lord Sackville, or Burke, or Sir Philip Francis, to stand forth as Junius, his morality would disappear, and his patriotism sink into disaffection and disloyalty; and were either Barré or Maclean to be honoured with his laurels, we must brand them as traitors to the cause which they advocated, and as men who bartered their obligations to the community for a mess of pottage.

It is always instructive, and now more than ever, to *beware of Patriots*, to scrutinize the pretensions of popular leaders, and to estimate the value of their labours. Junius was a very moderate reformer, liberal in his political views, but hostile to innovation. His object was to defend constitutional rights, and not to create them. It was "*the unimpaired hereditary freehold*" which he strove to bequeath to posterity. It was the "liberty of the press,—the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of Englishmen," and the right of juries to return a general verdict, for which he combated. Had he lived in the present day he would neither have been a Repealer, nor a Confederate, nor a Chartist. He would have hesitated even to extend the suffrage till the people were fit to exercise it, for he declared that both liberty and property would be precarious till the people had acquired *sense* and spirit to defend them. Education and religious knowledge must precede the extension of political privileges. No person is entitled to a political right till he has learned how to use it;—no man is qualified for a trust till he knows how to fulfil it. The rights of the subject are not the rights of an individual, but the rights of the community; and he who either prostitutes or sells such a birth-right, dishonours and robs every member of the community to whom the same inheritance has been bequeathed.

ART. V.—*The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D., now fully collected, with Selections from his Unpublished Letters.* Preface, Notes, and Supplementary Dissertations, by SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Baronet, Advocate, Master of Arts, (Oxford,) &c.; of the Institute of France, the Latin Society of Jena, and many other Literary Bodies, Foreign and British; Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Text collated and revised; useful Distinctions inserted; leading Words and Propositions marked out; Allusions indicated; Quotations filled up. Prefixed, Stewart's Account of the Life and Writings of Reid, with Notes by the Editor. Copious Indices subjoined. Edinburgh: 1846.

WE owe an apology to our readers for having delayed so long to offer to them any account of this remarkable book. A hope that the philosophical world might before this time have been favoured by the completion of the entire design, regarding the works of Reid, of the eminent philosopher by whom this edition is introduced, has hitherto induced us to postpone any critical account of a production which, even in its present unfinished state, is the most important contribution to the metaphysical literature of Great Britain that the nineteenth century has yet witnessed.

The present publication contains the entire text of Reid. Of the Preface, Notes, Dissertations, and Indices, promised in the title-page by Sir William Hamilton, only the notes, with six of the dissertations, and part of a seventh, have as yet appeared. The publication of the remaining dissertations, with the preface and the indices, is, we hope not indefinitely, postponed. Even of the matter included in the volume before us, however, containing as it does nearly a thousand closely printed pages, at least a third part is contributed by the living philosopher, and this proportion supplies a very inadequate idea of his share of the elaborate research, and refined and highly abstract thinking, which is comprehended in the book.

Dr. Reid's philosophical works have long been recognised in this country as the type and standard of the Philosophy of Scotland, and they are now regarded by the most thoughtful men of Europe and America as constituting a conspicuous land-mark on the wide sea of modern speculation. Familiar to our academic youth at home, as supplying for the most part the text or outline of the discussions in intellectual and moral science in the Scottish universities, they have recently been translated into

French by M. Jouffroy, and made the basis of instruction in philosophy in the schools of France.

The exposition of the doctrines of Reid, and the various ingenious applications of them to explain and amend the qualities of human character and society, which are contained in the works of Mr. Stewart—of which a slight but graceful specimen appears in this volume, in the “*Account of the Life and Writings of Reid*”—if they have added little to the speculative intrepidity of the Scottish School, have at least given a diffused popularity to the more abstract speculations of the elder Scottish philosopher.

In consequence probably of his singularly high ideal of what is required in philosophical authorship, the metaphysical writings of Sir William Hamilton have hitherto been less frequent and copious than his extraordinary attainments demand, or than his wide-spread reputation might seem to presume. Until the appearance of these Notes and Dissertations, his metaphysical and logical doctrines were communicated to the world almost exclusively through the medium of the papers contributed by him, within the last twenty years, to the *Edinburgh Review*; and it ought perhaps to be noted as a somewhat remarkable circumstance, that a series of anonymous articles in that publication established for their author a fame which renders his name illustrious among European thinkers.\*

The appearance of the works of the Father of the Scottish School of Philosophy,† accompanied by the biographical memoir of him and estimate of his doctrines, by one who was the most distinguished of his immediate disciples, all under the auspices of the foremost Scottish philosopher of the present age—a publication which thus associates the names of Reid, Stewart, and Hamilton—is an event in the history of our national philosophy so important, that we cannot longer delay, even in the circumstances

\* A selection from the series of Review articles referred to has been translated into French by M. Peisse of Paris, and has obtained a high reputation among his countrymen. It comprises the four disquisitions on the “*Philosophy of the Absolute*,” the “*Theory of Perception*,” “*Logic*,” and the “*Study of Mathematics*.” Paris, 1840.

† Though not strictly speaking the founder of the Scottish School, Dr. Reid may at least be regarded as its first very conspicuous type or representative. Dr. Hutcheson, who was appointed to the Chair of Morals in Glasgow about 1730, has been usually regarded as the person who has given occasion, by his prelections and writings, to the philosophical activity by which Scotland was distinguished during the past and the earlier part of the present century. Sir W. Hamilton is, however, inclined to regard, as the real founder of the Scottish School, Professor Gershom Carmichael, Hutcheson’s immediate predecessor in Glasgow, a vigorous thinker on ethical subjects, and editor of Puffendorf’s treatise, “*De Officio Hominis et Civis*.” Previous to Carmichael, there was, we believe, little independent Philosophy in Scotland. The “*Philosophia Moralis Christiana*” of Principal Colvill of Edinburgh, for instance, published in 1670, is based on the revelation of Scripture or theological morality.

to which we have already referred, formally to advert to it in the way of offering a brief account of the new matter now connected by Sir William Hamilton with the text of Reid. Anything like a comprehensive or critical estimate of the contributions of these three Scottish philosophers to the common stock of the world's speculative knowledge, must, however, be adjourned by us at least until the remaining portion of this work shall appear. With this express understanding, we proceed to offer in the following article a few somewhat miscellaneous observations, which may tend to foster the preparation of a portion of the public for the independent study of a book that cannot fail profoundly to interest every lover of abstract speculation.

“That,” says Lord Bacon, “will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and strongly conjoined together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter the planet of civil society and action.” This favourite doctrine and simile of Bacon, so fitting and urgent in an age whose retrospect was the centuries of scholastic speculation, is not less fitting and urgent, although in an opposite application, to the age and country in which we live. If the author of the “*Advancement of Learning*” proclaimed it in order to revive and to associate with philosophy external activity, philosophers may proclaim it now in order to revive and associate with action elevated contemplation. Although in these Dissertations there is an apparent, there is not we think a real variance with the doctrine of Bacon, for there is probably all that the principle of the division of intellectual labour will permit a single mind, of exclusive tendencies, to offer towards the creation of a spirit of contemplative activity.

Perhaps the quality of a general kind that is most impressive in the aspect of Sir William Hamilton's portion of this volume is the singular purity of its speculative character, and the exclusively speculative ends which the author seems to have aimed at in his compositions. The phenomenon here exhibited of an immense mass of wonderfully subtile logical distinctions, and profound metaphysical principles, produced and collected apparently by means of the energy of a love of thinking for its own sake, and a love of truth without regard to any of its nearer or more remote applications, is one which cannot fail to impress any intelligent observer of our British literature, were it only in virtue of its present novelty, in this age of extraordinary outward bustle, and in this island whose inhabitants are noted for the extremely palpable and concrete character of the objects that induce them to think and act. The many natural motives, dis-



tinct from the love of knowledge on its own account, that incline men to seek for truth, together with the various acquired tendencies having the same direction, which are fostered by the complicated social relations of this conventional age, and its alleged narrow and utilitarian principles of action, have failed to conquer, or (we refer to this publication) even visibly to affect at least one mind, by inducing any diversion of its power from some of the loftiest regions of human speculation.

It would be difficult to select from the whole range of English literature, a work so distinguished in respect of these qualities. As regards the proportion of abstract speculation, and the rigorous deduction of endless syllogisms, perhaps some of the works of Hobbes, and the earlier philosophical productions of Hume, approach most nearly to the dissertations of Sir William Hamilton. To these we may add the metaphysico-theological writings of Dr. Samuel Clarke, and those of Jonathan Edwards, the great Calvinistic metaphysician of North America. But while the thought that is presented to us in the works of these philosophers resembles that which is contained in the Notes and Dissertations in its highly abstract character, in the iron logic of its connexions, and in the pervading traces of a strongly developed scientific faculty, there is evidence that other motives to intellectual exertion have united with the love of science on its own account in fostering the spirit which incited them to labour. Political motives influenced Hobbes. A love of fame and probably of paradox, not to speak of sentiments of frugality, and a desire for worldly independence, seem to have been considerable incitements of intellect in the case of Hume. A moral regard for those truths which are the bulwarks of religion and duty, roused the metaphysical genius of Clarke in their defence. In Edwards, the gratification of the logical faculty, by the attainment of a regularly developed, comprehensive, and exhaustive body of science, was entirely subordinate to the gratification of the religious principle, through means of the conciliation of the theory of human activity and responsibility, with the more awful and mysterious doctrines of the Christian revelation.

It is desirable, for the sake of the common good, that society should in each generation possess at least a few men in whom the habit of speculation, and the love of speculative completeness, and order, and consistency with the most comprehensive forms of the human intellect, have gained, on their own account, a very predominant place among the motives which keep the mind in a state of activity. And although a desire for knowledge is a common profession, it cannot be doubted that this sort of mental development is really of extremely rare occurrence. "The abstract love of truth," it has been

well said, "is a principle with those only who have made it their study, who have applied themselves to the pursuit of some art or science in which the intellect is severely tasked, and learns by habit to take a pride in, and set a just value on its conclusions. To have a disinterested regard for truth, the mind must have contemplated it in abstract and remote questions, whereas the ignorant and vulgar are conversant only with those things in which their own interest is concerned. All their interests are local, personal, and consequently gross and selfish." In a word, men usually attend to those fragments of truth, or of mingled truth and error, which are needed to aid them in the attainment of their own ends, and these ends vary with the character or predominant inclinations to action of individual men. Their knowledge consequently is artistic rather than scientific. The disinterested love of science and philosophy is a counterpoise upon the tendency of less elevated minds, to pervert the very meaning of the word truth, and to assume that those opinions which are or which seem best adapted to gratify some other active principle of the mind, subordinate to, or at least quite distinct from, the desire for speculative activity, are to be received as a standard of belief.

As human nature and society are constituted, it is however well that instances of an exclusive development of the faculty for abstract or highly generalized science are few. A rigorous separation of the speculative from the practical, is apt by causing a disruption of the complex nature of man, to infuse the spirit of scepticism into the operations of the understanding, and to occasion weakness and vacillation in the conduct of life. The Creator of the human mind has inserted into it numerous and various principles of action, which are besides usually fused together in practice. The search for speculative truth is in all common minds conducted in subordination to, and in all minds should be conducted in harmony with *the law of mixed motives*. The statesman is impelled by political as well as by logical necessity to know and practice the theory of civil or ecclesiastical government. The devout theologian searches inspired books under the constraint of the Christian motives, and from a conscientious impulse which attracts him with special ardour to that region of knowledge. The practical man, in the common commerce of daily life, over whom a love for the scientific kind of knowledge has little if any influence, seeks only for those fragments of information which may enable him to find his way, through the complicated but very subordinate details, that are required for his worldly business or pleasure, toward those results which are fitted to gratify his love of power, or money, or fame, and to meet the emergencies of his professional pursuit. For the at-

tainment of most of the ends of life, artistic rather than scientific knowledge is necessary, and no individual is more likely to be subject to irresolution and exposed to illusion than he from whose mind all the blind and irrational principles of action, which are meant to supplement reason, have been extracted, by the power of the habit of philosophizing, and who submits to the influence only of motives which are regulated by pure intelligence. Without the gravitation of forces such as those we have indicated, the spirit of unmixed speculation would (unless in the case of a genius of extraordinary strength) quit its hold of the lower and more palpable departments of universal knowledge, and find sufficient occupation among the most abstract, and general relations of things. Contemplating the frame-work which contains knowledge more than the knowledge which the frame-work contains, the mind is apt to lose a direct acquaintance with the actual and the individual, in the splendid theory of the possible.

The world of speculative reason differs from the actual world of living men, for man, as he is, differs from man as he ought to be. Philosophical theories are the nourishment of the purely rational principle; but they tend, unless the influence is counteracted by strength of mind, and an attentive experience of the infinite variety of the existing modifications of the instincts, affections, and other irrational causes of action, to deaden, or at least to distort, the keen perception of the common mechanism of man's practical nature; and they may in this way expose the retired student of abstract metaphysics, like the astronomer of Rasselas who fancied that he ruled the stars, to the influence of ludicrous, or even of dangerous illusions, in the conduct of life, and in intercourse with living men. The machinery of society is regulated in a great measure by habits and desires, that are only indirectly, if at all, influenced by the operations of the understanding. The moving world of human beings often does not coincide with the hypotheses of human reasoning, while there exists in it much that cannot fail to be overlooked by the man of mere contemplation. His dreams are thus broken, from time to time, by unexpected collisions with living society, and by contact with modes of character which his speculations had not prepared him to expect.

It may be added that, except in the highest order of minds, this excessive development of the scientific faculty—this truth-seeking, only for the sake of knowing truth as such, and with little or no extra tendency to the knowledge of particular departments of truth—is apt to leave uncultivated an order of sentiments which, in the best men, are always mingled with philosophical speculation. The motives of religion and duty, which

find their highest appropriate stimulus in the department of truth which regards God and our relations to Him, ought not to be separated from a love for abstract truth. But, on the other hand, it is possible to speculate without any impulse from the conscience, and to find materials of science, among the objects of religious faith, which pervade the whole region of the higher philosophy, without forming the habit of converting the scientific knowledge into practice. An habitual employment, merely as the ministers of pure speculation, of those objects which, of all others, are most fitted to alter the character for good, is appropriately punished in the agonies of religious scepticism.

Another general characteristic of these Notes and Dissertations, hardly less remarkable than the one which has supplied a text for the observations contained in the preceding paragraphs, is the enormous accumulation of the materials of exact learning and historical research which they contain. Sir William Hamilton has long possessed a European reputation for extraordinary erudition. The evidences of his varied and accurate reading which this volume contains are not confined to one province of literature, although they are of course especially conspicuous in all that is in any way within the margin of the history of philosophy, and particularly of the speculations of the Peripatetics, the Schoolmen, and the modern Germans. No preceding British philosopher, with whose writings we are at all acquainted, makes any approach to the extent and minuteness of this sort of knowledge by which these pages are characterized. Indeed, with the exception of Bacon and Cudworth, in the seventeenth century, and Stewart and Sir James Mackintosh, in the nineteenth, our more distinguished metaphysicians and moralists have been conspicuously deficient in this important accomplishment. Locke, Butler, Hume, and Reid, made no pretension to a complete and exact acquaintance with the history of speculation.

Reading is valuable to the philosopher chiefly as one means for exciting his own power of thinking. Only a few minds, however, possess sufficient independent force to convert what they read into a source of intellectual nourishment; and even great intellects have been averse from an extensive acquaintance with books, from an apprehension of their tendency to fetter the independent working of the mental faculties. "If I had read as much as other men, I had been as ignorant as they," is a well-known and memorable saying of Hobbes. But in these Dissertations the vigour of original speculation is preserved amid a boundless accumulation of materials collected out of what is contained in books. Leibnitz and Sir William Hamilton are to be noted among modern philosophers for the mental strength which can unite extraordinary reading with a ceaseless energy

of thinking. But the mind of the German philosopher is perhaps more ready, by a species of mental chemistry, to fuse among the productions of its own intelligence, as the elements of a new and distinctive creation, the materials that are thus presented to it; while in the writings of the Scottish philosopher, the treasures of learned research are oftener permitted to remain in mechanical juxtaposition with the results of his own intellectual activity, in which they are, as it were, visibly embedded like the fossil remains of a stratum of geology.

In both the qualities to which we have referred, as generally characteristic of this recent contribution to our philosophical literature, there is a remarkable deficiency in the current publications in Great Britain. Our literature indicates, for the most part, little exact acquaintance with the ancient or contemporary doctrines which it attempts to criticise; and original speculation is almost unknown. Vague doctrines, assumed to be the productions of recent German thinking, supply its nourishment to the greater part of the philosophical mind of this country. Glimpses of Germany engaged in speculation are, however, no substitute for original thought about matters such as those on which the Germans in these times, and Reid, Locke, and Bacon in Britain, in other times, have displayed the highest qualities of intellect. If these specimens, by Sir William Hamilton, of what historical knowledge of opinion really is, incite some men to an exact study of the books of foreign countries and of former generations, they are also fitted to rouse the still more dormant spirit that seeks direct and independent intellectual contact with the *real problems themselves*, which have afforded nourishment to the high philosophy of the great thinkers of other ages. It is not the repetition of a faint echo from Germany or France that constitutes the substance of what is contained in the immortal works of the British philosophers whom we have named, who created for us a national philosophy, with certain invaluable characteristics peculiarly its own. But a chasm intervenes between their age and ours. Notwithstanding symptoms of a revived attention to certain metaphysical questions, often vaguely enough apprehended, it remains true, that during this generation there is hardly any trace in this island of profound and exact thought respecting those abstract topics which are implied in the discussion of the first principles of knowledge. Our repose from effort in the direction of philosophy is now interrupted by this volume, which seasonably presents to us the written results of the life-labours of a sagacious and truly Scottish mind, in the company of fragments which offer a tolerable indication of the more important principles of the Scoto-German philosophy of the great living thinker, by whom the doctrines of Reid have been rendered more refined and definite, and his basis of philosophy made more comprehensive.

There is one other characteristic of these Notes and Dissertations to which we can only refer, although it deserves a copious discussion, and may we hope receive for itself a place among the principal objects of the regard of some earnest and thoughtful mind. We mean the peculiar nomenclature and terminology, and indeed the general texture of the language in which Sir William Hamilton's speculations are presented. A defect of precision and permanence in that whole portion of language which relates to what is not to be classed among the objects of our senses, is an old and often-repeated complaint. Now, in respect of precision, and clearness, and adaptation to the peculiarities of the manner of thinking which it is meant to represent, and especially to the exhaustive conveyance of condensed results of thought, the style of these Notes and Dissertations appears to us unequalled by that of any English treatise in philosophy. It is an especial contrast to Locke, whose vagueness and variation in the use of scientific words has occasioned a large proportion of the thought and discussion that have been expended on his opinions. Here, on the other hand, the matter to be represented by the terms is rigidly appropriated to them; and if the ratiocination in which they are included sometimes appears to imply a mere involution and evolution of the signification of a series of names, it is all the more remarkable, in such absence of argument about things, to observe the accuracy with which a precise meaning is preserved in association with each name.

These important ends are no doubt secured only by means of great sacrifices. The nicely manufactured terminology and sentences, so charged with meaning when used by the manufacturer, are treasures for the feebler minds who can study that philosophy only which consists in the ability to make a noise with uncommon and imposing words. It may be doubted, too, whether the resources of our good old native English, with its agreeable suggestions of common or less abstract objects, have been rendered so available as they might have been, with a view to the more general diffusion of the doctrines, and the increase of their influence as means for modifying the public mind. But on this question we cannot now enter. When it is considered that the abuse of words has hitherto been among the most productive of all the causes that have indirectly contributed to the formation of philosophical literature in general, and of abstract controversy and discussion in particular, it must be evident that the theory and use of the proper signs for the statement and most effective circulation of philosophical ideas, is the theme for a volume and not for a paragraph—an appropriate task for the labour of a life, and not one which can be disposed of in an episode to an article of a periodical review.



It may readily be concluded that the qualities to which we have referred are on the whole unfavourable to the popularity, and (in many cases) to the intelligibility of these Notes and Dissertations, among general readers. Such condensed results of the highest generalization, and jets of thought cast forth without the amplification and ornament of popular eloquence, and with little reference to any of their various possible applications, are ill-fitted to coalesce with the prevailing mental habits. Most men are unwilling to consent to grope their way, in the lowest depths of intellectual abstraction, where the light of evidence is hardly sufficient for steady progress, and where they must ever be on their guard against the illusion of vague formulas, susceptible of almost any meaning, which occasion that dangerous collapse of the mind upon itself, that is often experienced after an intense effort of thinking with scanty materials about which to think. There seems to be an intellectual necessity that, in the present age of unscholastic and ill-disciplined philosophical taste, this remarkable addition to our literature shall slowly, if at all, find direct admission for its doctrines, possessing, as it does, a selection and arrangement of words unsurpassed among the books of the English language for precision and consistency—a formal clearness and distinctness of method—a singular incapacity to rest contented with a partial or isolated view of any great doctrine—a depth of thought and a refinement of distinction, the very apprehension of which implies the exercise of mental functions hardly ever in these times called into action, and a copiousness of pure argument unrelieved by those lighter graces and ornaments of fancy which are usually needed to seduce men to an exertion of the higher powers of mind. Even students of speculative science may confess the existence of a wish that, amid themes so ennobling and kindred with the most suitable objects of imaginative emotion, the metaphysician had given occasional vent, through the mass of subtile distinctions and profound principles, and the accumulation of passages extracted from his stores of unequalled reading, to the living copious eloquence of which such themes are susceptible, and in which the literature of philosophy supplies so many illustrious examples. The gorgeous imagery of Bacon has done much to illuminate the ages that followed him with the light of his great doctrines, and his exquisite adaptations to philosophical purposes of the “winged words” of common language, have helped to waft his philosophy down the stream of time.

We must now, however, refer more particularly to the materials proper to philosophy itself that are contained in the work which has occasioned the preceding remarks.

Though somewhat an excrescence upon the discussion of metaphysical topics, we cannot dismiss without some notice the ninety pages of the “Life and Letters of Reid,” which occupy the opening part of the volume, and which, introducing us as they do to the genius and peculiarities of an individual man, and associating these with the exercise of abstract speculation, may prove to many readers not the least interesting section of its contents.

The letters addressed by Reid to several of his distinguished contemporaries, form the most important supplementary matter appended by Sir William Hamilton to the biography by Stewart. Nearly all of this correspondence may be included in three parcels—(1.) Thirteen letters, written by Reid during the first six years after his removal from Aberdeen to Glasgow, to Drs. A. and D. Skene, physicians in Aberdeen. These interesting documents were furnished by Mr. Thomson of Banchory, and have not before been published. They contain some amusing pictures of Glasgow University in the last century, and “afford what was perhaps wanting to Mr. Stewart’s portraiture of Reid—they shew us the philosopher in all the unaffected simplicity of his character, and as he appeared to his friends in the familiar intercourse of ordinary life.” (2.) Nine letters addressed to Lord Kames, and already published in Lord Woodhouselee’s memoirs of that philosopher. These afford some suggestive thoughts on what we may style the metaphysics of physical science. This and the former body of letters, also illustrate Reid’s intelligent interest in the sciences of external nature, such as chemistry and mechanics, on their own account. (3.) A selection from upwards of twenty of Reid’s letters to his kinsman, the late Dr. James Gregory, Professor of the Practice of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. Of these the most curious parts relate to the controversy on free-will, and to the theory of causation.

Stewart’s “*Account of the Life and Writings of Reid*,” is a work so well known to most of those in this country who are even moderately versed in the history of recent philosophy, that we need hardly occupy our readers upon anything like an abstract of its contents. A life of which the greater part was passed in the humble but agreeable seclusion of academical office successively in two Scottish provincial universities, cannot be expected to offer incident for the gratification of the lovers of brilliant external adventure, and must derive its interest from the peculiarities of the mental phenomena which it manifests, and the circumstances by which these were called forth, or amid which they struggled into action. Himself born in the commencement of the eighteenth century, Dr. Reid’s ancestors by the father’s side

were for generations ministers of the Church of Scotland, in the parishes of Banchory Ternan in Aberdeenshire and Strachan in Kincardineshire, and some of them were not unknown in the world of letters. By his mother he was connected with the most illustrious of the Scottish hereditary aristocracy of talent—the renowned family of Gregory. The name of Reid, and the associations connected with his family, may thus increase the interest of the thoughtful traveller in the beautiful vale of Dee. As the favourite residence of Reid himself, and of his friends Campbell, Gerard, and Beattie, the town and neighbourhood of Aberdeen may be regarded as classic ground in reference to the philosophy of Scotland.

The early youth of the philosopher does not seem to have given remarkable promise of the eminence which he afterwards reached, but his love for an academic life was soon indicated and probably increased by his more than usually protracted residence at Marischal College, and by his subsequent visits to the more splendid academical establishments of England. For fifteen years he was the pastor of the remote rural parish of New Machar, where, according to Mr. Stewart, “the greater part of his time was spent in the most intense study; more particularly in a careful examination of the laws of external perception, and of the other principles which form the groundwork of human knowledge.” Gardening and botany were the chief relaxations of the meditative country clergyman. In 1752, he was elected professor of philosophy in King’s College, Aberdeen, where he found the opportunity to mature his doctrines, and to test them in a course of active public instruction, at the same time that he was one of the founders and leaders of a Literary Society which then rendered Aberdeen a focus of Scottish intellects. From King’s College Reid was, in 1764, removed to the chair of Morals in Glasgow, which he occupied actively for nearly twenty years, after which, until his death in 1796, he was engaged in preparing for the press and publishing his final and more elaborate treatises, in a serene old age, eminently characteristic of the long term of cheerful meditative industry, and the habits of integrity and self-control which had marked his life.\*

The Scottish Philosophy of Dr. Reid, and the Scoto-German

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\* It may be noted that (except the Tract on “Quantity,” which was published in 1748,) Reid’s first work, “*An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*,” appeared in 1764,—in his fifty-fourth year. It was followed in 1774 by a “*Brief Account of Aristotle’s Logic*,” which originally appeared in the second volume of Lord Kames’ “*Sketches of the History of Man*.” Reid’s “*Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*” were published in 1785, and those on the “*Moral Powers of Man*” in 1788. These treatises, along with a “*Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow*,” published in 1799, three years after his death, are the “*Works of Reid*,” now for the first time collected in this edition.

Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, constitute together an important stage in the great revolution which metaphysical science has been undergoing since the age of Des Cartes, and as such they occupy an important *historical place* in modern philosophy. A few sentences of explanation may illustrate this.

Des Cartes is an influential and prominent person in the succession of great thinkers chiefly because he was a thorough-going doubter, who, by means of his doubts, got rid of a huge accumulation of propositions, assumed on authority to be true, the intellectual division, generalization, and argumentation of the contents of which formed the *matériel* of the preceding or scholastic epoch of philosophy. The Cartesian scepticism raked up the foundations of things, and during the lifetime of the philosopher himself, as well as since, it has communicated a corresponding impulse to meditative minds by whom his works have been studied. Des Cartes doubted in order to believe and know. From the foundation down to which his doubts conducted him he attempted to rear a comprehensive theory of knowledge. But the reconstructive has exerted small influence compared to the destructive part of his teaching, and it is mainly through the operation of the latter element that a revolution in the manner of thinking regarding the first principles of every sort of knowledge is the permanent result of his labours.

The period of the history of human thought that has intervened since Des Cartes is filled by a series of more or less imperfect reconstructions of philosophy, *i. e.*, of the ultimate theory of knowledge, out of the confusion consequent upon the sceptical method of the French philosopher. The attempt of Locke, in the "*Essay concerning Human Understanding*," is the first of prominent historical importance. That great work is still properly an unfinished one. The metaphysical thinking of the last century and a half has been employed in working out the problem suggested in it, which the author himself had however carried a long way towards a satisfactory solution. The name of Locke, associated with the names of Clarke and Butler, distinguishes the close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth century as the Augustan era of metaphysical science in the southern division of the island.

The imperfection or one-sidedness of Locke's philosophy, as regards the expression of its fundamental principles, was exhibited, in what is virtually the form of a *reductio ad absurdum*, by David Hume, in his "*Treatise of Human Nature*," where, on the principles of Locke, all knowledge is reduced to a succession of phenomena, while permanent existence and philosophy are proved to imply a tissue of contradictions.

The philosophical doubts of Hume occasioned another inde-

pendent effort to find the theory of knowledge. A conservative reaction, against the universal scepticism which he had extracted from the doctrine of Locke, was manifested almost contemporaneously in Scotland by Thomas Reid, and in Germany by Immanuel Kant—in Scotland with a tendency to what is practical and palpable, and in Germany to idealism and pantheism.

The epoch of Reid and Kant is distinguished by making *the original structure of human intelligence* a principal object of scientific attention. Each philosopher sought to find in that quarter a refuge from scepticism, and the only possible ultimate explanation of knowledge. Reid, on the inductive method of Bacon, systematically collected, under the name of “principles of common sense,” those inexplicable beliefs, or original living faculties, which must be assumed in all knowledge. His doctrine is formed by means of a reflex attention to that common sense which is spontaneously exercised by the many. Kant, assuming the famous test of *necessity* as the basis of his critical investigation, demonstrated the originality of many of those notions which Hume had rendered up as the illusions of a universe of mere phenomena. He thus exhibited a theory of subjective knowledge, seemingly self-consistent and permanent; while Reid exhibited those beliefs which are the security, if not the explanation, of all knowledge, subjective and objective. Both supplemented Locke. The “*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*” had furnished an important analysis of what is contributed to our knowledge by experience, marked by the freshness of an independent thinker, who subjects old assumptions to a renewed act of careful observation. But in his desire to find, by means of induction, the limits within which the human mind may be advantageously occupied, Locke had omitted to examine critically the original structure of intellect that is implied in the ability to gain such experimental knowledge as he had noted and analyzed in his survey of the mind and its stores. The schools of Reid and Kant have given the prominence, which Locke neglected to assign, to this object of investigation in the prosecution of the theory of knowledge. The common sense of Reid is the object of Scottish inductive investigation; the categories of Kant of German formal criticism.

The philosophy of Sir William Hamilton is to a large extent a fusion of the spirit and doctrines of Reid and Kant, wrought by an independent and highly speculative mind, and adapted to the stage in the progress of the theory of knowledge which follows the last seventy years of German thinking. The philosophy of Reid was pointed against a scepticism that, as we shall afterwards show, was the result of representationalist experimentalism. The philosophy of Sir William Hamilton is fitted besides this to meet

the virtual scepticism of the German *absolutists*, by a demonstration of the necessary limitation of all possible human knowledge to what is relative and conditional. The old Scottish philosophy maintained, against those who deny that science is possible, the existence of a body of vital beliefs, which are sufficient to infuse reality into our knowledge. The new Scottish philosophy uses the original beliefs and notions of the mind, at once against the sceptics, and against the philosophers who arrogate to man a knowledge of the infinite and the absolute. In the eighteenth century the citadel of human knowledge, and the ultimate foundation of human action, was assailed by Hume, on the principles taught by Locke and adorned by Berkeley. In the nineteenth century the assault is conducted by Schelling, Hegel, and the Continental transcendentalists, on principles suggested by Kant and Fichte. These notes and dissertations are a refinement of our older national philosophy, and an expansion of its basis, fitted to adapt its doctrines to the rational defence of the knowledge that is gained by man, in his progress of inductive research along that *via media* between Pyrrhonism and Transcendentalism—extremes that virtually meet—which alone is open to him during his sojourn on this “isthmus of a middle state.”

But we must be more defined in our account of this stage in the Cartesian revolution. For this purpose three central ideas of the new Scottish Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, selected from a host of others, presented in these notes and dissertations, which with their text embrace problems in the whole circle of the sciences of metaphysics, logic, and morals, may be employed as the basis of the remaining part of this Article.

I. The theory of *Common Sense*, regarded as at once supporting and limiting human knowledge, which is developed in the first and most extended of the dissertations, and suggested in various of the footnotes throughout the work.

II. The theory of *immediate or conscious external Perception*, expounded in the four dissertations on “presentative and representative knowledge;” on “the various theories of external perception;” on “the distinction of the primary and secondary qualities of matter;” and on “perception proper and sensation proper.” It is also referred to in the footnotes, especially those on the “Inquiry,” and the *second* of the “Essays” on the intellectual powers.

III. The germs or scintillations of a theory of *Free-will*, or responsible agency, which are contained in the footnotes on Reid’s essay on “the Liberty of moral agents.”\*

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\* Materials sufficient to suggest thoughts for a separate article may be found in the notes on Reid’s “*Brief Account of Aristotle’s Logic*,” which are remarkable for



The characteristic distinction and professed aim of the old Scottish philosophy is, as we have seen, the refutation of Hume's scepticism, and the recovery of the first principles of knowledge out of the ruin which it had occasioned. Dr. Reid himself, in an often quoted passage of one of his letters to Dr. Gregory, asserts indeed that his peculiar merit lies "in having called in question the common theory of ideas or images in the mind being the only objects of thought." But the two statements are not opposed, and it may be interesting to some of our readers to have the opportunity of reflecting upon their coincidence. The course of thought along which we propose to conduct them with a view to afford this opportunity, as it implies an intelligent apprehension of the Scottish refutation of philosophical scepticism, may also suggest in its progress some important questions regarding the value of a philosophical vindication and explanation of human knowledge in general, and the influence of such treatment of it upon the establishment and extension of particular departments of science, and especially of that science which regards man in his most sacred relation.

The philosophical tendency may be popularly described as the question-putting tendency. Of every ascertained or alleged fact philosophy seeks the explanation. Science is a species of knowledge. The scientific kind of knowledge includes the possession of a precise and comprehensive acquaintance with its particular objects, and their relations. Thus we are said to know the solar system scientifically, because we can allege the law of gravitation in explanation of the various mechanical phenomena which are thereby connected. Other portions of our physical knowledge approach more or less nearly to the dignity of scientific, in proportion as their parts are joined in the tie of defined relations which, as the first principles of the science, at once unite and explain them.

But such explanations as those that are supplied even by the

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the severe precision and accuracy of the notices they contain, of the nature and province of the science which may be designated *Formal Logic*, or the theory of the laws of thought regarded in abstraction from the things about which thought may be exercised. Here Sir W. Hamilton differs, in his estimate of the Aristotelian doctrine, from the older Scottish school—especially Campbell, Stewart, and Brown—and indeed from the general current of opinion in Scotland on this subject from the Reformation downwards. The Peripatetic doctrines were dislodged in a great measure from their place of authority in our Universities by Andrew Melville, and the Ramist logic was in his time introduced into Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh. Although the popularity of Ramus soon declined, Aristotle has never since recovered his former influence in this country. See M'Crie's "*Life of Melville*," vol. ii. ch. 12. In Germany the fortune of Aristotle has been different, and the logical treatises of the Kantian school should be consulted in connexion with the notes on Reid, to assist the apprehension of the limits and development of the science there referred to.

most advanced of our physical sciences are evidently incomplete, and the knowledge which they convey can hardly be styled philosophical. The last answers they afford to us only suggest more questions. Gravitation itself, for instance, or polarity, or electricity, need still to be accounted for, in order to satisfy philosophy, and explanations of them if obtained, are only steps on the road of an infinite regress of analogous questions. But as an infinite number of receding explanations is in itself an absurdity, and at variance with the limitation of the human understanding, there must be some point into which the answers shall finally converge. That ultimate point must be admitted to be *the original structure of the mind of man*.

What we have illustrated of physical induction holds good also of the results of deduction. Every explanation must rest on the inexplicable, and every demonstration must rest on the indemonstrable, while the last alleged inexplicable and indemonstrable belief is an instinct of human nature.

If all the sciences must thus converge in first principles of which the only possible explanation is a statement of our own original mental structure, that structure itself may, it is evident, be made an object of the question-putting tendency. Though we cannot transcend our original notions and beliefs we may at least collect or criticise them. Those ultimate faiths, which cannot themselves be theorized, may be made the objects of metaphysical contemplation, as the mysterious foundation of human knowledge, and thus, as Mr. Hume profoundly remarks, "the most perfect philosophy of the natural kind only staves off our ignorance a little longer, as perhaps the most perfect philosophy of the moral or metaphysical kind serves only to discover larger portions of it."

Questions regarding the nature and number of the *ultimate answers* that can be given to the principle in man which suggests questions, are not likely to be put in the infancy of the human understanding, although answers to them are craved by the developed faculties of knowledge. The account of the manner in which these inquiries were fairly raised in modern times, is a remarkable chapter in the history of the mind of man and of philosophy, which we now proceed to sketch.

The modern metaphysical controversy with scepticism has turned upon the prevalent doctrine with regard to what is the *immediate* object of knowledge—a very curious part of the general theory of the intellect. An acquaintance even with the works of Dr. Reid is sufficient to render the reader familiar with the fact of the very general reception, previous to the time of that philosopher, of the doctrine of representative images or ideas, to account for all knowledge, except that which we have of our own men-

tal operations, of which last it was usually granted that we are directly conscious. Mind, it was supposed, can be conscious only of itself, and the hypothesis of a representative knowledge was invented to explain the phenomenon—which theorists regard as the grand difficulty of intellectual psychology—of a conscious intelligence, a large part of whose knowledge is not exclusively *self-contained*.\*

The hypothesis of mental representations, distinct at once from the percipient mind and from the object perceived, seems to have been, in some form or other, a very common one previous to the publication of Reid's philosophical treatises; although Des Cartes, Arnauld, and most of the Cartesians, Leibnitz, and probably Locke, understood by mental ideas, only modes of the mind itself in their representative capacity. The *ideas* assailed by Reid were, however, *entities distinct from the act of perception*, and they were employed to account for our knowledge of the material world, and for the phenomena of memory, imagination, and reasoning. These intellectual phenomena were supposed to have become more intelligible when—on the basis of self-knowledge, and without any critical account of what other notions and beliefs are implied in the ability to observe, experiment, remember, and compare—the existence of such representative images was assumed by the philosopher, in working his theory of knowledge from within the region of the mind outwards, to independent and permanent realities.

The inadequacy of this supposed intellectual machinery to afford an ultimate explanation of knowledge is manifest, especially in two respects. 1. In its opposition to the belief that has been inserted in the structure of our mental constitution, that we have a *direct* knowledge of the qualities of matter—this hypothesis regarding the understanding as in immediate connexion only with what is representative of these qualities. 2. It is implied that the philosophers who maintain this doctrine, thereby overlook the need, or at least superficially perform the process of a comprehensive inductive examination of the first principles of knowledge and belief, apart from which no real progress can be made towards the philosophy of knowledge.

The issue of philosophical scepticism is the analysis of knowledge into a succession of isolated phenomena, or into a series of

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\* We refer the reader to Reid's essay on *External Perception*, and to Sir W. Hamilton's dissertation on the *Various Theories of Perception*, for copious illustrations of the prodigious activity of thought and invention in different ages, in creating varieties of the representative hypothesis, and we would especially ask attention to the distinction, explained in the dissertation, between the cruder or more palpable, and the more refined theory of representation—between *egoistical* and *non-egoistical* idealism.

notions of which no one can be predicated of another. The method employed by the pyrrhonist is to show that a radical contradiction is implied in every attempt to collect phenomena into science, or even into fragments of science, thus paralyzing the grasp of those beliefs and notions which create and cement our knowledge. But although David Hume worked this sceptical method with success against a metaphysical hypothesis which resolves all knowledge into experience alone, and accounts for its entrance, and its various kinds, by means of *representations*, the practical part of our nature always declares, by continuing in a state of activity, that human knowledge *is* in itself susceptible of a consistent defence, and at all events of a relative explanation, for a sane man hardly ever *acts* the sceptic, at least in the affairs of this life. It is for the philosopher to reconcile the speculative and the practical part of human nature, either by giving evidence that all our beliefs and notions are explicable, or else by exhibiting those of them that are mysterious in contrast to those of them which can be explained.

To do something towards the accomplishment of this task was the aim of Dr. Reid. With a view to this, the prevalent doctrine of representative perception must be overthrown, because it is inconsistent with experience, and with the fundamental notions and beliefs which belong to the original structure of the human mind, as an agent consciously capable of knowing, and coming into direct and practical contact with, objects that are independent of itself. An inductive enumeration must, besides, be made of those first principles which the older philosophy had overlooked and in consequence traversed. And Reid has set himself to effect each of these tasks. He has exploded the favourite hypothesis of representative images or entities, by showing that it is destitute of the evidence of internal experience, irrational, contradictory to the immediate dictates of our faculties, and, therefore—by vitiating the testimony of our original mental structure in one department of its utterances, and thus precluding any decisive appeal to its testimony as the ultimate criterion of truth in any other—fairly resolvable into universal scepticism. He has also, both in the “*Inquiry*” and the “*Essays*,” in the course of an analytic examination of the phenomena of the external senses, memory, imagination, and reasoning, collected many other specimens of judgments of which we cannot rid ourselves, while, at the same time, we cannot explain their presence in the mind by means of any derived origin. To a faith in these utterances of our nature he had cleared a road by removing the hypothesis of representative perception, and thus enabling philosophy to return, *in that particular*, to an acknowledgment of the credit of the common sense. In a word, Reid removed the excrescence of representations, which, in spite of

common sense, the philosopher had introduced into the theory of perception, and demanded the homage of the speculative world to the other judgments of the violated principle, which he had noted and treasured up in the course of an experimental investigation of his own mind.

But the powerful tendency of the habit of self-observation to lose the way that conducts out of self-consciousness, has, notwithstanding Reid's protest, retained its sway, and led its victims through paths of illusive idealism more retired and seductive than any of those against which he had warned them. The hypothesis of images numerically distinct from the percipient mind, which constitute the entire material world of Berkeley, has indeed been almost banished from philosophical literature by Reid, but only to leave all the room for a more refined hypothesis of representation, which is still very generally received by Continental and British metaphysicians. The exposition and criticism of this subtle species of the doctrine of representative knowledge is one of the principal novelties of the philosophical works of Sir William Hamilton, and his disquisition deserves study, were it only as the most elaborate specimen of purely speculative ingenuity that modern British philosophy has yet produced. We can afford only a few sentences to this subject, and must refer the reader to these Dissertations.

A quality or phenomenon of mind, *e.g.*, a sensation, judgment, or desire, is evidently an object of knowledge to the mind itself not less than a quality or phenomenon of matter is. On the doctrine of the representationalist philosophers to whom we have referred, the observing mind is in fact in closer connexion with its own observed qualities than with the observed qualities of matter, and, in the opinion of many of them, we know the latter through the medium of the sensations which they occasion in the former. According to Dr. Thomas Brown, for instance, we know immediately, *i.e.*, are conscious of, all our mental states, whereas any external object is known only by means of certain modes of mind (external states or sensations,) which its presence has somehow occasioned. In this view of perception the intercourse of the mind with the external world is *through the intermediate sensations* which alone are perceived by it; but in self-consciousness it is in direct intercourse with its objects. As in the less refined hypothesis of representation, the sphere of immediate knowledge is still confined within the mind itself, only instead of a succession of representative entities, distinct at once from the percipient mind and from the material object, the understanding is presented with a succession of its own states. Each of these evanescent modes of mind, is, according to the relation in which it happens to be regarded, either an object or an act of

perception. Now, it is argued by Sir William Hamilton that the germ of universal scepticism is latent in this more subtle, as Reid had proved it to be latent in a less refined hypothesis respecting our knowledge of matter. On neither hypothesis do we get directly beyond the objects of self-consciousness, and, therefore, as each is said to violate that utterance of the original judgments of our nature which declares that we do, on neither can we get beyond the succession of our own thoughts and feelings, while in both even this self-knowledge itself becomes illusory, and must fall with the original faith that has been, in both hypotheses, assumed to be deceitful.

Sir William Hamilton deals by the mental modes of this refined or egoistical idealism as Dr. Reid had dealt by the representative entities, which are not mental modes, of non-egoistical idealism. Discarding the interposition of any state of the mind as the immediate object of perceptive knowledge, or of any reflex act of mind upon its own sensations, as a requisite for our first apprehension of the outer world, he maintains that certain of the qualities of matter are the direct objects of a mysterious *insight*, and thus that the mind is conscious of material as well as of mental qualities. On this theory we become immediately acquainted, at least in certain limited relations, with the material world that is outside and independent of us, and on the foundation of this direct apprehension of a very limited portion of its contents—to wit, its Primary Qualities—we gradually reach, in the light of our former information, by means of abstraction and reasoning aided by habit and association, that growing knowledge of its properties, which in the earlier stages of its progress collects some of the secondary qualities of matter, obtains the notions of distance and form by means of sight alone, educates the general senses to an indefinite acuteness, and rises at last to those varied and recondite properties, characteristic of the different objects, by a precise acquaintance with the nature and laws of which, the physical sciences are constituted. An inductive history of this whole process is a principal part, as it is still a desideratum, in psychology. Much that is valuable for the explanation of its earlier stages has been contributed in the Dissertation on the “*Primary and Secondary Qualities of Body*,” a dissertation which appears to us to form an important step of progress in this department of mental science.

The opposite to this theory of a consciousness of certain qualities of matter, which is itself styled Natural Realism, is the doctrine of Absolute Idealism, which denies to the material world any external independent existence. Intermediate between the two are the various hypotheses of representative perception or Hypothetical Realism.



It is evident that this alleged *immediacy* of our knowledge of the qualities of matter is to be contrasted, not merely with that sort of mediate knowledge which is implied in the possession of the results of inductive or deductive reasoning, but also with that other kind of mediate knowledge which, according to some philosophers, (and among others Sir William Hamilton, who has rediscovered and revived the old scholastic distinction of presentative and representative knowledge,) is implied in every act of memory and imagination. It is a more subtle analysis than the familiar one, which divides the propositions that compose what we believe, into those that are the result of reasoning, and those that are known by us intuitively, and it suggests some curious questions regarding the nature and economy of certain of our intellectual functions.

One characteristic of the view of this economy that is taken in the Dissertations, is the development of a distinction—open to reflex observation and investigation—between that knowledge of the phenomena of matter, now and here present, to which the name consciousness is exclusively appropriated, and which is asserted not to involve any act of mediate self-consciousness, and that other knowledge—of the past and possible—which is, on the contrary, maintained to imply an act of the mind conscious of its own state *as representative* of something separate from the state itself. Thus, when I imagine the Iliad, or when I remember the events of yesterday, the immediate objects of my knowledge are certain phenomena of my own mind. Let the war of Troy, or the events of yesterday be enacted before my senses, and the immediate objects of my knowledge are radically qualities of matter. When we know the possible and the past, the very operation of knowing is the only object of which the mind is conscious. But when we know the present states of our own minds, or the present primary qualities of matter, these states and qualities are known in themselves, and not through the medium of a representative mental state. Memory and imagination is thus each of them a species of self-consciousness, in which the intellect has for its immediate objects those phenomena of self, which form, in the one the acts of remembering past objects of perception or self-consciousness, and in the other of apprehending the creations of the poetical faculty.

This theory of the knowledge of what self once was conscious of, in the modes or qualities of self, contrasted with the more direct sort of knowledge of consciousness, suggests a variety of questions, and, among others, the laws according to which those objects of the mind that are at first observed, in a direct experience of the inner and outer world are, as immediate objects of memory and imagination, as it were, converted into mental modes, and

made the objects of reflection in the current of our associated thoughts. This field of investigation may, perhaps, be illustrated by the well-known doctrine of Leibnitz, regarding latent states of consciousness, to which Sir William Hamilton often refers in the course of his philosophical writings.

The theory of perception maintained by Sir William Hamilton is not likely, we think, to exhaust discussion in a province which experience has proved to be so fitted to kindle metaphysical genius, and to give scope to speculative ingenuity. The new and revived doctrines of which his philosophy is composed, have uncovered too many unsolved difficulties to permit such a result; and we are inclined to expect an increase rather than an abatement of the intellectual gladiatorship which has hitherto been associated with the theory of our knowledge of matter, as the result of a more diffused acquaintance with the assumptions and arguments of these Dissertations.

It should be remembered, however, that it is, as the arena of the struggle with philosophical scepticism, that this region of speculation has attracted combatants, earnest in the defence and development of the theory of human knowledge, as well as in the endeavour to reconcile intelligence with practice, and to maintain for man the possibility of sciences, relative and limited, yet solid and suited to his circumstances. It is when regarded in relation to a specimen in one department, of the manner in which the war against this scepticism is to be maintained in all, that the question respecting a presentative or representative knowledge of the external world is likely to be studied with most seriousness, and that it connects itself most nearly with our natural feelings and desires.

The science of metaphysics—in its polemical aspect, the controversy with the pyrrhonists—is a region into which those are forced who seek the ultimate answers that can be given, to account for all that man is capable of knowing in any of the sciences. “Reasoning,” says Pascal, “confounds the dogmatist, and nature the sceptic.” It is the aim of the metaphysician to compose this difference, a task which the Philosophy of Common Sense accomplishes in the only manner in which it can be effected by man. That philosophy seeks for, and renders prominent the inexplicable feelings, judgments, and notions in which reasoning and nature meet; and in doing this, it ascends the highest elevation that the human mind can reach, as long, at least, as the human faculties are limited by the boundary proper to this mortal existence. It is here that man gains the most comprehensive survey of the sciences, and were it not that the elevation is likely to dim his vision of the separate objects of which the panorama is composed, it is from thence that each science receives for him its most pervading illumination. There

all his knowledge tends towards the organized unity—the *σοφία* of the old Greeks—to which our understandings can only make an approach; and, as regards which, man assumes his highest function when it is the object of his love and aspiration, according to the original eloquent meaning of the word philosophy.

It is as much for the sake of this illumination, as for the purposes of defence, that we need to foster those habits which send us in quest of the First Principles of metaphysics. Nature is usually sufficiently strong to defend, for all the uses of life, those portions of knowledge which the powerful original motives of human activity require to be converted into practice, and she can always silence, by means of action, the objections of the few sceptical adventurers who seek to find their way behind the scenes, and ingeniously contrive literally to lose *themselves* in the attempt. “All sceptical reasoning,” says Sir James Mackintosh, “is merely blowing up the ship, where you and your enemy go into the air together.” But the speculative consistency and completeness of those sections of knowledge, which form the various sciences, is materially diminished, and the sciences themselves must inevitably undergo a process of gradual deterioration, if human thought is not sometimes turned towards those remote outworks, whence so commanding a view may be gained of what is knowable, in contrast with what cannot be known. If the comprehensiveness of the knowledge that is possessed by the students of the subordinate sciences is increased, as wider laws are, in their several provinces, gradually revealed to observation and experiment,—if the discovery of gravitation, for instance, is perceived to be valuable because it has illustrated the whole region of mechanics—this analogy may help to explain the effect, upon what we may call the *style* in which we hold every kind of knowledge, of a habit of intimacy with those highest laws, which, as ultimate propositions, mark the frontier that may not be passed by the human intellect. The progress of physical discovery upon this planet has become more enlightened since men have learned its figure, and the limits within which their exploration has been confined by the Creator. The fears of the followers of Columbus are now unknown, nor is El Dorado any longer searched for. In like manner, the more nearly the metaphysician is able to find the precise sphere within which our researches must be confined, the more successfully may we expect knowledge to be converted into science, and the more submissive should be our reverence, when we turn to those mysteries which are created for us by the limitations of human thought which are disclosed to metaphysical investigation. The elements of philosophical faith—or, in the language of Reid, the principles of common sense—which are acted on by all, but to

which the metaphysician alone directs an intelligent attention, as the special objects of his own science, are the materials of the foundation on which must rest that Classification of the Sciences, towards which so much thought has been directed since the publication of the "*Advancement of Learning*." This survey and arrangement of these definite, solid, and self-consistent sections of knowledge, appears to be the appropriate business of the philosophers of the ensuing age. It implies a clear account of what that is which entitles any portion of knowledge to the designation of scientific, what the methods are by which vague, and narrow or imperfect knowledge may become science, what the principles may be which mark off one science into a province distinct from another, and what the bond of connexion among all the sciences is, with the scale of their relative value and importance, and the place of each as a part of that organic whole into which the philosophic mind seeks to mould all its knowledge. The strength and precision of mind needed for a task like this, must be, in a great measure, regulated by the success of metaphysicians in detecting First Principles.

Sir William Hamilton has greatly illustrated metaphysical science by the clearness and distinctness which he has infused into the theory of common sense expounded by Reid, and maintained by him in common with the great majority of ancient and modern philosophers, it being, "notwithstanding many schismatic aberrations, the one catholic and perennial philosophy," while the very name common sense "is the term under which that doctrine has been most familiarly known, at least in the Western world."\*

There are two statements connected with this doctrine which should be carefully noted and reflected on by the metaphysical student. Of these the one is a question of terminology, and relates to the precise object, or collection of objects, that is signified by the technical term "common sense," when it is used as the term expressive of the proper province of his science. The other is a question of scientific method, and enforces the necessity of the labour of analysis and criticism for the discovery and arrangement of the genuine principles of common sense, purified from the prejudices and conventionalisms with which they are apt to be confounded, and by which they are almost always marred.

Common sense, as a term of science in metaphysics, expresses those notions and beliefs which are essential to man regarded

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\* See, in the Dissertation on *Common Sense*, 106 testimonies to this effect—a singular document, illustrative of the "succession" of metaphysicians, and of the analogy of metaphysical speculation, during three thousand years, from Hesiod and Heraclitus down to Schelling, Hegel, and Cousin.

as an intellectual and moral being. The existence of such original convictions is assumed when man is declared to be capable of collecting knowledge from experience, but they have not themselves been collected out of the materials of experience. Reflective induction may observe and systematize them, but it is not as the results of induction that they have gained an entrance into the mind. The word, when used in the higher philosophy, is to be entirely dissociated from its more vague and popular meanings, in which it expresses natural prudence, or acquired skill in the management of common affairs and in the intercourse of society. These unscientific significations, while they are expressive of mental qualities which, on their own account, very much deserve the attention of psychologists, are likely to be productive of confusion when the term is used metaphysically, inasmuch as many popular principles of common sense are far indeed from having any proper claim to the dignity of ultimate notions and beliefs. Instead of the collected original judgments of the human mind, appeals to common sense are often directed to the prejudices of individuals, which must be analyzed not into the inspirations of the Author of our mental structure, but into the perverseness of him on whom that structure has been bestowed.\*

The detection of the genuine principles of common sense is therefore the result of an intellectual effort which requires qualities peculiar to the philosopher, and the argument from common sense is no irrational appeal to vulgar feeling. The reflex criticism which distinguishes the primary from the other qualities of matter, and which appropriates the former exclusively to the external world, is an illustration, from the phenomena of perception, of the difference between an intelligent and an unscientific appeal to the ultimate criterion of truth. Analogous illustrations might be quoted, from other provinces of knowledge, of the manner in which prejudice is sifted, by the application of this test, and these also may be made to prove that the purport of the Scottish philosophy is by no means to encourage the mob to carry away the ark of metaphysics.

In short, we may admit with D'Alembert, quoted in the *Dissertations*, "That the truth in metaphysics, like the truth in matters of taste, is a truth of which all minds have the germ within themselves; to which, indeed, the greater number pay no attention, but which they recognise the moment it is pointed out to them. \* \* But if, in this sort, all are able to understand, all are not able to instruct. The merit of conveying easily to others true and simple notions is much greater than is commonly

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\* It is against these *spurious* principles of common sense that Locke's polemic against innate ideas may be beneficially applied.



supposed ; for experience proves how rarely this is to be met with. Sound metaphysical ideas are the common truths which every one apprehends, but which few have the talent to develop." "The first problem of philosophy," adds the Scottish philosopher, "and it is one of no easy accomplishment, being thus to seek out, purify, and establish, by intellectual analysis and criticism, the elementary feelings and beliefs, in which are given the elementary truths of which all are in possession ; and the argument from common sense being the allegation of those feelings and beliefs, as explicated and ascertained, in proof of the relative truths and their necessary consequences, this argument is manifestly dependent on philosophy as an art, as an acquired dexterity, and cannot, notwithstanding the errors which they have frequently committed, be taken out of the hands of philosophers. Common sense is like common law. Each may be laid down as the general rule of decision ; but in one case it must be left to the jurist, in the other to the philosopher, to ascertain what are the contents of the rule ; and though in both cases the common man may be cited as a witness for the custom of the fact, in neither can he be allowed to officiate as advocate or as judge. \* \* We may, in short, say of the philosopher what Erasmus, in an epistle to Hütten, said of Sir Thomas More : ' Nemo minus ducitur *vulgi* *judicio* ; sed rursus nemo minus abest a *sensu communi*.' "

We have referred to the efforts of the Scottish school to extract, by means of analytic criticism, those principles of common sense which relate to our knowledge of the qualities of matter, seeing that, as already stated, it is chiefly in this province that the contest with philosophical scepticism has been maintained in Britain, and especially because the theory of external perception is the central point of Sir William Hamilton's re-statement and vindication of the conservative philosophy of common sense. But if our metaphysical science in this country has hitherto been chiefly suggested in that region of research, we must not forget that the struggle with scepticism has, in the most profoundly thoughtful nation of Europe, been transferred for us from the arena of our beliefs about matter to the arena of our beliefs about religion. These last have in Germany been put through an ordeal as severe as that which this volume contains evidence that the former have passed through at home, and scepticism is much less able practically to distort the mind of man with regard to what concerns the present life than with regard to what concerns the life to come. A critical application of some of our higher minds to those principles of common sense that relate to our faith in God, and our notions of the relation between God and man, which should bring back to its origin this part of our



knowledge, would correspond, in the region of theology, to the task attempted by Reid and Sir William Hamilton in the metaphysics of perception.

The Scottish sceptical philosophy of Hume is, indeed, throughout irreligious. But his antagonists in this country have as yet attempted little for the satisfaction of the scientific principle by a statement of the metaphysics of religion.\* In Germany his doctrines have formed part of the seed that has there produced, during the last two generations, the rank crop of religious scepticism, which is now imported into the popular literature of Britain and America, in the new species of infidelity which makes a virtual excision of those principles of common sense that lie at the root of our religious knowledge. An intelligent attention is due, on the part of those who are the authorized teachers of religion, to the progress of a form of scepticism which, while it sublimates the Divine personality into the illusion of the Absolute, excludes the possibility of all positive theological knowledge, by discrediting the original or derived faculties for obtaining ideas of the supernatural, nullifying the argument from final causes, and refusing to receive alleged miraculous events as by possibility credentials of what is divine, and which thus descends with the elementary controversy about religion, from the actual objective evidence to be sought for on its behalf, to—what is clearly a lower stratum—a criticism of our subjective faculties for the apprehension of natural, and especially of supernatural and positive revelation, and of the possibility of finite phenomena of any kind yielding evidence regarding what is infinite.† An adjustment of these questions, capable of explaining the manner in which the human understanding is enabled to rise, on the ladder of available evidence, from the relative and finite phenomena of the mental and material worlds, to the region of religion or the supernatural, and which should also be in analogy

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\* We, of course, except the invaluable contributions to the philosophy of religion contained in Dr. Chalmers' Treatises on "*Natural Theology*" and on the "*Evidences of Christianity*,"—so full of comprehensive conceptions, and abounding in vigorous metaphysical discussions.

† Although religious men have been anticipated by the infidel party, in the province of discussion where they would cause the *paralysis* of the faculties for apprehending Christianity which the Pantheistic doctrine induces, it must not be inferred that all teachers of revealed truths in the British Churches are negligent of the peculiar duties which are required by the consequent crisis in the history of the evidence of religion, and in the arrangements of the Christian Church. Among other illustrations to the contrary, may we ask the attention of our readers to a recently published discourse on "*Popery and Infidelity in the Last Times*," by the Reverend Professor Garbett, of Oxford, delivered before the University on the 5th November 1847? The lurid gloom of the perhaps occasionally exaggerated representations of this impressive composition may help to rouse the heart, while it guides the understanding to a proper apprehension of certain religious and social phenomena of this age.

with the Scottish philosophical account, of our notions and original judgments respecting the qualities of mind and matter, would supplement what is still a defect in our national metaphysics.

A mental experience of the divinity of the gospel system, which is gained by acting it out in the details of a holy life, is certainly a *practical* escape from those questions of science. Without this, even the speculative task of the theologian cannot be accomplished, and it is chiefly in order to foster and render intelligent that habit of life that the task is worth his toil. But his work is not then done. Those to whom the written word is the centre of all truth, regarding the "things unseen and eternal" and the moral mystery of human life, cannot count valueless, thoughtful answers to such questions as refer to the manner in which the positive evidence of religion is reached by man, so that his thought, even while confined, by the necessity of its original structure, to the level of the relative and the conditioned, may be exercised on the objects of a religious faith, that precisely meets the wants of the human intelligence as well as of the human conscience.

The comment on Reid's essay on "*The Liberty of Moral Agents*," is the part of the notes and dissertations that is most nearly related to the theory of religion and morality. Some account of it, and estimate of its value, as a contribution to the ceaseless controversy of metaphysicians and theologians on the mysterious topic of responsible agency, may interest those of our readers who are inclined to pay attention to the *quæstiones vexatæ* of the nature, possibility, and explanation of free-will. We must, however, restrict our reference to this subject within very narrow limits, having already more than exhausted our space.

Sir William Hamilton, in common with his predecessors of the old Scottish school—Reid and Stewart—is a firm defender of the possibility of free-will. He maintains that the reality of a power or liberty, *to will what we will*, is testified to us indirectly, if not directly, by the experience of our own consciousness, and that the possession of it is essential to all activity of which the modes are properly objects of praise or blame. Such freedom is the root of man's personality, and constitutes his power of self-control over the desires and affections that have been inserted in his mind and committed to his government.

Amid much obscurity and diversity in their account of the *nature* of free-will, a doctrine of liberty has, with few exceptions, till recent times, been maintained by the most religious and earnest of our British philosophers. Cudworth and Clarke attacked the opposite hypothesis of necessity as a citadel of the Atheists and Materialists of that age, and as interwoven with the speculations of Hobbes and also of Spinoza. In the eighteenth cen-

ture, the assault on free-will was conducted by the Unitarians Priestly and Belsham, and the system of necessity has since been used by the Socialists and Communists of our own times, as a popular engine for the defence of their doctrines. It is also important to note that the modern doctrine of universal necessity is apparently at variance with what is said concerning free-will, and particularly with the prominence which is given to the fall, in the doctrinal symbols of the Reformation. These creeds assume the *possibility* of a free-will, when they assert that human freedom was lost, "as to any spiritual good accompanying salvation," in the fall of Adam.\* The loss of freedom clearly implies the possibility of it, for what is lost must once have existed. But on the system of universal necessity, free-will must be denied to man, whether fallen or unfallen, and even to God himself; and the fall cannot consist in the loss of what is in itself radically inconsistent with the tie which connects all the phenomena of the universe.

Yet the doctrine of free-will has, during the last and the present century, been exposed to the attacks of men of an aim and spirit very different from those of the infidel necessarians to whom we have referred. A system of universal necessity, substantially the same with that of Hobbes and Collins, was employed for the defence of some of the more peculiar doctrines of the Calvinistic interpretation of Christianity, by one of the most vigorous of the thinkers who in modern times have consecrated intellect to the service of revealed religion. President Edwards of New England, in his well-known "*Enquiry into the modern prevailing notions of that Freedom of the Will, &c.*," adopted the necessarian hypothesis, as a foundation on which certain portions of the interpretation of Scripture, contained in the Reformed Confessions, might be unanswerably vindicated from the attacks of the philosophers.

The substance of the argument thus adopted by Edwards is likely to be familiar to most of those who are interested in this discussion. The essential part of his reasoning may be condensed within a few sentences, although, owing to the expansion needed for the application of it to meet the various forms of objection, philosophical and theological, by which it had

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\* See, as illustrations, the *tenth* of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the *ninth* chapter of the Westminster Confession, or symbol of the doctrine of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. In the latter document, we read expressly that "man in his state of innocency had freedom and power to *will* and to do," &c. The condition of the fallen human will is a distinct province of discussion. Some of the *problems* that may be raised in this latter department may be found, *inter alia*, in a rather curious little book, Everard's "*Creation and Fall of Adam Reviewed, or a Brief Treatise wherein is discovered Adam's indowments in his Creation, and what he became by Degeneration.*" London, 1649.

been or might be assailed, it has been diffused through a treatise of considerable size. The fundamental assumption of the whole book is the unlimited application of the law of causation, and the consequent existence of an infinite succession of derived causes or antecedents. The phenomenon to be thereby explained is the origin of our rational and responsible volitions. On the hypothesis assailed by Edwards, these acts of will are accounted for in each case by means of the assumption of a previous determination of the will itself, which was asserted to be possessed of the power of self-determination. The inconsistency of this explanation is clearly demonstrated in the *first section* of the *second part* of the "*Inquiry*," which may be regarded as a summary of the argument which the modern antagonists of liberty are accustomed to present as an unassailable defence of a scheme of universal necessity, in which all acts of will, Divine as well as human, are included.

The series of syllogisms contained in the passage to which we have referred is irrefragable as against the conceptions of free will at which it is pointed, if indeed an hypothesis of liberty such as is there assailed was ever distinctly maintained by any philosophical theologian of repute. But in truth, although the defenders of freedom have united against fatalism, they are far from being lucid or unanimous in the statement of their own doctrine. Even Reid's writings on free-will can hardly be made to yield a consistent theory.

The most important advance, as it seems to us, that has been made by Sir William Hamilton, in the discussion of this problem of philosophy, consists in the account which he has furnished of the very nature of the debated question, and of the real assumptions which every argument regarding it must imply. To gain a clear understanding of a disputed question, and of the conditions which must be conformed to before a true answer to it can be obtained, while it is usually a more painful and less manifest stage in the progress of a science or a doctrine, is often a more important one than the subsequent solution of its difficulties. It helps to fill the intellect with suggestive hypotheses of a kind appropriate to the peculiarities of the phenomena which are exposed for scientific explanation. The solution itself is frequently obvious when a new general principle has been obtained; and it is easier to attempt to account for fresh phenomena by means of old hypotheses than to find others which are at once new and true. Disputants have long been obliged to struggle with the haze of intellect that has invested the question regarding the meaning of moral agency, and that philosopher has rendered an important service who has in any measure dispelled the mist.

Dr. Reid maintains that liberty is conceivable. Sir William

Hamilton asserts the fact of moral freedom as a possible but inexplicable mystery.

Unless the freedom which is maintained is only necessity under another name, there can, we think, be no question that it is a mystery, and as such inconceivable. But even when liberty is resolved into unlimited necessity, the mystery is only made to recede. It is more out of sight, but it still remains. The argument of the modern necessarians, contained in the treatise of Edwards, takes for granted the inconceivable hypothesis of an infinite series of derived causes; for the Divine volitions, in common with all acts of created will, are conceived as links in an endless chain of antecedents and consequents. The defenders of this necessity easily prove the self-contradiction of that counter-hypothesis, which explains freedom by means of what is virtually either an infinite series of self-determinations, or else a series which ultimately merges in a necessity that is *outside* of the will. But on the latter, which is the selected alternative, they virtually assert the existence of an infinite series of derived causes *in the universe*, in order to account for the acts of will which constitute a part of the phenomena of the universe. Now this hypothesis is in itself as inconceivable as that of the self-origination of volitions, and has besides been proved contradictory and absurd in various of the arguments in behalf of the first principles of natural theology.\*

The modern necessarians, represented by Edwards, have thus failed, even by means of the accumulation of ingenious and conclusive argument which they have produced, to raise this problem, regarding responsible actions, out of the region of the insoluble. The application of the theory of causation which they have made, is sufficient for a relative explanation of the phenomena of the physical sciences, because these sciences deal only with limited sections of the phenomena of the universe, regarded in those immediate, invariable, unconditional relations to one another, which have been fixed for them, and to which their objects are adapted, by the free First Cause and Governor of all, and which are commonly spoken of as the "laws of nature." But the hypothesis of a chain of mutually dependent sequences, which is sufficient for the explanation that the sciences of external nature ask for, regarding the particular orders of phenomena which are their objects, implies the absurdity of a chain without a beginning, when brought, as it is before it is capable of yielding the necessarian inference, to give a conclusive explanation of *all* the phenomena which may be made the objects of investigation by man. It cannot, therefore, act as an insurmountable bar against the possibility either of an uncreated or a created free-will.

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\* As, for instance, in Proposition *Second* of Dr. Clarke's "*Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.*"



In a word, on the side of liberty, man is lost in the mystery of absolute commencement. On the side of universal necessity, he is lost in the mystery, or rather the contradiction, of infinite dependent succession. And thus it seems a conclusive inference, that this long discussed problem is indeed insoluble by man, or by any other being whose power of thought is limited like his. It is, however, practically solved, as similar problems in regard to other objects of our speculative nature are, in the existence of those feelings, by which we are compelled to assume, as a first principle, our own responsibility for our acts of rational will. Possessing these, even without the possibility of any ultimate theory of moral agency for the gratification of the logical faculty, or finite understanding, men may consistently "follow after holiness," and also receive, as possible, though inexplicable, the supernatural account which has been conveyed to them of the historical origin of that tendency to sin of which they experience the power, as well as of that free restoration from the "fallen state," which, revealed in the Gospel, is mysteriously bestowed on the regenerate. This agrees, too, with the analogy of Scripture, for the Bible is full of both ideas—absolute commencement and derived volition—but it essays not to explain nor to reconcile them.

If the finite power of reasoning may be proved incapable to grasp the theory that is sufficient to account for responsible actions, consistently on the one hand with our belief regarding causation, and on the other, with the limitation of the series of causes which is assumed in those principles of the theistical argument that are at variance with the hypothesis of an infinite chain of derived causes, common sense includes among its other beliefs the conviction that we are created by God moral agents, responsible for those actions which we perform in relation to Him and to one another. This belief is sufficient to sustain our moral activity, even although the limits of the human intellect lay an arrest on further speculation, and therefore render it impossible for us to retain in the vocabulary of our purely intellectual conceptions such words as Free-will and Responsibility, except, indeed, for the purpose of having finger-posts, as it were, for guiding us to points of view where we may have some of the most impressive aspects of that realm of mystery, by which human thought is encompassed on all sides, and on which we may "break the spirit" in metaphysical contemplation. The problem which these words suggest, as far as it is exclusively speculative, is truly one which, when we attempt to develop it, stirs the mind to its profoundest depths, as it offers to us the alternatives of self-origination, or an infinite course of dependent acts of will.

With this negative rather than positive account of the theory



of liberty, which, after all, only amounts to a statement of *the reason* why no conclusive solution can be given to the problem raised by the fact of moral agency, we leave the adjustment of the other questions connected with it to those who are ready to bestow additional thought on the ideas of causation and responsibility, which are those that are most peculiarly involved in the subject. And with this brief reference to a single department of the argument regarding the theory of moral agency, we abruptly and reluctantly close our account of the struggle of the *Philosophy of Common Sense* with *Scepticism, Idealism, and Necessarianism*. We regret, for the sake of the science in which we have been expatiating, the necessary concentration of thought and expression, which is manifest in this Article, as we fear that the preceding disquisitions may thus appear, except to persons previously familiar with such thoughts, to be addressed only to those "small hooks of the mind" which catch at and apprehend mere illusive abstractions, and to have little or no connexion with that knowledge which penetrates nature, and finds real inductive axioms in her phenomena.

We have reason to offer our cordial thanks to the distinguished author of these Notes and Dissertations, for providing among them so many paths and recesses in which the inquisitive student may reflect on phases of our knowledge, there presented to him, that will very greatly add to the number of his queries, on such topics as those which have occupied our attention in the greater part of this Article, and where he may also gather no slight contribution to his stock of answers to such queries. The pages of this volume supply ample evidence that the graspings of the mind of man, after the first principles of physical, theological, and self-knowledge, are not confined to one generation of the history of the world. These are founded on tendencies which are permanent as the race of man. They are the seeds of a nature fallen from its high original and destiny, but which was not adapted only nor chiefly for this earthly life between two eternities. From Thales, Xenophanes, and Pythagoras in the Greek philosophy, and the still older inspired complaints of the patriarch of Idumea, down to our own century, the apparent discord of the theory of knowledge, because the real limitation of its sphere; the great objects of knowledge—God, self, and the world;—together with the riddles of creation, and of independent moral action, which these involve, have attracted, in order to find an explanation of them and thus reduce them into human science, a succession of men of different schools, of whose uninterrupted series the fragments of thought that are expressed in the accumulation of philosophical paragraphs, sentences, and references which enrich the learning of this volume, as well as

its original matter, form a remarkable confirmation and illustration. Though ever and anon the calls of the circumstances through which men are passing may divert the attention of generations to the arrangement of affairs that are more pressing, if they are less sublime and imposing, the like aspirations will continue to ascend, and not the less passionately as the world approaches its catastrophe. They are worthy of reverence as the emanations of the human spirit in the direction of the permanent, the infinite, and the eternal, the nourishment at once of nobleness and humility of mind, if they are often the baffled efforts of a desire to break the barrier by which its own structure confines the thought of man, who finds instincts instead of explanations when he endeavours to form *such* science. This perpetual, yet broken struggle, after what must in the end elude his grasp, when become habitual and too exclusive in any individual, tends to weaken his judgment in common affairs, by abstracting it from clear and distinct sciences, and palpable individual realities, and tempts his mind to sink into itself in the vain effort to find there that explanation which shall leave nothing to be explained. The check of nature thus imposed upon the unrestrained indulgence of speculation, affords an emphatical illustration of the sentiment which pervades the “*Pensées*” of Pascal, regarding the mingled greatness and littleness of man.

ART. VI.—*Final Memorials of Charles Lamb.* By THOMAS NOON TALFOURD. 2 vols. London: 1848.

It sounds paradoxical, but is not so in a bad sense, to say—that in every literature of large compass some authors will be found to rest much of the interest which surrounds them on their essential *non-popularity*. They are good for the very reason that they are not in conformity to the current taste. They interest because to the world they are *not* interesting. They attract by means of their repulsion. Not as though it could separately furnish a reason for loving a book—that the majority of men had found it repulsive. *Prima facie*, it must suggest some presumption *against* a book—that it has failed to engage public attention. To have roused hostility indeed, to have kindled a feud against its own principles or its temper, may happen to be a good sign. *That* argues power. Hatred may be promising. The deepest revolutions of mind sometimes begin in hatred. But simply to have left a reader unimpressed—is in itself a neutral result, from which the inference is doubtful. Yet even *that*, even simple failure to impress, may happen at times to be a result from positive powers in a writer, from special originalities, such as rarely reflect themselves in the mirror of the ordinary understanding. It seems little to be perceived—how much the great scriptural\* idea of the *worldly* and the *unworldly* is found to emerge in literature as well as in life. In reality the very same combinations of moral qualities, infinitely varied, which compose the harsh physiognomy of what we call worldliness in the living groups of life, must unavoidably present themselves in books. A library divides into sections of worldly and unworldly, even as a crowd of men divides into that same majority and minority. The world has an instinct for recognising its own; and recoils from certain qualities when exemplified in books, with the same disgust or defective sympathy as would have governed it in real life. From qualities for instance of childlike simplicity, of shy profundity, or of inspired self-communion, the world does and must turn away its face towards grosser, bolder, more determined, or more intelligible expressions of character and intellect;—and not otherwise in literature, nor at all less in literature, than it does in the realities of life.

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\* "*Scriptural*" we call it, because this element of thought, so indispensable to a profound philosophy of morals, is not simply *more* used in Scripture than elsewhere, but is so exclusively significant or intelligible amidst the correlative ideas of Scripture, as to be absolutely insusceptible of translation into classical Greek or classical Latin. It is disgraceful that more reflection has not been directed to the vast causes and consequences of so pregnant a truth.

Charles Lamb, if any ever *was*, is amongst the class here contemplated ; he, if any ever *has*, ranks amongst writers whose works are destined to be for ever unpopular, and yet for ever interesting ; interesting, moreover, by means of those very qualities which guarantee their non-popularity. The same qualities which will be found forbidding to the worldly and the thoughtless, which will be found insipid to many even amongst robust and powerful minds, are exactly those which will continue to command a select audience in every generation. The prose essays, under the signature of *Elia*, form the most delightful section amongst Lamb's works. They traverse a peculiar field of observation, sequestered from general interest ; and they are composed in a spirit too delicate and unobtrusive to catch the ear of the noisy crowd, clamouring for strong sensations. But this retiring delicacy itself, the pensiveness chequered by gleams of the fanciful, and the humour that is touched with cross-lights of pathos, together with the picturesque quaintness of the objects casually described, whether men, or things, or usages, and, in the rear of all this, the constant recurrence to ancient recollections and to decaying forms of household life, as things retiring before the tumult of new and revolutionary generations ;—these traits in combination communicate to the papers a grace and strength of originality which nothing in any literature approaches, whether for degree or kind of excellence, except the most felicitous papers of Addison, such as those on Sir Roger de Coverly, and some others in the same vein of composition. They resemble Addison's papers also in the diction, which is natural and idiomatic, even to carelessness. They are equally faithful to the truth of nature ; and in this only they differ remarkably—that the sketches of *Elia* reflect the stamp and impress of the writer's own character, whereas in all those of Addison the personal peculiarities of the delineator (though known to the reader from the beginning through the account of the Club) are nearly quiescent. Now and then they are recalled into a momentary notice, but they do not act, or at all modify his pictures of Sir Roger or Will Wimble. *They* are slightly and amiably eccentric ; but the Spectator himself, in describing them, takes the station of an ordinary observer.

Everywhere, indeed, in the writings of Lamb, and not merely in his *Elia*, the character of the writer co-operates in an under current to the effect of the thing written. To understand in the fullest sense either the gaiety or the tenderness of a particular passage, you must have some insight into the peculiar bias of the writer's mind—whether native and original, or impressed gradually by the accidents of situation ; whether simply developed out of predispositions by the action of life, or violently scorched into

the constitution by some fierce fever of calamity. There is in modern literature a whole class of writers, though not a large one, standing within the same category; some marked originality of character in the writer becomes a coefficient with what he says to a common result; you must sympathize with this *personality* in the author before you can appreciate the most significant parts of his views. In most books the writer figures as a mere abstraction, without sex or age or local station, whom the reader banishes from his thoughts. What is written seems to proceed from a blank intellect, not from a man clothed with fleshly peculiarities and differences. These peculiarities and differences neither do, nor (generally speaking) *could* intermingle with the texture of the thoughts so as to modify their force or their direction. In such books, and they form the vast majority, there is nothing to be found or to be looked for beyond the direct objective. (*Sit venia verbo!*) But, in a small section of books, the objective in the thought becomes confluent with the subjective in the thinker—the two forces unite for a joint product; and fully to enjoy that product, or fully to apprehend either element, both must be known. It is singular, and worth inquiring into, for the reason, that the Greek and Roman literature had no such books. Timon of Athens, or Diogenes, one may conceive qualified for this mode of authorship, had Journalism existed to rouse them in those days; their “articles” would no doubt have been fearfully caustic. But, as *they* failed to produce anything, and Lucian in an after age is scarcely characteristic enough for the purpose, perhaps we may pronounce Rabelais and Montaigne the earliest of writers in the class described. In the century following *theirs*, came Sir Thomas Brown, and immediately after *him* La Fontaine. Then came Swift, Sterne, with others less distinguished: in Germany Hippel, the friend of Kant, Hamann the obscure, and the greatest of the whole body—John Paul Fr. Richter. In *him*, from the strength and determinateness of his nature as well as from the great extent of his writings, the philosophy of this interaction between the author as a human agency and his theme as an intellectual reagency, might best be studied. From *him* might be derived the largest number of cases illustrating boldly this absorption of the universal into the concrete—of the pure intellect into the human nature of the author. But nowhere could illustrations be found more interesting,—shy, delicate, evanescent—shy as lightning, delicate and evanescent as the coloured pencillings on a frosty night from the Northern Lights, than in the better parts of Lamb.

To appreciate Lamb, therefore, it is requisite that his character and temperament should be understood in their coyest and most wayward features. A capital defect it would be if these could

not be gathered silently from Lamb's works themselves. It would be a fatal mode of dependency upon an alien and separable accident if they needed an external commentary. But they do *not*. The syllables lurk up and down the writings of Lamb which decipher his eccentric nature. His character lies there dispersed in anagram ; and to any attentive reader the regathering and restoration of the total word from its scattered parts is inevitable without an effort. Still it is always a satisfaction in knowing a result, to know also its *why* and *how* ; and in so far as every character is likely to be modified by the particular experience, sad or joyous, through which the life has travelled, it is a good contribution towards the knowledge of that resulting character as a whole to have a sketch of that particular experience. What trials did it impose ? What energies did it task ? What temptations did it unfold ? These calls upon the moral powers, which in music so stormy, many a life is doomed to hear, how were they faced ? The character in a capital degree moulds oftentimes the life, but the life *always* in a subordinate degree moulds the character. And the character being in this case of Lamb so much of a key to the writings, it becomes important that the life should be traced, however briefly, as a key to the character.

That is *one* reason for detaining the reader with some slight record of Lamb's career. Such a record by preference and of right belongs to a case where the intellectual display, which is the sole ground of any public interest at all in the man, has been intensely modified by the *humanities* and moral *personalities* distinguishing the subject. We read a Physiology, and need no information as to the life and conversation of its author : a meditative poem becomes far better understood by the light of such information ; but a work of genial and at the same time eccentric sentiment, wandering upon untrodden paths, is barely intelligible without it. There is a good reason for arresting judgment on the writer, that the court may receive evidence on the life of the man. But there is another reason, and, in any other place, a better ; which reason lies in the extraordinary value of the life considered separately for itself. Logically, it is not allowable to say that *here* ; and, considering the principal purpose of this paper, any possible *independent* value of the life must rank as a better reason for reporting it. Since, in a case where the original object is professedly to estimate the writings of a man, whatever promises to further that object must, merely by that tendency, have, in relation to that place, a momentary advantage which it would lose if valued upon a more abstract scale. Liberated from this casual office of throwing light upon a book—raised to its grander station of a solemn deposition to the moral capacities of man in conflict with calamity—viewed as a return made



into the chanceries of heaven—upon an issue directed from that court to try the amount of power lodged in a poor desolate pair of human creatures for facing the very anarchy of storms—this obscure life of the two Lambs, brother and sister, (for the two lives were one life,) rises into a grandeur that is not paralleled once in a generation.

Rich, indeed, in moral instruction was the life of Charles Lamb; and perhaps in one chief result it offers to the thoughtful observer a lesson of consolation that is awful, and of hope that ought to be immortal, viz., in the record which it furnishes, that by meekness of submission, and by earnest conflict with evil, in the spirit of cheerfulness, it is possible ultimately to disarm or to blunt the very heaviest of curses—even the curse of lunacy. Had it been whispered, in hours of infancy, to Lamb, by the angel who stood by his cradle—"Thou, and the sister that walks by ten years before thee, shall be through life, each to each, the solitary fountain of comfort; and except it be from this fountain of mutual love, except it be as brother and sister, ye shall not taste the cup of peace on earth!"—here, if there was sorrow in reversion, there was also consolation.

But what funeral swamps would have instantly engulfed this consolation had some meddling fiend prolonged the revelation, and, holding up the curtain from the sad future a little longer, had said scornfully—"Peace on earth! Peace for you two, Charles and Mary Lamb! What peace is possible under the curse which even now is gathering against your heads? Is there peace on earth for the lunatic—peace for the parenticide—peace for the girl that, without warning, and without time granted for a penitential cry to heaven, sends her mother to the last audit?" And then, without treachery, speaking bare truth, this prophet of woe might have added—"Thou also, thyself, Charles Lamb, thou in thy proper person, shalt enter the skirts of this dreadful hail-storm: even thou shalt taste the secrets of lunacy, and enter as a captive its house of bondage; whilst over thy sister the accursed scorpion shall hang suspended through life, like Death hanging over the beds of hospitals, striking at times, but more often threatening to strike; or withdrawing its instant menaces only to lay bare her mind more bitterly to the persecutions of a haunted memory!" Considering the nature of the calamity, in the first place; considering, in the second place, its life-long duration; and, in the last place, considering the quality of the resistance by which it was met, and under what circumstances of humble resources in money or friends—we have come to the deliberate judgment, that the whole range of history scarcely presents a more affecting spectacle of perpetual sorrow, humiliation, or conflict, and that was supported to the end, (that is, through

forty years,) with more resignation, or with more absolute victory.

Charles Lamb was born in February of the year 1775. His immediate descent was humble; for his father, though on one particular occasion civilly described as a 'scrivener,' was in reality a domestic servant to Mr. Salt—a benchman (and therefore a barrister of some standing) in the Inner Temple. John Lamb the father belonged by birth to Lincoln; from which city, being transferred to London whilst yet a boy, he entered the service of Mr. Salt without delay; and apparently from this period throughout his life continued in this good man's household to support the honourable relation of a Roman client to his *patronus*—much more than that of a mercenary servant to a transient and capricious master. The terms on which he seems to have lived with the family of the Lambs, argue a kindness and a liberality of nature on both sides. John Lamb recommended himself as an attendant by the versatility of his accomplishments; and Mr. Salt, being a widower without children, which means in effect an old bachelor, naturally valued that encyclopædic range of dexterity which made his house independent of external aid for every mode of service. To kill one's own mutton is but an operose way of arriving at a dinner, and often a more costly way; whereas to combine one's own carpenter, locksmith, hair-dresser, groom, &c., all in one man's person,—to have a Robinson Crusoe, up to all emergencies of life, always in waiting, is a luxury of the highest class for one who values his ease.

A consultation is held more freely with a man familiar to one's eye, and more profitably with a man aware of one's peculiar habits. And another advantage from such an arrangement is—that one gets any little alteration or repair executed on the spot. To hear is to obey, and by an inversion of Pope's rule,—

One always *is*, and never *to be*, blest.

People of one sole accomplishment, like the *homo unius libri*, are usually within that narrow circle disagreeably perfect, and therefore apt to be arrogant. People who can do all things, usually do every one of them ill; and living in a constant effort to deny this too palpable fact, they become irritably vain. But Mr. Lamb the elder seems to have been bent on perfection. He did all things; he did them all well; and yet was neither gloomily arrogant, nor testily vain. And being conscious apparently that all mechanic excellencies tend to illiberal results, unless counteracted by perpetual sacrifices to the muses—he went so far as to cultivate poetry: he even printed his poems, and were we possessed of a copy, (which we are *not*, nor pro-

bably is the Vatican,) it would give us pleasure at this point to digress for a moment, and to cut them up, purely on considerations of respect to the author's memory. It is hardly to be supposed that they did not really merit castigation; and we should best shew the sincerity of our respect for Mr. Lamb, senior, in all those cases where we *could* conscientiously profess respect by an unlimited application of the knout in the cases where we could *not*.

The whole family of the Lambs seem to have won from Mr. Salt the consideration which is granted to humble friends; and from acquaintances nearer to their own standing, to have won a tenderness of esteem such as is granted to decayed gentry. Yet, naturally, the social rank of the parents, as people still living, must have operated disadvantageously for the children. It is hard, even for the practised philosopher, to distinguish aristocratic graces of manner, and capacities of delicate feeling, in people whose very hearth and dress bear witness to the servile humility of their station. Yet such distinctions, as wild gifts of nature, timidly and half-unconsciously asserted themselves in the unpretending Lambs. Already in *their* favour there existed a silent privilege analogous to the famous one of Lord Kinsale. He, by special grant from the Crown, is allowed, when standing before the King, to forget that he is not himself a king: the bearer of that Peerage, through all generations, has the privilege of wearing his hat in the Royal presence. By a general though tacit concession of the same nature, the rising generation of the Lambs, John and Charles, the two sons, and Mary Lamb, the only daughter, were permitted to forget that their grandmother had been a housekeeper for sixty years, and that their father had worn a livery. Charles Lamb, individually, was so entirely humble, and so careless of social distinctions, that he has taken pleasure in recurring to these very facts in the family-records amongst the most genial of his Elia recollections. He only continued to remember, without shame, and with a peculiar tenderness, these badges of plebeian rank, when everybody else, amongst the few survivors that could have known of their existence, had long dismissed them from their thoughts.

Probably through Mr. Salt's interest, Charles Lamb, in the autumn of 1782, when he wanted something more than four months of completing his eighth year, received a presentation to the magnificent school of Christ's Hospital. The late Dr. Arnold, when contrasting the school of his own boyish experience, Winchester, with Rugby, the school confided to his management, found nothing so much to regret in the circumstances of the latter as its forlorn condition with respect to historical traditions. Wherever these were wanting, and supposing the

school of sufficient magnitude, it occurred to Dr. Arnold that something of a compensatory effect for impressing the imagination might be obtained by connecting the school with the nation through the link of annual prizes issuing from the Exchequer. An official basis of national patronage might prove a substitute for an antiquarian or ancestral basis. Happily for the great educational foundations of London, none of them is in the naked condition of Rugby. Westminster, St. Paul's, Merchant 'Tailors', the Charter-House, &c., are all crowned with historical recollections : and Christ's Hospital, besides the original honours of its foundation, so fitted to a consecrated place in a youthful imagination—an asylum for boy-students, provided by a boy-king—innocent, religious, prematurely wise, and prematurely called away from earth—has also a mode of perpetual connexion with the State. It enjoys, therefore, *both* of Dr. Arnold's advantages. Indeed, all the great foundation-schools of London, bearing in their very codes of organisation the impress of a double function—viz., the conservation of sound learning and of pure religion—wear something of a monastic or cloisteral character in their aspect and usages which is peculiarly impressive, and even pathetic, amidst the uproars of a capital the most colossal and tumultuous upon earth.

Here Lamb remained until his fifteenth year, which year threw him on the world, and brought him alongside the golden dawn of the French Revolution. Here he learned a little elementary Greek, and of Latin more than a little; for the Latin notes to Mr. Cary (of Dante celebrity) though brief, are sufficient to reveal a true sense of what is graceful and idiomatic in Latinity. *We* say this, who have studied that subject more than most men. It is not that Lamb would have found it an easy task to compose a long paper in Latin—nobody *can* find it easy to do what he has no motive for habitually practising; but a single sentence of Latin, wearing the secret countersign of the "sweet Roman hand," ascertain sufficiently that, in reading Latin classics, a man feels and comprehends their peculiar force or beauty. That is enough. It is requisite to a man's expansion of mind that he should make acquaintance with a literature so radically differing from all modern literatures as is the Latin. It is *not* requisite that he should practise Latin composition. Here, therefore, Lamb obtained in sufficient perfection one priceless accomplishment, which even singly throws a graceful air of liberality over all the rest of a man's attainments : having rarely any pecuniary value, it challenges the more attention to its intellectual value. Here also Lamb commenced the friendships of his life : and, of all which he formed, he lost none. Here it was, as the consummation and crown of his advantages

from the time-honoured Hospital, that he came to know "Poor S. T. C."\* *τον θαυμασιωτάτον.*

Until 1796, it is probable that he lost sight of Coleridge, who was then occupied with Cambridge—having been transferred thither as a "Grecian" from the house of Christchurch. That year, 1796, was a year of change and fearful calamity for Charles Lamb. On that year revolved the wheels of his after-life. During the three years succeeding to his school-days, he had held a clerkship in the South Sea House. In 1795, he was transferred to the India House. As a junior clerk he could not receive more than a slender salary: but even this was important to the support of his parents and sister. They lived together in lodgings near Holborn; and in the spring of 1796, Miss Lamb, (having previously shown signs of lunacy at intervals,) in a sudden paroxysm of her disease, seized a knife from the dinner table, and stabbed her mother, who died upon the spot. A coroner's inquest easily ascertained the nature of a case which was transparent in all its circumstances, and never for a moment indecisive as regarded the medical symptoms. The poor young lady was transferred to the establishment for lunatics at Hoxton: she soon recovered, we believe; but her relapses were as sudden as her recoveries, and she continued through life to revisit, for periods of uncertain seclusion, this house of wo. This calamity of his fireside, followed soon after by the death of his father, who had for some time been in a state of imbecility, determined the future destiny of Lamb. Apprehending, with the perfect grief of perfect love, that his sister's fate was sealed for life—viewing her as his own greatest benefactress, which she really *had* been through her advantage by ten years in age—yielding with impassioned readiness to the depth of his fraternal affection, what at any rate he would have yielded to the sanctities of duty as interpreted by his own conscience—he resolved for ever to resign all thoughts of marriage with a young lady whom he loved, for ever to abandon all ambitious prospects that might have tempted him into uncertainties, humbly to content himself with the *certainities* of his Indian clerkship, to dedicate himself for the future to the care of his desolate and prostrate sister, and to leave the rest to God. These sacrifices he made in no hurry or tumult, but deliberately, and in religious tranquillity. These sacrifices were accepted in heaven—and even on this earth they *had* their reward. She for whom he gave up all, in turn gave up all for *him*. She

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\* The affecting expression by which Coleridge indicates himself in the few lines written during his last illness for an inscription upon his grave; lines ill constructed in point of diction and compression, but otherwise speaking from the depths of his heart.

devoted herself to his comfort. Many times she returned to the lunatic establishment, but many times she was restored to illuminate the household hearth for *him*; and of the happiness which for forty years more he had, no hour seemed true that was not derived from *her*. Henceforward, therefore, until he was emancipated by the noble generosity of the East India Directors, Lamb's time, for nine and twenty years, was given to the India House.

"*O fortunati nimium, sua si bona nôrint,*" is applicable to more people than "*agricolæ*." Clerks of the India House are as blind to their own advantages as the blindest of ploughmen. Lamb was summoned, it is true, through the larger and more genial section of his life, to the drudgery of a copying clerk—making confidential entries into mighty folios, on the subject of calicoes and muslins. By this means, whether he would or not, he became gradually the author of a great "serial" work, in a frightful number of volumes, on as dry a department of literature as the children of the great desert could have suggested. Nobody, he must have felt, was ever likely to study this great work of his, not even Dr. Dryasdust. He had written in vain, which is not pleasant to know. There would be no second edition called for by a discerning public in Leadenhall Street: not a chance of *that*. And consequently the *opera omnia* of Lamb, drawn up in a hideous battalion, at the cost of labour so enormous, would be known only to certain families of spiders in one generation, and of rats in the next. Such a labour of Sisyphus—the rolling up a ponderous stone to the summit of a hill only that it might roll back again by the gravitation of its own dulness, seems a bad employment for a man of genius in his meridian energies. And yet, perhaps not. Perhaps the collective wisdom of Europe could not have devised for Lamb a more favourable condition of toil than this very India House clerkship. His works (his Leadenhall Street works) were certainly not read; popular they *could* not be, for they were not read by anybody; but then, to balance *that*, they were not reviewed. His folios were of that order, which (in Cowper's words) "not even critics criticise." *Is that* nothing? Is it no happiness to escape the hands of scoundrel reviewers? Many of us escape being *read*; the worshipful reviewer does not find time to read a line of us; but we do not for that reason escape being criticised, "shewn up," and martyred. The list of *errata* again, committed by Lamb, was probably of a magnitude to alarm any possible compositor; and yet these *errata* will never be known to mankind. They are dead and buried. They have been cut off prematurely; and for any effect upon their generation, might as well never have existed. Then the returns, in a pecuniary sense, from these folios—how important



were *they* ! It is not common, certainly, to write folios ; but neither is it common to draw a steady income of from £300 to £400 per annum from volumes of any size. This will be admitted ; but would it not have been better to draw the income without the toil ? Doubtless it would always be more agreeable to have the rose without the thorn. But in the case before us, taken with all its circumstances, we deny that the toil is truly typified as a thorn ;—so far from being a thorn in Lamb's daily life, on the contrary, it was a second rose engrafted upon the original rose of the income, that he had to earn it by a moderate but continued exertion. Let us consider what this exertion really amounted to. Holidays, in a national establishment so great as the India House, and in our too fervid period, naturally could not be frequent ; yet all great English corporations are gracious masters, and indulgences of this nature could be obtained on a special application. Not to count upon these accidents of favour, we find that the regular toil of those in Lamb's situation began at ten in the morning and ended as the clock struck four in the afternoon. Six hours composed the daily contribution of labour, that is precisely one-fourth part of the total day. Only that, as Sunday was exempted, the rigorous expression of the quota was one-fourth of six-sevenths, which makes six twenty-eighths and not six twenty-fourths of the total time. Less toil than this would hardly have availed to deepen the sense of value in that large part of the time still remaining disposable. Had there been any resumption whatever of labour in the evening, though but for half an hour, that one encroachment upon the broad continuous area of the eighteen free hours would have killed the tranquillity of the whole day, by *sowing* it (so to speak) with intermitting anxieties—anxieties that, like tides, would still be rising and falling. Whereas now, at the early hour of four, when day-light is yet lingering in the air, even at the dead of winter, in the latitude of London, and when the *enjoying* section of the day is barely commencing—every thing is left which a man would care to retain. A mere *dilettante* or amateur student, having no mercenary interest concerned, would, upon a refinement of luxury—would, upon choice, give up so much time to study, were it only to sharpen the value of what remained for pleasure. And thus the only difference between the scheme of the India House distributing his time for Lamb, and the scheme of a wise voluptuary distributing his time for himself, lay, not in the *amount* of time deducted from enjoyment, but in the particular mode of appropriating that deduction. An *intellectual* appropriation of the time, though casually fatiguing, must have pleasures of its own ; pleasures denied to a task so mechanic and so monotonous as that of reiterating endless records of sales or consignments not *essentially* varying from each other.

True: it is pleasanter to pursue an intellectual study than to make entries in a ledger. But even an intellectual toil is toil: few people can support it for more than six hours in a day. And the only question, therefore, after all, is, at what period of the day a man would prefer taking this pleasure of study. Now, upon that point, as regards the case of Lamb, there is no opening for doubt. He, amongst his *Popular Fallacies*, admirably illustrates the necessity of evening and artificial lights to the prosperity of studies. After exposing, with the perfection of fun, the savage unsociality of those elder ancestors who lived (if life it was) before lamp-light was invented, showing that "jokes came in with candles," since "what repartees *could* have passed" when people were "grumbling at one another in the dark," and "when you must have felt about for a smile, and handled a neighbour's cheek to be sure that he understood it?" He goes on to say, "this accounts for the seriousness of the elder poetry," viz., because they had no candle-light. Even eating he objects to as a very imperfect thing in the dark: you are not convinced that a dish tastes as it should do by the promise of its name, if you dine in the twilight without candles. Seeing is believing. "The senses absolutely give and take reciprocally." The sight guarantees the taste. For instance, "Can you tell pork from veal in the dark, or distinguish Sherries from pure Malaga?" To all enjoyments whatsoever candles are indispensable as an adjunct: but, as to *reading*, "there is," says Lamb, "absolutely no such thing but by a candle. We have tried the affectation of a book at noon-day in gardens, but it was labour thrown away. It is a mockery, all that is reported of the influential Phœbus. No true poem ever owed its birth to the sun's light. The mild internal light, that reveals the fine shapings of poetry, like fires on the domestic hearth, goes out in the sunshine. Milton's morning hymn in Paradise, we would hold a good wager, was penned at midnight; and Taylor's rich description of a sunrise smells decidedly of the taper." This view of evening and candle-light as involved in literature may seem no more than a pleasant extravaganza; and no doubt it is in the nature of such gaieties to travel a little into exaggeration, but substantially it is certain that Lamb's feelings pointed habitually in the direction here indicated. His literary studies, whether taking the colour of tasks or diversions, courted the aid of evening, which, by means of physical weariness, produces a more luxurious state of repose than belongs to the labour-hours of day, and courted the aid of lamp-light, which, as Lord Bacon remarked, gives a gorgeousness to human pomps and pleasures, such as would be vainly sought from the homeliness of day-light. The hours, therefore, which were withdrawn from his own control by

the India House, happened to be exactly that part of the day which Lamb least valued and could least have turned to account.

The account given of Lamb's friends, of those whom he endeavoured to love, because he admired them, or to esteem intellectually because he loved them personally, is too much coloured for general acquiescence by Sergeant Talfourd's own early prepossessions. It is natural that an intellectual man like the Sergeant, personally made known in youth to people whom from childhood he had regarded as powers in the ideal world, and in some instances as representing the eternities of human speculation, since their names had perhaps dawned upon his mind in concurrence with the very earliest suggestion of topics which they had treated, should overrate their intrinsic grandeur. Hazlitt accordingly is styled "the great thinker." But had he been such potentially, there was an absolute bar to his achievement of that station in act and consummation. No man *can* be a great thinker in our days upon large and elaborate questions without being also a great student. To think profoundly, it is indispensable that a man should have read down to his own starting point, and have read as a collating student to the particular stage at which he himself takes up the subject. At this moment, for instance, how could geology be treated otherwise than childishly by one who should rely upon the encyclopædias of 1800? or comparative Physiology by the most ingenious of men unacquainted with Marshal Hall, and with the apocalyptic glimpses of secrets unfolding under the hands of Professor Owen? In such a condition of undisciplined thinking, the ablest man thinks to no purpose. He lingers upon parts of the inquiry that have lost the importance which once they had, under imperfect charts of the subject; he wastes his strength upon problems that have become obsolete; he loses his way in paths that are not in the line of direction upon which the improved speculation is moving; or he gives narrow conjectural solutions of difficulties that have long since received sure and comprehensive ones. It is as if a man should in these days attempt to colonize, and yet through inertia or through ignorance, should leave behind him all modern resources of chemistry, of chemical agriculture, or of steam-power. Hazlitt had read nothing. Unacquainted with Grecian philosophy, with Scholastic philosophy, and with the recomposition of these philosophies in the looms of Germany, during the last sixty and odd years, trusting merely to the untrained instincts of keen mother-wit,—whence should Hazlitt have had the materials for great thinking? It is through the collation of many abortive voyages to Polar regions that a man gains his first chance of entering the Polar basin, or of running ahead on the true line of approach to it. The very reason for

Hazlitt's defect in eloquence as a lecturer, is sufficient also as a reason why he could not have been a comprehensive thinker. "He was not eloquent," says the Sergeant, "in the true sense of the term." But why? Because it seems "his thoughts were too weighty to be moved along by the shallow stream of feeling which an evening's excitement can rouse;"—an explanation which leaves us in doubt whether Hazlitt forfeited his chance of eloquence by accommodating himself to this evening's excitement, or by gloomily resisting it. Our own explanation is different. Hazlitt was not eloquent, because he was discontinuous. No man can be eloquent whose thoughts are abrupt, insulated, capricious, and (to borrow an impressive word from Coleridge) non-sequacious. Eloquence resides not in separate or fractional ideas, but in the relations of manifold ideas, and in the mode of their evolution from each other. It is not indeed enough that the ideas should be many, and their relations coherent: the main condition lies in the *key* of the evolution, in the *law* of the succession. The elements are nothing without the atmosphere that moulds, and the dynamic forces that combine. Now Hazlitt's brilliancy is seen chiefly in separate splinterings of phrase or image, which throw upon the eye a vitreous scintillation for a moment, but spread no deep suffusions of colour, and distribute no masses of mighty shadow. A flash, a solitary flash, and all is gone. Rhetoric, according to its quality, stands in many degrees of relation to the permanencies of truth; and all rhetoric, like all flesh, is partly unreal, and the glory of both is fleeting. Even the mighty rhetoric of Sir Thomas Brown, or Jeremy Taylor, to whom only it has been granted to open the trumpet-stop on that great organ of passion, oftentimes leaves behind it the sense of sadness which belongs to beautiful apparitions starting out of darkness upon the morbid eye only to be reclaimed by darkness in the instant of their birth, or which belongs to pageantries in the clouds. But if all rhetoric is a mode of pyrotechny, and all pyrotechnics are by necessity fugacious, yet even in these frail pomps there are many degrees of frailty. Some fire-works require an hour's duration for the expansion of their glory; others, as if formed from fulminating powder, expire in the very act of birth. Precisely on that scale of duration and of power stand the glitterings of rhetoric that are not worked into the texture, but washed on from the outside. Hazlitt's thoughts were of the same fractured and discontinuous order as his illustrative images—seldom or never self-diffusive; and *that* is a sufficient argument that he had never cultivated philosophic thinking.

Not however to conceal any part of the truth, we are bound to acknowledge that Lamb thought otherwise on this point, manifesting what seemed to us an extravagant admiration of Haz-

litt, and perhaps even in part for that very glitter which we are denouncing—at least he did so in a conversation with ourselves. But, on the other hand, as this conversation travelled a little into the tone of a disputation, and *our* frost on this point might seem to justify some undue fervour by way of balance, it is very possible that Lamb did not speak his absolute and most dispassionate judgment. And yet again, if he *did*, may we, with all reverence for Lamb's exquisite genius, have permission to say—that his own constitution of intellect sinned by this very habit of discontinuity. It was a habit of mind not unlikely to be cherished by his habits of life. Amongst these habits was the excess of his social kindness. He scorned so much to deny his company, and his redundant hospitality to any man who manifested a wish for either by calling upon him, that he almost seemed to think it a criminality in himself if, by accident, he really *was* from home on your visit, rather than by possibility a negligence in you, that had not forewarned him of your intention. All his life, from this and other causes, he must have read in the spirit of one liable to sudden interruption; like a dragoon, in fact, reading with one foot in the stirrup, when expecting momentarily a summons to mount for action. In such situations, reading by snatches, and by intervals of precarious leisure, people form the habit of seeking and unduly valuing condensations of the meaning, where in reality the truth suffers by this short-hand exhibition, or else they demand too vivid illustrations of the meaning. Lord Chesterfield himself, so brilliant a man by nature, already therefore making a morbid estimate of brilliancy, and so hurried throughout his life as a public man, read under this double coercion for craving instantaneous effects. At one period, his only time for reading was in the morning, whilst under the hands of his hair-dresser: compelled to take the hastiest of flying shots at his author, naturally he demanded a very conspicuous mark to fire at. But the author could not, in so brief a space, be always sure to crowd any very prominent objects on the eye, unless by being audaciously oracular and peremptory as regarded the sentiment, or flashy in excess as regarded its expression. "Come now, my friend," was Lord Chesterfield's morning adjuration to his author; "come now, cut it short—don't prose—don't hum and haw." The author had doubtless no ambition to enter his name on the honourable and ancient roll of gentlemen prozers: probably he conceived himself not at all tainted with the asthmatic infirmity of humming and hawing: but, as to "cutting it short," how could he be sure of meeting his Lordship's expectations in that point, unless by dismissing the limitations that might be requisite to fit the idea for use, or the adjuncts that might be requisite to integrate its



truth, or the final consequences that might involve some deep *arrière pensée*, which, coming last in the succession, might oftentimes be calculated to lie deepest on the mind. To be lawfully and usefully brilliant after this rapid fashion, a man must come forward as a refresher of old truths, where *his* suppressions are supplied by the reader's memory; not as an expounder of new truths, where oftentimes a dislocated fraction of the true is more dangerous than the false itself.

To read therefore habitually, by hurried instalments, has this bad tendency—that it is likely to found a taste for modes of composition too artificially irritating, and to disturb the equilibrium of the judgment in relation to the colourings of style. Lamb, however, whose constitution of mind was even ideally sound in reference to the natural, the simple, the genuine, might seem of all men least liable to a taint in this direction. And undoubtedly he *was* so as regarded those modes of beauty which nature had specially qualified him for apprehending. Else, and in relation to other modes of beauty, where his sense of the true, and of its distinction from the spurious, had been an acquired sense, it is impossible for us to hide from ourselves—that not through habits only, not through stress of injurious accidents only, but by original structure and temperament of mind, Lamb had a bias towards those very defects on which rested the startling characteristics of style which we have been noticing. He himself, we fear, not bribed by indulgent feelings to another, not moved by friendship, but by native tendency, shrank from the continuous, from the sustained, from the elaborate.

The elaborate, indeed, without which much truth and beauty must perish in germ, was by name the object of his invectives. The instances are many in his own beautiful essays where he literally collapses, literally sinks away from openings suddenly offering themselves to flights of pathos or solemnity in direct prosecution of his own theme. On any such summons, where an ascending impulse, and an untired pinion were required, he *refuses* himself (to use military language) invariably. The least observing reader of *Elia* cannot have failed to notice that the most felicitous passages always accomplish their circuit in a few sentences. The gyration within which his sentiment wheels, no matter of what kind it may be, is always the shortest possible. It does not prolong itself, and it does not repeat itself. But in fact, other features in Lamb's mind would have argued this feature by analogy, had we by accident been left unaware of it directly. It is not by chance, or without a deep ground in his nature *common* to all his qualities, both affirmative and negative, that Lamb had an insensibility to music more absolute than can have been often shared by any human creature, or perhaps than



was ever before acknowledged so candidly. The sense of music, as a pleasurable sense, or as any sense at all other than of certain unmeaning and impertinent differences in respect to high and low—sharp or flat—was utterly obliterated as with a sponge by nature herself from Lamb's organization. It was a corollary from the same large *substratum* in his nature, that Lamb had no sense of the rhythmical in prose composition. Rhythmus, or pomp of cadence, or sonorous ascent of clauses, in the structure of sentences, were effects of art as much thrown away upon *him* as the voice of the charmer upon the deaf adder. We ourselves, occupying the very station of polar opposition to that of Lamb, being as morbidly, perhaps, in the one excess as he in the other, naturally detected this omission in Lamb's nature at an early stage of our acquaintance. Not the fabled Regulus, with his eyelids torn away, and his uncurtained eye-balls exposed to the noon-tide glare of a Carthaginian sun, could have shrieked with more anguish of recoil from torture than we from certain sentences and periods in which Lamb perceived no fault at all. *Pomp*, in our apprehension, was an idea of two categories; the *pompous* might be spurious, but it might also be genuine. It is well to love the simple: *we* love it; nor is there any opposition at all between *that* and the very glory of pomp. But, as we once put the case to Lamb, if as a musician, as the leader of a mighty orchestra, you had this theme offered to you—"Belshazzar the king gave a great feast to a thousand of his lords"—or this, "And on a certain day, Marcus Cicero stood up, and in a set speech rendered solemn thanks to Caius Cæsar for Quintus Ligarius pardoned, and for Marcus Marcellus restored,"—Surely no man would deny that, in such a case, simplicity, though in a passive sense not lawfully absent, must stand aside as totally insufficient for the *positive* part. Simplicity might guide, even here, but could not furnish the power; a rudder it might be, but not an oar or a sail. This, Lamb was ready to allow; as an intellectual *quiddity*, he recognised pomp in the character of a privileged thing; he was obliged to do so; for take away from great ceremonial festivals, such as the solemn rendering of thanks, the celebration of national anniversaries, the commemoration of public benefactors, &c., the element of pomp, and you take away their very meaning and life; but, whilst allowing a place for it in the rubric of the logician, it is certain that, *sensuously*, Lamb would not have sympathized with it, nor have *felt* its justification in any concrete instance. We find a difficulty in pursuing this subject, without greatly exceeding our limits. We pause, therefore, and add only this one suggestion as partly explanatory of the case. Lamb had the dramatic intellect and taste, perhaps in perfection; of the Epic, he had none at all. Here, as happens some-

times to men of genius preternaturally endowed in one direction; he might be considered as almost starved. A favourite of nature, so eminent in some directions, by what right could he complain that her bounties were not indiscriminate? From this defect in his nature it arose, that except by culture and by reflexion, Lamb had no genial appreciation of Milton. The solemn planetary wheelings of the *Paradise Lost* were not to his taste. What he *did* comprehend, were the motions like those of lightning, the fierce angular coruscations of that wild agency which comes forward so vividly in the sudden *περιπέτεια*, in the revolutionary catastrophe, and in the tumultuous conflicts, through persons or through situations, of the tragic drama.

There is another vice in Mr. Hazlitt's mode of composition, viz., the habit of trite quotation, too common to have challenged much notice, were it not for these reasons:—1st, That Sergeant Talfourd speaks of it in equivocal terms, as a fault perhaps, but as a "felicitous" fault, "trailing after it a line of golden associations;" 2dly, because the practice involves a dishonesty. On occasion of No. 1, we must profess our belief that a more ample explanation from the Sergeant would have left him in substantial harmony with ourselves. We cannot conceive the author of *Ion*, and the friend of Wordsworth, seriously to countenance that paralytic "mouth-diarrhœa," (to borrow a phrase of Coleridge's)—that *fluxe de bouche* (to borrow an earlier phrase of Archbishop Huet's) which places the reader at the mercy of a man's tritest remembrances from his most schoolboy reading. To have the verbal memory infested with tags of verse and "cues" of rhyme is in itself an infirmity as vulgar and as morbid as the stable-boy's habit of whistling slang airs upon the mere mechanical excitement of a bar or two whistled by some other blockhead in some other stable. The very stage has grown weary of ridiculing a folly, that having been long since expelled from decent society has taken refuge amongst the most imbecile of authors. Was Mr. Hazlitt then of that class? No: he was a man of great talents, and of capacity for greater things than he ever attempted, though without any pretensions of the philosophic kind ascribed to him by the Sergeant. Meantime the reason for resisting the example and practice of Hazlitt lies in this—that essentially it is at war with sincerity, the foundation of all good writing, to express one's own thoughts by another man's words. This dilemma arises. The thought is, or it is not, worthy of that emphasis which belongs to a metrical expression of it. If it is *not*, then we shall be guilty of a mere folly in pushing into strong relief that which confessedly cannot support it. If it *is*, then how incredible that a thought strongly conceived, and bearing about it the impress of one's own individuality, should naturally,

and without dissimulation or falsehood, bend to another man's expression of it! Simply to back one's own view by a similar view derived from another may be useful; a quotation that repeats one's own sentiment, but in a varied form, has the grace which belongs to the *idem in alio*, the same radical idea expressed with a difference; similarity in dissimilarity; but to throw one's own thoughts, matter, and form, through alien organs so absolutely as to make another man one's interpreter for evil and good, is either to confess a singular laxity of thinking that can so flexibly adapt itself to any casual form of words, or else to confess that sort of carelessness about the expression which draws its real origin from a sense of indifference about the things to be expressed. Utterly at war this distressing practice is with all simplicity and earnestness of writing; it argues a state of indolent ease inconsistent with the pressure and coercion of strong fermenting thoughts, before we can be at leisure for idle or chance quotations. But lastly, in reference to No. 2, we must add that the practice is signally dishonest. It "trails after it a line of golden associations." Yes, and the burglar, who leaves an army-tailor's after a midnight visit, trails after him perhaps a long roll of gold bullion epaulettes which may look pretty by lamp-light.

But *that*, in the present condition of moral philosophy amongst the police, is accounted robbery. And to benefit too much by quotations is little less. At this moment we have in our eye a work, at one time not without celebrity, which is one continued *cento* of splendid passages from other people. The natural effect from so much fine writing is—that the reader rises with the impression of having been engaged upon a most eloquent work. Meantime the whole is a series of mosaics; a tessellation made up from borrowed fragments: and first, when the reader's attention is expressly directed upon the fact, he becomes aware that the nominal author has contributed nothing more to the book than a few passages of transition or brief clauses of connexion.

In the year 1796 the main incident occurring of any importance for English literature was the publication by Southey of an epic poem. This poem, the *Joan of Arc*, was the earliest work of much pretension amongst all that Southey wrote; and by many degrees it was the worst. In the four great narrative poems of his later years, there is a combination of two striking qualities, viz., a peculiar command over the *visually* splendid, connected with a deep-toned grandeur of moral pathos. Especially we find this union in the *Thalaba* and the *Roderick*; but in the *Joan of Arc* we miss it. What splendour there is for the fancy and the eye belongs chiefly to the Vision, contributed by Coleridge, and this was subsequently withdrawn. The fault lay

in Southey's political relations at that era; his sympathy with the French Revolution in its earlier stages had been boundless: in all respects it was a noble sympathy, fading only as the gorgeous colouring faded from the emblazonries of that awful event, drooping only when the promises of that golden dawn sickened under stationary eclipse. In 1796 Southey was yet under the tyranny of his own earliest fascination: in *his* eyes the Revolution had suffered a momentary blight from reflexes of panic; but blight of some kind is incident to every harvest on which human hopes are suspended. Bad auguries were also ascending from the unchaining of martial instincts. But that the Revolution having ploughed its way through unparalleled storms, was preparing to face other storms, did but quicken the apprehensiveness of his love—did but quicken the duty of giving utterance to this love. Hence came the rapid composition of the poem, which cost less time in writing than in printing. Hence also came the choice of his heroine. What he needed in his central character was—a heart with a capacity for the wrath of Hebrew prophets applied to ancient abuses, and for evangelic pity applied to the sufferings of nations. This heart, with this double capacity—where should he seek it? A French heart it must be, or how should it follow with its sympathies a French movement? *There* lay Southey's reason for adopting the Maid of Orleans as the depositary of hopes and aspirations on behalf of France as fervid as his own. In choosing this heroine, so inadequately known at that time, Southey testified at least his own nobility of feeling;\* but in executing his choice, he and his friends over-

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\* It is right to remind the reader of this, for a reason applying forcibly to the present moment. Michelet has taxed Englishmen with yielding to national animosities in the case of Joan, having no plea whatever for that insinuation but the single one drawn from Shakspeare's Henry VI. To this the answer is—first, that Shakspeare's share in that trilogy is not nicely ascertained. Secondly, that M. Michelet forgot (or, which is far worse, *not* forgetting it, he dissembled) the fact, that in undertaking a series of dramas upon the basis avowedly of national chronicles, and for the very purpose of profiting by old traditionary recollections connected with ancestral glories, it was mere lunacy to recast the circumstances at the bidding of antiquarian research, so as entirely to disturb these glories. Besides that to Shakspeare's age no such spirit of research had blossomed. Writing for the stage a man would have risked lapidation by uttering a whisper in that direction. And, even if not, what sense could there have been in openly running counter to the very motive that had originally prompted that particular class of chronicle plays? Thirdly, if one Englishman had, in a memorable situation, adopted the popular view of Joan's conduct, (*popular* as much in France as in England); on the other hand, fifty years before M. Michelet was writing this flagrant injustice, another Englishman (*viz.* Southey) had, in an epic poem, reversed this misjudgment, and invested the shepherd girl with a glory nowhere else accorded to her, unless indeed by Schiller. Fourthly, we are not entitled to view as an *attack* upon Joanna, what, in the worst construction, is but an unexamining adoption of the contemporary historical accounts. A poet or a dramatist is not responsible for the accuracy of chronicles. But what is an attack upon Joan, being briefly the foulest and

looked two faults fatal to his purpose. One was this : sympathy with the French Revolution meant sympathy with the opening prospects of man—meant sympathy with the Pariah of every clime—with all that suffered social wrong, or saddened in hopeless bondage.

That was the movement at work in the French Revolution. But the movement of Joanne d'Arc took a different direction. In *her* day also, it is true, the human heart had yearned after the same vast enfranchisement for the children of labour as afterwards worked in the great vision of the French Revolution. In *her* days also, and shortly before them, the human hand had sought by bloody acts to realize this dream of the heart. And in her childhood, Joanna had not been insensible to these premature motions upon a path too bloody and too dark to be safe. But this view of human misery had been utterly absorbed to *her* by the special misery then desolating France. The lilies of France had been trampled under foot by the conquering stranger. Within fifty years, in three pitched battles that resounded to the ends of the earth, the chivalry of France had been exterminated. Her oriflamme had been dragged through the dust. The eldest son of Baptism had been prostrated. The daughter of France had been surrendered on coercion as a bride to her English conqueror. The child of that marriage, so ignominious to the land, was king of France by the consent of Christendom : that child's uncle domineered as regent of France : and that child's armies were in military possession of the land. But were they undisputed masters ? No ; and *there* precisely lay the sorrow of the time. Under a perfect conquest there would have been repose ; whereas the presence of the English armies did but furnish a plea, masking itself in patriotism, for gatherings everywhere of lawless marauders ; of soldiers that had deserted their banners ; and of robbers by profession. This was the wo of France more even than the military dishonour. That dishonour had been palliated from the first by the genealogical pretensions of the English royal family to the French throne, and these pretensions were strengthened in the person of the present claimant. But the military desolation of France, this it was that woke the faith of Joanna in her own heavenly mission of deliverance. It was the attitude of her prostrate country, crying night and day for purification from blood, and not from feudal oppression, that swallowed up

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obscenest attempt ever made to stifle the grandeur of a great human struggle, viz., the French burlesque poem of *La Pucelle*,—What memorable man was it that wrote *that* ? Was he a Frenchman, or was he not ? That M. Michelet should *pretend* to have forgotten this vilest of pasquinades, is more shocking to the general sense of justice than any special untruth as to Shakspeare *can* be to the particular nationality of an Englishman.



the thoughts of the impassioned girl. But *that* was not the cry that uttered itself afterwards in the French revolution. In Joanna's days, the first step towards rest for France was by expulsion of the foreigner. Independence of a foreign yoke, liberation as between people and people, was the one ransom to be paid for French honour and peace. *That* debt settled there might come a time for thinking of civil liberties. But this time was not within the prospects of the poor shepherdess. The field—the area of her sympathies never coincided with that of the revolutionary period. It followed, therefore, that Southey *could* not have raised Joanna (with her condition of feeling) by any management, into the interpreter of his own. *That* was the first error in his poem, and it was irremediable. The second was, and strangely enough this also escaped notice, that the heroine of Southey is made to close her career precisely at the point when its grandeur commences. She believed herself to have a mission for the deliverance of France; and the great instrument which she was authorized to use towards this end, was the king, Charles VII. Him she was to crown. With this coronation her triumph, in the plain historical sense, ended.—And *there* ends Southey's poem. But exactly at this point, the grander stage of her mission commences, viz., the ransom which she, a solitary girl, paid in her own person for the national deliverance. The grander half of the story was thus sacrificed, as being irrelevant to Southey's political object; and yet, after all, the half which he retained did not at all symbolize that object. It is singular, indeed, to find a long poem, on an ancient subject, adapting itself hieroglyphically to a modern purpose; 2dly, to find it failing of this purpose; and 3dly, if it had *not* failed, so planned that it could have succeeded only by a sacrifice of all that was grandest in the theme.

To these capital oversights Southey, Coleridge, and Lamb, were all joint parties; the two first as concerned in the composition, the last as a frank though friendly reviewer of it in his private correspondence with Coleridge. It is, however, some palliation of these oversights, and a very singular fact in itself, that neither from English authorities nor from French, though the two nations were equally brought into close connexion with the career of that extraordinary girl, could any adequate view be obtained of her character and acts. The *official* records of her trial, apart from which nothing can be depended upon, were first in the course of publication from the Paris press during the currency of last year. First in 1847, about four hundred and sixteen years after her ashes had been dispersed to the winds, could it be seen distinctly, through the clouds of fierce partisanships and national prejudices, what had been the frenzy of the perse-



cution against her, and the utter desolation of her position,—what had been the grandeur of her conscientious resistance.

Anxious that our readers should see Lamb from as many angles as possible, we have obtained from an old friend of his a memorial—slight, but such as the circumstances allowed—of an evening spent with Charles and Mary Lamb, in the winter of 1821-2. The record is of the most unambitious character; it pretends to nothing, as the reader will see—not so much as to a pun, which it really required some singularity of luck to have missed from Charles Lamb, who often continued to fire puns, as minute guns, all through the evening. But the more unpretending this record is, the more appropriate it becomes by that very fact to the memory of *him* who, amongst all authors, was the humblest and least pretending. We have often thought that the famous epitaph written for his own grave by Piron, the cynical author of *La Métromanie*, might have come from Lamb, were it not for one objection: Lamb's benign heart would have recoiled from a sarcasm, however effective, inscribed upon a grave-stone; or from a jest, however playful, that tended to a vindictive sneer amongst his own farewell words. We once translated this Piron epitaph into a kind of rambling Drayton couplet.; and the only point needing explanation is,—that, from the accident of scientific men, Fellows of the Royal Society being usually very solemn men, with an extra chance, therefore, for being dull men in conversation, naturally it arose that some wit amongst our great-grandfathers translated F. R. S. into a short-hand expression for a Fellow Remarkably Stupid; to which version of the three letters our English epitaph alludes. The French original of Piron is this :—

“ Ci git Piron ; qui ne fut rien ;  
Pas même académicien.”

The bitter arrow of the second line was feathered to hit the French Académie, who had declined to elect him a member. Our translation is this :—

Here lies Piron ; who was—nothing ; or, if *that* could be, was less :  
How !—nothing ? Yes, nothing : not so much as F. R. S.

But now to our friend's memorandum !

“ October 6, 1848.

“ MY DEAR X.,—You ask me for some memorial, however trivial, of any dinner party, supper party, water party—no matter what—that I can circumstantially recall to recollection, by any features whatever, puns or repartees, wisdom or wit, connecting it with Charles Lamb. I grieve to say that my meetings of *any* sort with Lamb were few, though spread through a

score of years. That sounds odd for one that loved Lamb so entirely, and so much venerated his character. But the reason was, that I so seldom visited London, and Lamb so seldom quitted it. Somewhere about 1810 and 1812 I must have met Lamb repeatedly at the *Courier Office* in the Strand; that is, at Coleridge's, to whom, as an intimate friend, Mr. Stuart (a proprietor of the paper) gave up for a time the use of some rooms in the office. Thither, in the London season, (May especially and June,) resorted Lamb, Godwin, Sir H. Davy, and, once or twice, Wordsworth, who visited Sir George Beaumont's Leicestershire residence of Coleorton early in the spring, and then travelled up to Grosvenor Square with Sir George and Lady Beaumont: 'spectatum veniens, veniens spectetur ut ipse.' "

But in these miscellaneous gatherings, Lamb said little, except when an opening arose for a pun. And how effectual that sort of small shot was from *him*, I need not say to anybody who remembers his infirmity of stammering, and his dexterous management of it for purposes of light and shade. He was often able to train the roll of stammers into settling upon the words immediately preceding the effective one; by which means the key-note of the jest or sarcasm, benefiting by the sudden liberation of his embargoed voice, was delivered with the force of a pistol-shot. That stammer was worth an annuity to him as an ally of his wit. Firing under cover of that advantage he did triple execution; for, in the first place, the distressing sympathy of the hearers with *his* distress of utterance won for him unavoidably the silence of deep attention; and then, whilst he had us all hoaxed into this attitude of mute suspense by an appearance of distress that he perhaps did not really feel, down came a plunging shot into the very thick of us with ten times the effect it would else have had. If his stammering however often did him true "yeoman's service," sometimes it led him into scrapes. Coleridge told me of a ludicrous embarrassment which it caused him at Hastings. Lamb had been medically advised to a course of sea-bathing; and accordingly at the door of his bathing machine, whilst he stood shivering with cold, two stout fellows laid hold of him, one at each shoulder, like heraldic supporters: they waited for the word of command from their principal, who began the following oration to them: "Hear me, men! Take notice of this—I am to be dipped." What more he would have said is unknown to land or sea or bathing machines; for having reached the word dipped, he commenced such a rolling fire of Di—di—di—di, that when at length he descended *à plomb* upon the full word *dipped*, the two men, rather tired of the long suspense, became satisfied that they had reached what lawyers call the "operative" clause of the sentence; and both exclaiming at

once, "Oh yes, Sir, we're quite aware of *that*"—down they plunged him into the sea. On emerging, Lamb sobbed so much from the cold, that he found no voice suitable to his indignation; from necessity he seemed tranquil; and again addressing the men, who stood respectfully listening, he began thus:—"Men! is it possible to obtain your attention?"—"Oh surely, sir, by all means."—"Then listen: once more I tell you, I am to be di—di—di—"—and then, with a burst of indignation, "dipped, I tell you"——"Oh decidedly, sir," rejoined the men, "decidedly"—and down the stammerer went for the second time. Petrified with cold and wrath, once more Lamb made a feeble attempt at explanation—"Grant me pa—pa—patience; is it mum—um—murder you me—me—mean? Again and a—ga—ga—gain, I tell you, I'm to be di—di—di—dipped," now speaking furiously, with the voice of an injured man. "Oh yes, sir," the men replied, "we know that—we fully understood it"—and for the third time down went Lamb into the sea. "Oh limbs of Satan!" he said, on coming up for the third time, "it's now too late; I tell you that I am—no, that I *was*—to be di—di—di—dipped only *once*."

Since the rencontres with Lamb at Coleridge's I had met him once or twice at literary dinner parties. One of these occurred at the house of Messrs. Taylor and Hessey, the publishers. I myself was suffering too much from illness at the time to take any pleasure in what passed, or to notice it with any vigilance of attention. Lamb, I remember, as usual, was full of gaiety; and as usual he rose too rapidly to the zenith of his gaiety: he shot upwards like a rocket, and, as usual, people said he was "tipsy." To me Lamb never seemed intoxicated, but at most aerially elevated. He never talked nonsense, which is a great point gained; nor polemically, which is a greater; for it is a dreadful thing to find a drunken man bent upon converting oneself: nor sentimentally, which is greatest of all. You can stand a man's fraternizing with you; or if he swears an eternal friendship—only once in an hour, you do not think of calling the police: but once in every three minutes is too much. Lamb did none of these things: he was always rational, quiet, and gentlemanly in his habits. Nothing memorable, I am sure, passed upon this occasion, which was in November of 1821; and yet the dinner was memorable by means of one fact not discovered until many years later. Amongst the company, all literary men, sate a murderer, and a murderer of a freezing class; cool, calculating, wholesale in his operations, and moving all along under the advantages of unsuspecting domestic confidence and domestic opportunities. This was Mr. Wainwright, who was subsequently brought to trial, but not for any of his murders, and transported for life. The story has been told both by Sergeant

circumstances shewing too clearly that they had been left by their mothers with the means and the temptations to set themselves on fire in her absence. But more shocking, because more lingering, are the deaths by artificial appliances of wet, cold, hunger, bad diet, and disturbed sleep, to the frail constitutions of children. By that machinery it is, and not by poison, that the majority qualify themselves for claiming the funeral allowances. Here, however, there occur to any man on reflection, two eventual restraints on the extension of this domestic curse :—1st, as there is no pretext for wanting more than one funeral on account of one child, any insurances beyond one are in themselves a ground of suspicion. Now, if any plan were devised for securing the *publication* of such insurances, the suspicions would travel as fast as the grounds for them. 2dly, it occurs, that eventually the evil checks itself, since a society established on the ordinary rates of mortality would be ruined when a murderous stimulation was applied to that rate too extensively. Still it is certain that, for a season, this atrocity *has* prospered in manufacturing districts for some years, and more recently, as judicial investigations have shown, in one agricultural district of Essex. Now, Mr. W——'s scheme of murder was, in its outline, the very same, but not applied to the narrow purpose of obtaining burials from a public fund. He persuaded, for instance, two beautiful young ladies, visitors in his family, to insure their lives for a short period of two years. This insurance was repeated in several different offices, until a sum of £18,000 had been secured in the event of their deaths within the two years. Mr. W—— took care that they *should* die, and very suddenly, within that period; and then, having previously secured from his victims an assignment to himself of this claim, he endeavoured to make this assignment available. But the offices, which had vainly endeavoured to extract from the young ladies any satisfactory account of the reasons for this limited insurance, had their suspicions at last strongly roused. One office had recently experienced a case of the same nature, in which also the young lady had been poisoned by the man in whose behalf she had effected the insurance: all the offices declined to pay; actions at law arose; in the course of the investigation which followed, Mr. W——'s character was fully exposed. Finally, in the midst of the embarrassments which ensued, he committed forgery, and was transported.

From this Mr. W——, some few days afterwards, I received an invitation to a dinner party, expressed in terms that were obligingly earnest. He mentioned the names of his principal guests, and amongst them rested most upon those of Lamb and Sir David Wilkie. From an accident I was unable to attend,

which apparently lay in his nature. Dandy or not, however, this man on account of the schism in his papers, so much amiable puppyism on one side, so much deep feeling on the other, (feeling, applied to some of the grandest objects that earth has to shew,) did really move a trifle of interest in me, on a day when I hated the face of man and woman. Yet again, if I had known this man for the murderer that even then he was, what sudden loss of interest—what sudden growth of another interest, would have changed the face of that party! Trivial creature, that didst carry thy dreadful eye kindling with perpetual treasons! Dreadful creature, that didst carry thy trivial eye, mantling with eternal levity, over the sleeping surfaces of confiding household life—oh, what a revolution for man wouldst thou have accomplished had thy deep wickedness prospered! What *was* that wickedness? In a few words I will say.

At this time (October 1848) the whole British island is appalled by a new chapter in the history of poisoning. Locusta in ancient Rome, Madame Brinvilliers in Paris, were people of original genius; not in any new artifice of toxicology, not in the mere management of poisons, was the audacity of their genius displayed. No; but in profiting by domestic openings for murder, unsuspected through their very atrocity. Such an opening was made some years ago by those who saw the possibility of founding purses for parents upon the murder of their children. This was done upon a larger scale than had been suspected, and upon a plausible pretence. To bury a corpse is costly; but of a hundred children only a few, in the ordinary course of mortality, will die within a given time. Five shillings a-piece will produce £25 annually, and *that* will bury a considerable number. On this principle arose Infant Burial-societies. For a few shillings annually, a parent could secure a funeral for every child. If the child died, a few guineas fell due to the parent, and the funeral was accomplished without cost of *his*. But on this arose the suggestion—Why not execute an insurance of this nature twenty times over? One single insurance pays for the funeral—the other nineteen are so much clear gain, a *lucro ponatur*, for the parents. Yes; but on the supposition that the child died! twenty are no better than one, unless they are gathered into the garner. Now, if the child died naturally, all was right; but how, if the child did *not* die? Why, clearly this:—the child that *can* die, and won't die, may be made to die. There are many ways of doing that; and it is shocking to know, that, according to recent discoveries, poison is comparatively a very merciful mode of murder. Six years ago a dreadful communication was made to the public by a medical man, viz., that three thousand children were annually burned to death under

circumstances shewing too clearly that they had been left by their mothers with the means and the temptations to set themselves on fire in her absence. But more shocking, because more lingering, are the deaths by artificial appliances of wet, cold, hunger, bad diet, and disturbed sleep, to the frail constitutions of children. By that machinery it is, and not by poison, that the majority qualify themselves for claiming the funeral allowances. Here, however, there occur to any man on reflection, two eventual restraints on the extension of this domestic curse:—1st, as there is no pretext for wanting more than one funeral on account of one child, any insurances beyond one are in themselves a ground of suspicion. Now, if any plan were devised for securing the *publication* of such insurances, the suspicions would travel as fast as the grounds for them. 2dly, it occurs, that eventually the evil checks itself, since a society established on the ordinary rates of mortality would be ruined when a murderous stimulation was applied to that rate too extensively. Still it is certain that, for a season, this atrocity *has* prospered in manufacturing districts for some years, and more recently, as judicial investigations have shown, in one agricultural district of Essex. Now, Mr. W——'s scheme of murder was, in its outline, the very same, but not applied to the narrow purpose of obtaining burials from a public fund. He persuaded, for instance, two beautiful young ladies, visitors in his family, to insure their lives for a short period of two years. This insurance was repeated in several different offices, until a sum of £18,000 had been secured in the event of their deaths within the two years. Mr. W—— took care that they *should* die, and very suddenly, within that period; and then, having previously secured from his victims an assignment to himself of this claim, he endeavoured to make this assignment available. But the offices, which had vainly endeavoured to extract from the young ladies any satisfactory account of the reasons for this limited insurance, had their suspicions at last strongly roused. One office had recently experienced a case of the same nature, in which also the young lady had been poisoned by the man in whose behalf she had effected the insurance: all the offices declined to pay; actions at law arose; in the course of the investigation which followed, Mr. W——'s character was fully exposed. Finally, in the midst of the embarrassments which ensued, he committed forgery, and was transported.

From this Mr. W——, some few days afterwards, I received an invitation to a dinner party, expressed in terms that were obligingly earnest. He mentioned the names of his principal guests, and amongst them rested most upon those of Lamb and Sir David Wilkie. From an accident I was unable to attend,



and I greatly regretted it. Sir David one might rarely happen to see except at a crowded party. But as regarded Lamb, I was sure to see him or to hear of him again in some way or other within a short time. This opportunity in fact offered itself within a month through the kindness of the Lambs themselves. They had heard of my being in solitary lodgings, and insisted on my coming to dine with them, which more than once I did in the winter of 1821-2.

The mere reception by the Lambs was so full of goodness and hospitable feeling, that it kindled animation in the most cheerless or torpid of invalids. I cannot imagine that any *memorabilia* occurred during the visit; but I will use the time that would else be lost upon the settling of that point, in putting down any triviality that occurs to my recollection. Both Lamb and myself had a furious love for nonsense; headlong nonsense. Excepting Professor Wilson, I have known nobody who had the same passion to the same extent. And things of that nature better illustrate the *realities* of Lamb's social life than the gravities which weighing so sadly on his solitary hours he sought to banish from his moments of relaxation.

There were no strangers; Charles Lamb, his sister, and myself made up the party. Even this was done in kindness. They knew that I should have been oppressed by an effort such as must be made in the society of strangers; and they placed me by their own fireside, where I could say as little or as much as I pleased.

We dined about five o'clock, and it was one of the hospitalities inevitable to the Lambs, that any game which they might receive from rural friends in the course of the week, was reserved for the day of a friend's dining with them.

In regard to wine, Lamb and myself had the same habit—perhaps it rose to the dignity of a principle—viz., to take a great deal *during* dinner—none *after* it. Consequently, as Miss Lamb (who drank only water) retired almost with the dinner itself, nothing remained for men of our principles, the rigour of which we had illustrated by taking rather too much of old port before the cloth was drawn, except talking; amœbæan colloquy, or, in Dr. Johnson's phrase, a dialogue of "brisk reciprocation." But this was impossible: over Lamb, at this period of his life, there passed regularly, after taking wine, a brief eclipse of sleep. It descended upon him as softly as a shadow. In a gross person, laden with superfluous flesh, and sleeping heavily, this would have been disagreeable; but in Lamb, thin even to meagerness, spare and wiry as an Arab of the desert, or as Thomas Aquinas, wasted by scholastic vigils, the affection of sleep seemed rather a network of aerial gossamer than of earthy cobweb—more like

a golden haze falling upon him gently from the heavens than a cloud exhaling upwards from the flesh. Motionless in his chair as a bust, breathing so gently as scarcely to seem certainly alive, he presented the image of repose midway between life and death, like the repose of sculpture; and to one who knew his history a repose affectingly contrasting with the calamities and internal storms of his life. I have heard more persons than I can now distinctly recall, observe of Lamb when sleeping—that his countenance in that state assumed an expression almost seraphic, from its intellectual beauty of outline, its childlike simplicity, and its benignity. It could not be called a transfiguration that sleep had worked in his face; for the features wore essentially the same expression when waking; but sleep spiritualized that expression, exalted it, and also harmonized it. Much of the change lay in that last process. The eyes it was that disturbed the unity of effect in Lamb's waking face. They gave a restlessness to the character of his intellect, shifting, like Northern Lights, through every mode of combination with fantastic playfulness, and sometimes by fiery gleams obliterating for the moment that pure light of benignity which was the predominant reading on his features. Some people have supposed that Lamb had Jewish blood in his veins, which seemed to account for his gleaming eyes. It might be so; but this notion found little countenance in Lamb's own way of treating the gloomy mediæval traditions propagated throughout Europe about the Jews, and their secret enmity to Christian races. Lamb, indeed, might not be more serious than Shakspeare is supposed to have been in his Shylock; yet he spoke at times as from a station of wilful bigotry, and seemed (whether laughingly or not) to sympathize with the barbarous Christian superstitions upon the pretended bloody practices of the Jews, and of the early Jewish physicians. Being himself a Lincoln man, he treated Sir Hugh\* of Lincoln, the young child that suffered death by secret assassination in the Jewish quarter rather than suppress his daily anthems to the Virgin, as a true historical personage on the rolls of martyrdom; careless that this fable, like that of the apprentice murdered out of jealousy by his master, the architect, had destroyed its own authority by ubiquitous diffusion. All over Europe the same legend of the murdered apprentice and the martyred child reappears under different names—so that in effect the verification of the tale is none at all, because it is unanimous; is too narrow, because it is too impossibly broad. Lamb, however, though it was often hard to say whether he were not secretly

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\* The story which furnishes a basis to the fine ballad in Percy's *Reliques*, and to the Canterbury Tale of Chaucer's Lady Abbess.

laughing, swore to the truth of all these old fables, and treated the liberalities of the present generation on such points as mere fantastic and effeminate affectations, which, no doubt, they often are as regards the sincerity of those who profess them. The bigotry, which it pleased his fancy to assume, he used like a sword against the Jew, as the official weapon of the Christian, upon the same principle that a Capulet would have drawn upon a Montague, without conceiving it any duty of *his* to rip up the grounds of so ancient a quarrel: it was a feud handed down to him by his ancestors, and it was *their* business to see that originally it had been an honest feud. I cannot yet believe that Lamb, if seriously aware of any family interconnexion with Jewish blood, would, even in jest, have held that one-sided language. More probable it is, that the fiery eye recorded not any alliance with Jewish blood, but that disastrous alliance with insanity which tainted his own life, and laid desolate his sister's.

On awaking from his brief slumber, Lamb sat for some time in profound silence, and then, with the most startling rapidity, sang out—"Diddle, diddle, dumpkins;" not looking at me, but as if soliloquizing. For five minutes he relapsed into the same deep silence; from which again he started up into the same abrupt utterance of—"Diddle, diddle, dumpkins." I could not help laughing aloud at the extreme energy of this sudden communication, contrasted with the deep silence that went before and followed. Lamb smilingly begged to know what I was laughing at, and with a look of as much surprise as if it were I that had done something unaccountable, and not himself. I told him (as was the truth) that there had suddenly occurred to me the possibility of my being in some future period or other called on to give an account of this very evening before some literary committee. The committee might say to me—(supposing the case that I outlived him)—"You dined with Mr. Lamb in January 1822; now, can you remember any remark or memorable observation which that celebrated man made before or after dinner?"

*I as Respondent.* "Oh yes, I can."

*Com.* "What was it?"

*Resp.* "Diddle, diddle, dumpkins."

*Com.* "And was this his only observation? Did Mr. Lamb not strengthen this remark by some other of the same nature?"

*Resp.* "Yes, he did."

*Com.* "And what was it?"

*Resp.* "Diddle, diddle, dumpkins."

*Com.* "What is your secret opinion of Dumpkins? Do you conceive Dumpkins to have been a thing or a person?"

*Resp.* "I conceive Dumpkins to have been a person, having the rights of a person."

Com. "Capable, for instance, of suing and being sued?"

Resp. "Yes, capable of both; though I have reason to think there would have been very little use in suing Dumpkins?"

Com. "How so? Are the Committee to understand that you, the Respondent, in your own case have found it a vain speculation, countenanced only by visionary lawyers, to sue Dumpkins?"

Resp. "No; I never lost a shilling by Dumpkins, the reason for which may be that Dumpkins never owed me a shilling; but from his *prænomén* of 'diddle' I apprehend that he was too well acquainted with joint-stock companies?"

Com. "And your opinion is, that he may have diddled Mr. Lamb?"

Resp. "I conceive it to be not unlikely."

Com. "And, perhaps, from Mr. Lamb's pathetic reiteration of his name, 'Diddle, diddle,' you would be disposed to infer that Dumpkins had practised his diddling talents upon Mr. L. more than once?"

Resp. "I think it probable."

Lamb laughed, and brightened up; tea was announced; Miss Lamb returned. The cloud had passed away from Lamb's spirits, and again he realized the pleasure of evening, which, in his apprehension, was so essential to the pleasure of literature.

On the table lay a copy of Wordsworth, in two volumes; it was the edition of Longman, printed about the time of Waterloo. Wordsworth was held in little consideration, I believe, amongst the house of Longman; at any rate, *their* editions of his works were got up in the most slovenly manner. In particular, the table of contents was drawn up like a short-hand bill of parcels. By accident the book lay open at a part of this table, where the sonnet beginning—

"Alas! what boots the long laborious quest"—

had been entered with mercantile speed, as—

"Alas! what boots,—"

"Yes," said Lamb, reading this entry in a dolorous tone of voice, "he may well say *that*. I paid Hoby three guineas for a pair that tore like blotting paper, when I was leaping a ditch to escape a farmer that pursued me with a pitch-fork for trespassing. But why should W. wear boots in Westmoreland? Pray, advise him to patronize shoes."

The mercurialities of Lamb were infinite; and always uttered in a spirit of absolute recklessness for the quality or the prosperity of the sally. It seemed to liberate his spirits from some

burthen of blackest melancholy which oppressed it, when he had thrown off a jest : he would not stop one instant to improve it ; nor did he care the value of a straw whether it were good enough to be remembered, or so mediocre as to extort high moral indignation from a collector who refused to receive into his collection of jests and puns any that were not felicitously good or revoltingly bad.

After tea, Lamb read to me a number of beautiful compositions which he had himself taken the trouble to copy out into a blank paper folio from unsuccessful authors. Neglected people in every class won the sympathy of Lamb. One of the poems, I remember, was a very beautiful sonnet from a volume recently published by Lord Thurlow—which, and Lamb's just remarks upon it, I could almost repeat *verbatim* at this moment, nearly twenty-seven years later, if your limits would allow me. But these, you tell me, allow of no such thing ; at the utmost they allow only twelve lines more. Now all the world knows that the sonnet itself would require fourteen lines ; but take fourteen from twelve, and there remains very little, I fear ; besides which, I am afraid two of my twelve are already exhausted. This forces me to interrupt my account of Lamb's reading by reporting the very accident that *did* interrupt it in fact ; since *that* no less characteristically expressed Lamb's peculiar spirit of kindness, (always quickening itself towards the ill-used or the down-trodden,) than it had previously expressed itself in his choice of obscure readings. Two ladies came in, one of whom at least had sunk in the scale of worldly consideration. They were ladies who would not have found much recreation in literary discussions ; elderly, and habitually depressed. On *their* account, Lamb proposed whist—and in that kind effort to amuse *them*, which naturally drew forth some momentary gaieties from himself, but not of a kind to impress themselves on the recollection, the evening terminated.

We have left ourselves no room for a special examination of Lamb's writings, some of which were failures, and some were so memorably beautiful as to be uniques in their class. The character of Lamb it is, and the life-struggle of Lamb, that must fix the attention of many, even amongst those wanting in sensibility to his intellectual merits. This character and this struggle, as we have already observed, impress many traces of themselves upon Lamb's writings. Even in that view, therefore, they have a ministerial value ; but separately, for themselves, they have an independent value of the highest order. Upon this point we gladly adopt the eloquent words of Sergeant Talfourd :—

“ The sweetness of Lamb's character, breathed through his writ-

ings, was felt even by strangers ; but its heroic aspect was unguessed even by many of his friends. Let them now consider it, and ask if the annals of self-sacrifice can shew anything in human action and endurance more lovely than its self-devotion exhibits? It was not merely that he saw, through the ensanguined cloud of misfortune which had fallen upon his family, the unstained excellence of his sister, whose madness had caused it ; that he was ready to take her to his own home with reverential affection, and cherish her through life ; that he gave up, for *her* sake, all meaner and more selfish love, and all the hopes which youth blends with the passion which disturbs and ennobles it ; not even that he did all this cheerfully, and without pluming himself upon his brotherly nobleness as a virtue, or seeking to repay himself (as some uneasy martyrs do) by small instalments of long repining ;—but that he carried the spirit of the hour in which he first knew and took his course to his last. So far from thinking that his sacrifice of youth and love to his sister gave him a license to follow his own caprice at the expense of her feelings, even in the lightest matters, he always wrote and spoke of her as his wiser self, his generous benefactress, of whose protecting care he was scarcely worthy.”

It must be remembered also, which the Sergeant does not overlook, that Lamb's efforts for the becoming support of his sister lasted through a period of forty years. Twelve years before his death, the munificence of the India House, by granting him a liberal retiring allowance, had placed his own support under shelter from accidents of any kind. But this died with himself : and he could not venture to suppose that, in the event of his own death, the India House would grant to his sister the same allowance as by custom is granted to a wife. This they did ; but not venturing to calculate upon such nobility of patronage, Lamb had applied himself through life to the saving of a provision for his sister under any accident to himself. And this he did with a persevering prudence, so little known in the literary class, amongst a continued tenor of generosities, often so princely as to be scarcely known in any class.

Was this man, so memorably good by life-long sacrifice of himself, in any profound sense a Christian? The impression is—that he was *not*. We, from private communications with him, can undertake to say that, according to his knowledge and opportunities for the study of Christianity, he *was*. What has injured Lamb in this point is,—that his early opinions (which, however, from the first were united with the deepest piety) are read by the inattentive, as if they had been the opinions of his mature days ; secondly, that he had few religious persons amongst his friends, which made him reserved in the expression of his own views ; thirdly, that in any case where he altered opinions



for the better, the credit of the improvement is assigned to Coleridge. Lamb, for example, beginning life as a Unitarian, in not many years became a Trinitarian. Coleridge passed through the same changes in the same order: and, here at least, Lamb is supposed simply to have obeyed the influence, confessedly great, of Coleridge. This, on our own knowledge of Lamb's views, we pronounce to be an error. And the following extracts from Lamb's letters will show—not only that he was religiously disposed on impulses self-derived, but that, so far from obeying the bias of Coleridge, he ventured, on this one subject, firmly as regarded the matter, though humbly as regarded the manner, affectionately to reprove Coleridge.

In a letter to Coleridge, written in 1797, the year after his first great affliction, he says—

“Coleridge, I have not one truly elevated character among my acquaintance; not one Christian; not one but undervalues Christianity. Singly, what am I to do? Wesley—[have you read his life?]  
—was not he an elevated character? Wesley has said religion is not a solitary thing. Alas! it is necessarily so with me, or next to solitary. 'Tis true you write to me; but correspondence by letter and personal intimacy are widely different. Do, do write to me; and do some good to my mind—already how much ‘warped and relaxed’ by the world!”

In a letter written about three months previously, he had not scrupled to blame Coleridge at some length for audacities of religious speculation, which seemed to him at war with the simplicities of pure religion. He says—

“Do continue to write to me. I read your letters with my sister, and they give us both abundance of delight. Especially they please us two when you talk in a religious strain. Not but we are offended occasionally with a certain freedom of expression, a certain air of mysticism, more consonant to the conceits of pagan philosophy than consistent with the humility of genuine piety.”

Then, after some instances of what he blames, he says—

“Be not angry with me, Coleridge. I wish not to cavil: I know I cannot instruct you; I only wish to remind you of that humility which best becometh the Christian character. God in the New Testament, our best guide, is represented to us in the kind, condescending, amiable, familiar light of a parent; and, in my poor mind, 'tis best for us so to consider him as our Heavenly Father, and our best friend, without indulging too bold conceptions of His character.”

About a month later, he says—

“ Few but laugh at me for reading my Testament. They talk a language I understand not: I conceal sentiments that would be a puzzle to *them*.”

We see by this last quotation *where* it was that Lamb originally sought for consolation. We personally can vouch that at a maturer period, when he was approaching his fiftieth year, no change had affected his opinions upon that point; and, on the other hand, that no changes had occurred in his needs for consolation, we see, alas! in the records of his life. Whither, indeed, could he fly for comfort, if not to his Bible? And to whom was the Bible an indispensable resource, if not to Lamb? We do not undertake to say, that in his knowledge of Christianity he was everywhere profound or consistent, but he was always earnest in his aspirations after its spiritualities, and had an apprehensive sense of its power.

Charles Lamb is gone: his life was a continued struggle in the service of love the purest, and within a sphere visited by little of contemporary applause. Even his intellectual displays won but a narrow sympathy at any time, and in his earlier period were saluted with positive derision and contumely on the few occasions when they were not oppressed by entire neglect. But slowly all things right themselves. All merit, which is founded in truth and is strong enough, reaches by sweet exhalations in the end a higher sensory—reaches higher organs of discernment, lodged in a selecter audience. But the original obtuseness or vulgarity of feeling that thwarted Lamb's just estimation in life, will continue to thwart its popular diffusion. There are even some that continue to regard him with the old hostility. And we, therefore, standing by the side of Lamb's grave, seemed to hear, on one side (but in abated tones,) strains of the ancient malice—“ This man, that thought himself to be somebody, is dead—is buried—is forgotten!” and, on the other side, seemed to hear ascending, as with the solemnity of an anthem—“ This man, that thought himself to be nobody, is dead—is buried; his life has been searched; and his memory is hallowed for ever!”

- ART. VII.—1. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry.* Edited by his brother, CHARLES VANE, Marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B., &c. London : 1848.
2. *The Game's Up.* By MENENIUS. Dublin : 1848.
3. *Ireland before and after the Union with Great Britain.* By MONTGOMERY MARTIN. 1848.

THE present circumstances of Ireland have attracted our attention to the documents contained in the “Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh.” The amount of positive information, in any true sense new to the public, is far less than we had anticipated. Much, however, that had been floating about unfixed is here authenticated or disproved. A good deal that had been misrepresented is corrected, or the means of correction supplied. The activity of those who war against the established institutions of society is sustained by an untiring impulse. Those who are satisfied with things as they are, or contemplate improvements in institutions chiefly as the result of the improvement of those by whom they are administered, are impatient of the dogmatic and disputative spirit when it is disposed to disturb our enjoyments by vindications which, however well-meant, we feel to be unnecessary and intrusive—and thus the voice of assailants will for a while win an undeserved triumph. The character of Lord Castlereagh has suffered more from these causes than that of any other public man of our times. The object of Lord Londonderry’s publication is by such documents as he possesses illustrative of Lord Castlereagh’s official life, to place his brother’s character in a true light.

The history of the earliest period of Castlereagh’s life was more frequently brought before the public in accounts of the Irish Rebellion by the families of the defeated party than in any other way, and their language was naturally coloured by their feelings. When Lord Castlereagh was taunted in 1817 as the perpetrator of savage cruelties, in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, cruelties utterly alien to his nature, and which in point of actual fact, he was the chief person to terminate, Mr. Canning indignantly asked “if the Legislature has consented to bury in darkness the crimes of rebellion, is it too much that rebels, after twenty years, should forgive the crime of being forgiven?” Without imputing to Tone, and M’Nevin, and such writers, any desire to falsify the real facts of the case, and while forming our notion of the scenes in which, very much from their own accounts, it is plain that they had not the means of knowledge which

would enable them to represent truly either the motives or the acts of the Government. Of the crimes of the leaders of the Irish insurrections of 1798 and 1803, we think it impossible to form an exaggerated estimate, as whatever be the real or supposed wrongs which armed resistance would redress, no wrong can be so great—no evil so hopelessly intolerable, as the disturbance of the settled order of society. A nation must be all but unanimous to justify Revolution.

The strong opposition with which the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain was regarded at the time by the weaker island, and the continued agitation for its repeal, kept alive a feeling of resentment against the chief instruments in carrying it out, and to this we owe the remarkable fact, that to this hour it is difficult to form any distinct notion of the character of Lord Castlereagh or Lord Clare. If the family of Lord Clare possess the means of bringing the history of that remarkable man before the public, or if even the few fugitive pamphlets in which his speeches, during the period in which he swayed the destinies of Ireland, were printed, could be collected and published with such notes, as after an interval of fifty years, are necessary to render them fully intelligible, something would be done for the history of the country that in a few years will be impossible. Mr. Wills in his *Lives of Distinguished Irishmen*—Mr. Grattan in the *Memoirs of his father*—Mr. Madden in his *Life of Emmett*—and the author of "*The Gallery of Illustrious Irishmen*," in the *Dublin University Magazine*, have each preserved many traits of the Irish Chancellor's character. But what we want and wish are his own speeches and letters—any thing actually and entirely his own. Differing with him in many things—agreeing with him perhaps in nothing, we feel in all that we have seen of him the stamp of indomitable power—a man whose image should not be lost. With respect to Lord Castlereagh, it is to be regretted that the delay of bringing his biography before the public has occasioned irreparable loss. Lord Londonderry, who himself writes a memoir of his brother prefixed to these volumes, tells us, that after a communication with Sir Walter Scott, whom he wished to engage in the task, a series of private letters, extending over twenty-five years, was confided to the care of the late Dr. Turner, bishop of Calcutta. The vessel that sailed for India with the bishop's effects was lost, and in it the letters of Lord Castlereagh, and, we presume, other materials collected to illustrate his life. His official correspondence was scarcely more fortunate. The executors of Lord Castlereagh (we call him throughout by the name by which he will be remembered in history) thought the papers might be public property, and claimed as such by the Government. For the purpose of releasing them,

selves from responsibility, they placed them under the control of the Court of Chancery, from which, after long delays, and what Lord Londonderry describes as "the highly honourable and straightforward conduct of Lord Palmerston," a great mass of papers, public and private, were delivered to him. "On examination of the documents," he adds, "I regret to say that I discovered many chasms and losses." In short, anything that any one for any purpose might wish concealed, is not to be found in the volumes now before us. We do not believe that a single new fact, with reference to any one concerned either in the suppression of the rebellion or the furtherance of the legislative union, is communicated. There is nothing that throws any light on the secret history of either. The correspondence is the correspondence of the Irish secretary's office, after every document of any peculiar interest has been withdrawn. Many of the letters cannot even be regarded as the letters of the persons whose names are officially attached to them. The passion of authorship must have been strong with Lord Londonderry when he undertook this voluminous compilation, which, if continued on anything like the scale on which it has been commenced, must, we should think, reach some twenty-five or thirty volumes. Four are devoted to the time of his brother's Irish Secretaryship; the two first of which (the Part now published) relate to the years 1798 and 1799.

The work opens with a biographical memoir. We omit the links which connect the Londonderry Stewarts with the kings of Scotland, and descend at once from the heights on which Lord Londonderry would place us to Robert Stewart who represented the county of Down in the Irish Parliament, and who was the first Marquess of Londonderry. Robert was twice married; first to Frances, second daughter of Lord Hertford; of this marriage Lord Castlereagh was the only surviving issue. His second wife, sister of Lord Camden, was the mother of our author.

Robert, our hero, was born in 1769. He received his early education at Armagh; and, at seventeen, was entered of St. John's College, Cambridge. He appears to have remained there but a year, or a year and a half. His tutor, writing to Lord Londonderry in 1840, describes him as remarkably successful in his college examinations. At his third half-yearly examination, the last which he past, "he was first in the first class." After leaving college, he made the Grand Tour; and on his return, commenced political life by a successful contest against the Downshire family for the representation of the county of Down. At the hustings he gave a pledge to support Reform. This was in 1790. When, in 1793, the Catholics were admitted to the

elective franchise, he said, that he thought this a sufficient Reform.

“ For a few sessions he voted generally with the Opposition. However, the turbulent development of the state of Ireland rendered it necessary for him to come to more decided conclusions. Accordingly, when the system of strong measures was adopted by the Irish Administration, in order to silence rebellion by terror, or extinguish it by severity, we find Lord Castlereagh among the warmest of its supporters.”—Vol. i. p. 9.

Lord Londonderry passes rapidly over his brother's public life in Ireland, leaving the documents given in his volumes to speak for themselves. When Lord Camden succeeded Earl Fitzwilliam as Viceroy, with Pelham as Chief Secretary, an incautious or intemperate speech of Pelham's in the House of Commons led to his return to England in disgust, and Lord Castlereagh acted as his *locum tenens* for a while, and afterwards was himself appointed Chief Secretary, which office he filled during the important period of the Union arrangements.

It will be more convenient to follow Lord Londonderry in running over the remaining incidents of Lord Castlereagh's life, than at the moment dwelling on topics to which we must return.

When the Union was accomplished, he transferred his residence to London. Pitt's retirement delayed his appointment to office till 1802. Under Addington's Administration, he was placed at the head of the Board of Control.

“ When Pitt resumed the direction of affairs, Lord Castlereagh continued to preside over the Board of Control, till, in 1805, he was appointed Secretary of State for the War and Colonial Department. Party prejudices operated so strongly against him, that, on this occasion, he failed, after an expensive contest, to obtain his re-election for the county of Down.”

On Pitt's death, Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues in office resigned.

“ On the resignation of the Grey and Grenville Administration, in 1807, and the formation of that of Mr. Percival, Lord Castlereagh was replaced in his former situation of Minister of the War Department, in which he continued till the Walcheren Expedition, and his duel with Mr. Canning.”

On the death of Percival, Lord Castlereagh became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and held the office till his death. To him, we believe, Lord Londonderry is right in ascribing the carrying out into perfect effect the policy of assisting the Spanish people when they rose for the purpose of asserting their national independence. To Lord Castlereagh is also due the selection of the Great General by whom the European war was brought to



so glorious a termination. Lord Londonderry discusses at considerable length Lord Castlereagh's diplomatic movements at Chatillon, and afterwards at Paris and Vienna. That the arrangements entered into by the Congress should have preserved peace so long among the principal European powers is no slight evidence of the good faith of the parties to the contract, and, above all, tells favourably for England and her representative, who was in the proud position of arbiter between contending nations.

“ In the year 1821, on the decease of his father, Lord Castlereagh became Marquess of Londonderry. The political horizon had at this time become overcast. A Congress was to be held at Vienna and Verona on the affairs of Spain; the insurrection of Greece had also rendered the position of England between Russia and the Porte very ticklish and difficult; and the continuance of disturbances in Ireland excited uneasiness. Under these circumstances, the strong mind of Lord Londonderry, harassed by Parliamentary warfare, and worn out by incessant toil, began to break down.”

Lord Castlereagh's attention to business was unremitting. He himself wrote the draft of every despatch from the Foreign Office. Towards the end of the Session, his health manifestly declined. It had been arranged that he should represent England at a Congress to be held at Vienna on the affairs of Spain; and laborious as was the duty which this involved, he looked forward to change of scene and occupation as likely to afford relief and recreation. There was over his mind a haunting feeling of some coming illness. He had been suffering from gout at the close of the Session, and apprehended the increase of the disease, if not speedily arrested, as likely to interrupt public business, and interfere with the King's visit to Scotland, and his own attendance at Congress. Medicines were administered for the purpose of lowering the system, but they brought on depression of spirits and nervous fever. His handwriting, in general remarkable for its neatness, was so changed a few days before his death, that the official documents which he wrote or subscribed were scarce legible to those best acquainted with the character of his hand. Still, the thought of his mind being affected did not occur to any one till it was observed, at the same Cabinet council, by the King and the Duke of Wellington. The King wrote to Lord Liverpool on the subject. The Duke communicated with Castlereagh's physician. This was on Saturday. The physician ordered him to the country, and followed him thither the next day. “ Early on Monday morning, he was hastily summoned to Lord Londonderry, who was in his dressing-room, but before he could reach it, his patient had committed the fatal act, and life was almost immediately extinct.”

Our biographer, before tracing the private character of his brother, calls us for a moment to dwell on that of his father, who appears to have been an estimable country gentleman, living on his own estate, dealing reasonably with his tenants, and assisting the poor in seasons of distress—practising virtues which endeared him to the persons among whom he resided, but which are not, we trust, so rare in Ireland as to distinguish him from a thousand others. His example is described as operating on his son—our Lord Castlereagh—the second Marquess. Some improvements in the town of Castlereagh, from which his title is taken, are described as Lord Castlereagh's work. He assisted in building a Roman Catholic chapel there, and he built one at Strangford. He is described by Lord Londonderry as a munificent patron of letters. He aided the Belfast Academy with his countenance and his money, and wrote papers in its praise in a magazine called the Belfast Athenæum. He helped Bunting to bring out his collection of "Irish melodies;" and what surprises us very much, "the translations from Carolan [in Bunting's Melodies] were moulded into their present shape by his masterly hand."

"He was the means of establishing in Dublin a 'Gaelic Society,' the object of which was to encourage writers in the ancient Erse, and translations from scarce works in verse and prose. This Society went on well for some time; and a volume of their proceedings was printed, highly creditable to all who had contributed towards it. Theophilus O'Hannegan was the secretary, a man who was quite a genius, and a scholar of unrivalled attainments, but who possessed not an atom of discretion. The removal of Lord Castlereagh to England withdrew his attention from this local institution, and it was in consequence discontinued. The last service he rendered it was releasing poor O'Hannegan from the sheriff's, where he was confined for a considerable debt."

"A munificent patron of letters." We are not quite disposed to assent to this praise, though we are glad Lord Londonderry has recorded it. It shows ludicrously enough what great men mean when they speak of rewarding letters. Lord Londonderry thinks his brother's patronage of men of genius one of his great claims on the admiration of the public, and he produces as a proof of it that he encourages writers in the ancient Erse, and releases from the sheriff a writer whom he admires. O'Hannegan may have been a fitting object of charity, and to have paid his debts may have proved Lord Castlereagh's consideration for his creditors—for the poor fellow does not seem to have got anything for himself. That this should be solemnly recorded as a proof of a British minister's patronage of genius is too bad.

The following details of his personal habits are worth preserving:—

“In his house he was never heard to murmur at anything, nor was he ever known to speak in a harsh or hasty manner to any of his servants, whom he had not changed for years. He was of abstemious habits, often tasting of but few dishes, and taking moderately of wine. He generally dressed himself without assistance. When in the country, and without company, he always retired early to his library, where he usually remained two or three hours, and retired to bed without supper. His usual hour for rising was seven in the winter, and in summer, five in the morning, never omitting to walk before breakfast when the weather admitted of it. He was fond of planting, pruning, and grafting with his own hands, and his parterre of native and exotic flowers at Cray-farm was choice, though not extensive.

“Political despatches, which daily arrived, were disposed of by him with the utmost order, exactness, and regularity, and his visitors scarcely missed his company while he attended to them. At public worship he was a regular attendant, and had prayers read in his family once every day, sometimes in the morning, but oftener in the evening. Field sports he abandoned long before his death; but he had a kennel of pointers and greyhounds. His ear for music was excellent, and though an indifferent player on the violoncello, he would often sit down and take part in a concerto, and join in any music that was going on.

“He was very tenacious of all his early friendships. The Earl of Bristol and the late Mr. Holford were the most dear to him. His mind was much fixed on putting upon record the history of the Union, and the events which immediately preceded it—in fact, of his own administration in Ireland. It was a project which I know he had very much at heart, and it was often talked of to some gentlemen of reputation as men of letters in Ireland. One of these, a particular friend of Lord Castlereagh’s, declined the undertaking, because he could not conscientiously, and as he thought, satisfactorily execute it in the sense of the minister—and yet their friendship continued uninterrupted.

“In stature he was nearly six feet high, and his manners were perfect, his features commanding. His appearance, when full-dressed, was particularly graceful; and at the coronation of George the Fourth he was remarked for the graceful dignity of his mien and manner, which, as I have heard it more than once observed, might well have caused him, when in the robes of the Garter, to be mistaken for the Sovereign. Although a courtier, yet in private life no man could be less assuming, and his affability at once dissipated that timidity which intercourse with high rank sometimes produces.”

An exceedingly interesting part of Lord Londonderry’s work is that in which he replies to Lord Brougham’s account of Lord Castlereagh in his “*Statesmen of the reign of George the Third.*” Among the many infelicitous sketches in that very amusing book perhaps that which is of least value is that of Lord Castlereagh. By him Castlereagh is represented as a man of the meanest powers, of the most vulgar and arrogant pretensions. The passages which

Moore and Byron have hitched into rhyme as specimens of his oratory are put forward with all the gravity of a witness. We suppose there was ground enough for such jokes, and the ground being once laid jokes enough would be perpetrated; but Lord Castlereagh was, on the whole, a graceful and effective speaker; and it is to be remembered that the task of inculcation is always an easy one, and even where the means of defence are most perfect there must be often reasons for silence that can scarcely be fittingly assigned, and that this often places a Cabinet Minister in a situation of such perplexity that it may be even a dexterous escape from worse dangers to expose himself to the arrows of the witlings. In Brougham's sketch there is one important acknowledgment—that all the personal imputations of cruelty against Lord Castlereagh in Ireland were mere calumny. Lord Londonderry has published a number of very interesting letters, to show the estimate in which Lord Castlereagh was held by the greatest men of his time. We wish we could abridge these letters, but so much depends on the very words in which they are written, that could even the facts recorded be preserved, the impression which they leave of the affection with which this great statesman was regarded by his friends would be lost.

In one letter of Lord Wellesley, he dwells on the aid given by Lord Castlereagh to sustain him in his Indian policy, and refers to his despatches from India in support of this statement.

“But I must add,” he says, “one circumstance which does not appear in these despatches. During the whole of my administration he never interfered in the slightest degree in the vast patronage of our Indian empire, and he took especial care to signify this determination to the expectants by whom he was surrounded and to me. In his published despatches many examples occur of great abilities and statesman-like views, and they are all written in a style more worthy of imitation than of censure.

“From the year 1812 I had no intercourse with your brother until the close of the year 1821, when I was called to undertake the arduous charge of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. On that occasion I had repeated private interviews with your brother, whose sentiments on the subject of Ireland were of the most liberal description, most favourable to all the just views and interests of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and most practically beneficial to the general welfare, happiness, and prosperity of Ireland. He was thoroughly conversant with every circumstance relating to Irish affairs, and he was most sincerely and faithfully attached to the cause of Ireland.”

Sir Walter Scott and Alison are quoted, and each expresses that high admiration of Lord Castlereagh which will soon become the fixed conviction of all sober-judging men, of whatever party. A sentence of Mr. Croker's describes him well:—

“Of Lord Londonderry [Castlereagh] Mr. Wilberforce seemed

at first to have formed a very low, and we need not add, a very erroneous opinion; but when his Lordship's situation became more prominent, and his character better defined, that polished benevolence, that high and calm sense of honour, that consummate address, that inflexible firmness, and that profound and yet unostentatious sagacity, won the respect and confidence of Wilberforce, as they did of reluctant senates at home, and of suspicious cabinets abroad."

A letter of Lord Ripon's—too long for us to quote—gives a very striking proof of Lord Castlereagh's presence of mind and instant decision, in a case of considerable difficulty. To his insisting on reinforcing Blücher after his first march to Paris, with two corps of Russians and Prussians, belonging to Bernadotte's army, without a communication with Bernadotte, Lord Ripon attributes the success of the battle of Laon. The difficulty was regarded as insurmountable. "He was at the council when the matter was discussed. The moment he understood that, militarily speaking, the proposed plan was indispensable to success, he took his line. He stated that, in that case, the plan *must* be adopted, and the necessary orders *immediately* given; that England had a right to expect that her allies would not be deterred from a decisive course by any such difficulties as had been urged; and he boldly took upon himself the responsibility of any consequences as regarded the Crown Prince of Sweden. His advice prevailed; Blücher's army was reinforced in time; the battle of Laon was fought successfully; and no further efforts of Buonaparte could oppose the march of the Allies on Paris, and their triumphant occupation of that city."

How he was appreciated by his colleagues in the Cabinet, we learn from a letter of Sir Charles Wetherall.

"I remember as well as yesterday meeting Eldon the morning when the despatches came over giving an account of the battle of Laon. I met him in the passage near the Chancellor of the Exchequer's house in Downing Street, going into the Park. We walked together through the Park; he was in the highest spirits, and said, 'I have been in the Foreign Office, on purpose to read over the Despatches at my leisure.' He then said, with the energy which you will recollect he used when his mind was intent on any idea, '*We are indebted to Castlereagh for everything. I verily believe that no man in England, but Castlereagh could have done what he has.*'"

We cannot omit the words of Sir Robert Peel;—"I doubt whether any public man, (with the exception of the Duke of Wellington,) within the last half century, possessed the combination of qualities, intellectual and moral, which would have enabled him to effect, under the same circumstances, what Lord

Londonderry did effect in regard to the union with Ireland, and to the great political transactions of 1813, 1814, and 1815. To do these things required a rare union of high and generous feelings, courteous and prepossessing manners, a warm heart, and a cool head, great temper, great industry, great fortitude, great courage—moral and personal, that command and influence which makes other men willing instruments, and all these qualities combined with disdain for low objects of ambition, and with spotless integrity.”

The great measure of Lord Castlereagh, and that on which his fame with posterity will chiefly rest, is the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. Of that great measure the advantages are not yet fully felt. It was impossible, absolutely impossible, when the independence of the Irish Parliament was established, and the Constitution of 1782 obtained, that the alternative, of union with England or absolute separation, could be avoided. The inconvenient *fiction* of an Irish Parliament was attended with difficulties enough. The *reality* was a thing utterly unmanageable. Till 1782, the conclave called a Parliament bore as near a resemblance to the Parliament at Westminster as did the Parliaments of Rouen or Gascony. The members of what was called the House of Commons, being once elected, or more often nominated, sate for the life of the Monarch. They had no power of originating any measure, and could do little more than delay flating the orders of England. Once in two years the Lord-Lieutenant went over to Ireland, resided for a few months at the Castle; struggled, often in vain, to give a few places and pensions among his friends, and disappeared. The sittings of the Parliament were also biennial; the King's business, as they called the management of Ireland, was farmed out to some great families, who divided among themselves the whole patronage of the kingdom; who intercepted from the people every good which they could not render profitable to themselves, and who, like other agents, did all they could to render it impossible that their employers should be able to dispense with their services, or even learn the principles on which their administration was conducted. If there ever was a system requiring entire change it was that by which Ireland was ruled. It was impossible that it should be allowed to continue, and its extinction was at the same moment the object of two parties earnestly at work, each to realize its own project of improvement;—each seeking as much as possible to conceal its ultimate purpose, the one contemplating the union of the kingdoms, the other their entire separation. Had the first more distinctly made their object known, it is not impossible that it might have more perfectly succeeded; for a reform in Parliament was, we believe, in the



first period of their association, the limit of the objects which Addis Emmett, and the others who acted with him had in view. This and the measure of Catholic emancipation would have been shewn as more attainable by means of the union of the Legislatures than by any other course. The desperate one of civil war was certainly not contemplated when the Society of United Irishmen was first formed.

The theory of Ireland's legislative independence was likely to have produced singular inconvenience, when, on George the Third's illness, different views were taken by the two Legislatures on the question of the regency, and this incident almost compelled the more powerful nation to save herself from the recurrence of an embarrassment which went to the very root of the monarchical principle. The thought of a legislative union had been long familiar to thinking minds. The Irish Privy Council, in 1676, and the Irish House of Lords, in the reign of Anne, proposed an incorporate union of the Legislatures as the only means of improving the commerce of Ireland. Sir William Petty saw it in the same light. "There are," says he, "three legislative powers, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which, instead of uniting together, do often cross upon each other's trade, not only as if they were foreigners to each other, but sometimes as enemies."

"I have always," said the late Duke of Richmond to the volunteers, when asked for his advice on the subject of constitutional reform, "I have always thought it for the interest of the two islands to be incorporated and form one and the same kingdom, with the same Legislature, meeting sometimes in Ireland as well as England." In 1785, Mr. Foster, chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, said, in the Irish House of Commons, "Things cannot remain as they are. Commercial jealousy is roused, and it will increase with two independent Legislatures. Without an united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many shocks, and *separation of interest* must threaten *separation of connexion*, which every honest Irishman must shudder to look to as a possible event." "Mr. Grattan declared, even after the boasted settlement of 1782, that the Legislature of Ireland neither possessed the substance nor the shadow of independence; and on the 26th of February, 1790, he asked, 'What has our renewed constitution as yet produced? A place bill? No. A pension bill? No. Any great or good measure? No. But a city police bill—a press bill—a riot act—great increase of pensions—fourteen new places for Members of Parliament, and a most notorious and corrupt sale of peerages.'"\*

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\* Martin's Ireland before and after the Union.

In the very first letter of the Castlereagh Papers, Lord Camden—within two years after sent over as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland—writes to Lord Castlereagh, then (it was 1793) of unfixed politics, and one of what Horace Walpole calls “the flying squadron of patriots,” in the following words:—“I have no conception in these times, when rights are pushed to the utmost extremity, and reform knows no bounds, of giving to any nation, and less to one of the description of yours, whose characteristic is certainly not moderation, the sort of latitude which the questions about to take place in Ireland will give them. I inherit, and, upon consideration, am clearly of my father’s opinion, that Ireland must be our province if she will not be persuaded to a union, and if she would, she ought and would enjoy reciprocal benefits with this country. This is my opinion; but in the present state of your politics there, it would be dangerous to maintain that opinion or to act in consequence of it.” The non-existence of an Irish Parliament, in any true sense, is well described by the author of a pamphlet, entitled, “*The Game’s Up*,” published in Dublin a few months ago.

“Ireland NEVER had a Parliament; no, not even in 1782; no, not even in 1792. It is one of the monster delusions of the day to dream that Ireland ever had a Parliament, in the sense in which the party now uses the word. It possessed a council, selected exclusively from an ascendant minority, and on which England conferred greater or less powers of legislation from time to time. The very circumstance of England having previous to its extinction enlarged those powers, is evidence of its having the power of diminishing or annihilating them; and this is not a Parliament. I, for my part, look upon the whole ‘carriage of the Union’ as a solemn mockery, got up to conceal the fact, which was, that the British Parliament willed the extinction of the local legislature, and preferred having its own consent to openly exercising the power it possessed. The pompous declaration of this Irish Council, that ‘none but the king, Lords, and Commons of Ireland had power to make laws for Ireland,’ was of as much significance as the ‘for ever’ so frequently adopted in solemn Acts of legislation, and as frequently violated. The Irish ‘Parliament’ was a council, introduced by the English into a conquered country, for certain limited purposes, and extinguishable at pleasure. Of what avail was the declaration of independence of the Irish Parliament by the British, if it was independent already? And if it was not, was not the independence resumable, notwithstanding the formal ‘for ever?’

“No—a PARLIAMENT—a self-existing, paramount, constitutional council of the nation *never* existed in Ireland;—or, if it did, it was the *magnum concilium* we have heard of lately. If it

did, it never could have had its powers limited or enlarged by another council, once they were settled; it never could have annihilated itself, or been annihilated, except by the conquest of the nation. We were, up to 1800, a colony, not a kingdom; and as such our true 'Constitution' lay within the Constitution of the parent State. The fatal mistake was allowing the country to be mistaken in its true position. This was policy, but it is an exploded and a past policy; and we are now, since the Union, for the first time, a free portion of a free empire.

" 'Ireland prospered under her parliament' (so called.) So it did to a certain extent, for its agricultural produce, imperfectly developed as such resources were, obtained the advantage of a high market in war time,—and the industry of the North was as conspicuous as it is now. Dublin was a brilliant city; though facts show that the beggary and destitution of the operative classes were frequently as appalling as they have ever been since.

" But facts again show that, with the exception of the 'west end' world of Dublin, Ireland has continued to advance since the Union, in spite of the systematic discouragement to fair experiment which an unceasing agitation has afforded. The spread of statistical information has, happily, rendered this demonstrable, so I shall not now take the trouble to enter into details. It has advanced, though the termination of the Continental war reduced the prices of agricultural produce so largely as in many cases to throw the farmer helplessly into the power of the landlord—or the demagogue. It has advanced (and this is the strangest fact of all) through the period of local famine and monetary difficulty; advanced, I mean, in every particular not *directly* affected by the famine and the state of the money-market."\*

There are sufficiently obvious reasons why the populace of a dissolute city should be easily excited into strong feeling against a measure which would remove from it the concourse of wealthy residents and strangers that the seat of the Legislature must bring together. The classes that live by directly ministering to their wants were in Dublin injuriously affected, and through such people it was always easy to get up a *row* when the alarm of an intended union was suggested to their imaginations. In Walpole's Memoirs of George II. a scene of this kind is described, that seems to have been serious enough. A union with England was a favourite object with Lord Hillsborough: he had hinted such a wish a year or two before in the Parliament of England, and being now in Ireland,† let drop expressions of the

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\* The Game's Up; pp. 36-38.

† December, 1759.

same tendency. This was no sooner divulged than Dublin was in a flame. The mob grew outrageous, and assembled at the door of the House of Commons. Mr. Rigby went forth and assured them there was no foundation for their jealousy; but *his* word they would not take. Ponsonby, the Speaker, was at last obliged to go out and pacify them; and Mr. Rigby declared, in the House, that if a bill of union was brought in he would vote against it. The tumult then subsided; but Rigby\* soon after moving that the Lord-Lieutenant might on an emergency, such as an invasion, summon the Parliament to meet without an intervention of forty days, the former suspicions revived, and a dangerous riot ensued.† Rigby's own account of the matter describes both Houses of Parliament attacked by an "unruly, drunken, barbarous mob. The pretence put into their mouths," he says, "is a union with Great Britain, and an abolition of Parliaments here. They are of the very lowest, and scum of the people; desperate by nature, and made more so by drams. The being a member of either House of Parliament was the crime; and they tendered oaths indiscriminately to all, to swear that they were true to their country; and the taking such oaths did not satisfy the more."‡ Lord Inchiquin who came up from the country to oppose the rumoured Union, was assailed. The mob pulled off his periwig, and put the oath to him. He had an impediment in his speech, and stuttered. They cried, "d—— you, do you hesitate?" "But hearing that his name was O'Bryen their rage was turned into acclamations."§ Mr. Rowley, a Privy Councillor, was dragged the length of a street, and narrowly escaped being thrown into the river. Mr. Morres, a King's Counsel, was "stripped of his very shirt, and beat and bruised." Warden Flood, the Attorney-General, was wounded in his chariot, and made his escape into the College. The excitement seems to have continued some days, as Rigby says, "I have heard that I have been a principal object of their aversion; but I have never failed going to Parliament and from it in my own chariot, and have never met with insult or blow from them, though I have observed unpleasant countenances." They killed the horses of several obnoxious persons; they pulled the Bishop of Killala out of his coach, and the Lord Chancellor. They proceeded to the House of Lords, where they committed the grossest indecencies; placed an old woman on the throne, and sent pipes and tobacco for her; they next went to the House of Commons, and ordered the clerk to bring them the journals to burn.||

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\* Chief secretary to the Duke of Bedford.

† Walpole, *Memoirs of George II.*, vol. ii. p. 401.

‡ Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 469.

§ Walpole.

|| Walpole.

We have been led away by Walpole's gossiping from our main subject. The object of a Legislative Union between the countries was the subject of speculation with many of the most sound-minded men in both countries. Their anxiety was that the Irish legislature should not be the mere machinery in the hands of England, to register laws dictated to it, often against the commercial interests of Ireland, and in all cases wounding to its pride. They felt, that even this was better than the subservience to the factious borough-interest which dealt with the country as if it was the private estate of the individual undertakers by whom it was managed. The ambitious hope of participating with England in Imperial Legislation was faintly and feebly expressed. It was too good a thing almost to dare to wish for. In the early part of the last century, the matter was often suggested, always with the feeling that England would oppose it. The case of the Union with Scotland, while it was not unlikely to force the matter on public attention, was in some important circumstances so dissimilar, as rather to embarrass the question. The King of England is by the law and Constitution King of Ireland. It is one of his inseparable titles. In Scotland the case was, at the time of its Union with England, not only different, but directly the reverse. The Scottish Act of Settlement had not made any provision for the devolution of the Crown on the extinction of the issue of Anne. And, in 1704, an act was passed by the Scottish Parliament, providing that the same person should not be King of Scotland and England. To this the royal assent had been given with great reluctance. This rendered the introduction of the exiled branch of the Stuarts not only a legal thing in Scotland, but was almost to be regarded as a declaration of war between the kingdoms. The necessity of that Union to the peace, nay, to the existence of the empire, was likely to be felt by many, who, as no danger of the kind existed in Ireland, would refuse in the latter case to be swayed by a deceptive analogy.

The first demi-official paper in these volumes which mentions the Union, is dated September 26, 1798, and communicates to Lord Castlereagh the substance of the leading articles, among which are,—

“Protestant establishment to be secured; Catholics to be eligible to all offices, but, query as to their sitting in Parliament?”

“Arrangements to get rid of tithes, not to be one of the Articles, but to be immediately settled. This should be accompanied with a suitable provision for a reasonable number of Catholic clergy.”

We do not, perhaps, appreciate all the difficulties with which this great measure was accompanied, and we are perhaps wrong in thinking that every privilege that has been since given to the

Catholics might have been more conveniently given then. We disbelieve in the propriety of either then or now endowing their clergy. On the 16th of October 1798, we have a letter from Lord Clare to Lord Castlereagh, who had gone to England, and varied the measure injuriously; at least so the letter would seem to prove; but the strength of the borough interests is to be considered, and perhaps all that could be done under the existing circumstances was done. The letter is from London,—“I have seen Mr. Pitt, the Chancellor, and the Duke of Portland, who seem to feel very sensibly the critical situation of our damnable country, and that the Union alone can save it. I should have hoped that what has passed would have opened the eyes of every man in England to the insanity of their past conduct, with respect to the Papists of Ireland; but I can very plainly perceive that they were as full of their Popish projects as ever. I trust, and I hope I am not deceived, that they are fairly inclined to give them up, and to bring the measure forward unencumbered with the doctrine of Emancipation. \* \* \* Mr. Pitt is fully sensible of the necessity of establishing some control over the Popish clergy, which he thinks will be best effected by allowing very moderate stipends to them, and allowing every priest to take a license from the Crown, for performing ecclesiastical functions, on pain of perpetual banishment if he shall officiate without it.”

Of the State Papers printed by Lord Londonderry, one of the best—but it was printed long ago in America—is the Memoir of the state prisoners O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Thomas Addis Emmett. Verdicts for high treason had been obtained against two of the united Irishmen—Byrne and Bond. Efforts were made to save them, and negotiations were commenced between the state prisoners, confined on the same or similar charges, and the Government. The Government wished to have distinct acknowledgments of their guilt from themselves, and wished to have the opportunity of making public the whole conspiracy, without betraying the sources of their information. The prisoners felt they were communicating no more than the Government already knew, and they proposed, among the conditions, that they should not be asked to criminate individuals. O'Connor, Sampson, and some other of the principal persons involved in the conspiracy, refused signing these conditions. The law officers thought the information not worth the price of interfering with the execution of the law. They feared juries would refuse finding verdicts, if the Crown pardoned. The reasonings of lawyers are more apt to satisfy themselves than others; and arguments which they felt to be conclusive, did not altogether satisfy the Lord-Lieutenant. The opinion of the law-advisers was, however—to use the language of the document before us—given “peremptorily and un-animously,” and Byrne was executed.



The next day was that named for the execution of Bond. The prisoners, who had before Bryne's execution refused their signatures, became alarmed, and new terms were proposed to the Government. In the first document, perpetual exile was proposed as the condition of life being spared. In the next, to guard against the danger of their passing immediately into an enemy's country, the time of their departure; and the place of their exile, was left to the discretion of Government. Bond was respited. The conditions were fulfilled; but as far as Bond's life was the object, that object could scarcely have been said to be gained, for he died soon after in prison.

It would appear that Lord Londonderry is not aware of the memoir having been before published. A copy printed at New York is before us as we write, and enables us to correct some strange blunders made by Lord Londonderry's printer, or more probably by whoever transcribed the manuscript for the press. Misprints that reduce a passage to mere nonsense do but little comparative harm. Here are errors that vary the sense of the passage into the direct opposite of what the writers said. In the second paragraph, we find these words:—"Denying the whole existence of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, we may safely aver, &c." Reading this in Lord Londonderry, we fairly confess we did not know what to make of it, when we fortunately remembered our old American book, and found that the word printed "denying" ought to be "during." It was startling enough to find these gentlemen denying the existence of the Society, the organization of which they were engaged in explaining. We know nothing at all like it, except the denial, every now and then, of the existence of ribondmen in Ireland, at the very time that every newspaper brought us accounts of convictions for the crime.

The memoir was felt by the Government to be a defence of the prisoners, and could not be used for the purposes for which it was intended. The prisoners then suggested that as a committee was sitting to inquire into the causes of the rebellion, they ought to be examined before it; and that in this form Government might obtain the information they wished in a way in which it could be unobjectionably used. This course was adopted.

The account which the Memoir gives of the United Irishmen, or of the Union, as it was in that day called, is worth diligent study. Their communication to Government appears to have been entirely faithworthy, and wholly unreserved. The pleading is throughout an able and a manly one; and not a little was lost to the country, when imperative necessity (and we think the necessity was imperative, and that the case admitted of no doubt) demanded the banishment of such men. The original institution of United Irishmen, formed towards the close of the year 1791, was not only ostensibly but really confined to the objects it pro-

fessed—Reform in Parliament, and Catholic Emancipation. These in our day are harmless sounds, but in Ireland in that day, when three-fourths of the Commons House of Parliament were the direct nominees of the borough interest, and when the word Emancipation conjured up a thousand fears, it is impossible to describe the violence with which the first publications of the test of the United Irishmen was assailed. This violence was met by expressions of equal violence, and by endeavouring to promote the meeting of a convention to aid in effecting Reform. The difficulties in the way of Reform led to the discussion of Republicanism. While the minds of men were fermenting with these thoughts, the Society was forcibly dissolved in 1794.

It attributed its being thus dissolved to its own fault, in the openness of its discussions and the publicity of its proceedings, and in 1795 a new Society for the same object,—but a *secret* Society,—was formed. In their test—or *text*, as Lord Londonderry generally prints it—a clause of secrecy was introduced. For the *engagement* which their predecessors required, they substituted an oath. In 1796 an Act passed punishing with death the administering of unlawful oaths. “But death,” says the Memoir, “had ceased to alarm men who began to think it was to be encountered in their country’s cause. The statute remained an absolute dead letter, and the members of the body augmented beyond belief.” The numbers of the Union were increased beyond their wishes by other causes. Wherever Orange lodges sprang up, the Catholics got alarmed, and joined the United system. This was opposed to the wishes of the leaders, for it introduced religious acrimony. In some cases the system reconciled and absorbed into itself conflicting parties, and the Government was deceived, not suspecting the cause of the dangerous tranquillity. In the Memoir, it is denied with indignation that they ever in any case encouraged assassination. They argue this anxiously, as answering some evidence to the contrary. It was considered by them with horror on account of its criminality, and with personal dread, because it would render ferocious the minds of men in whose hands their lives were placed. Their numbers were not less than five hundred thousand. The authors of the Memoir had not been members of the earlier Association. The society, at the time they became connected with it, was conducted on principles of the strictest secrecy. The organization of the system was admirably adapted for its purposes. No treachery could endanger the safety of many persons—no espionage could detect the entire or even large part of what was doing; and those in the actual direction of affairs were concealed from the knowledge of all but a very few. As we understand the constitution of the Association of 1795, it was this:—A Society is formed in some one district by ballot, a single black bean ex-

cluding. When any such Society amounts to thirty-six members, it splits into two; so that eighteen is the number constituting each integral. Each integral was represented by two of its members and its secretary in a baronial committee.\* These representatives were chosen by ballot every three months. No new integral could act till regularly constituted, and the secretary of an integral already constituted was the proper person to apply for, and the nearest baronial committee to give authority to form a new Society, to consist of not more than thirty-five members. When the number of societies in a barony amounted to eight, a second baronial committee was formed; county committees were formed by each baronial committee sending two delegates. Provincial committees were formed by delegates from baronials sending three delegates each, and in all cases the choice was by ballot, and the appointment was but for three months. National committees were also contemplated in this extensive arrangement, and were to be formed by each provincial committee sending five delegates. The names of the committee men, in every case, were known only to those who elected them.

We have done what we can to render intelligible the system of organization which united vast bodies of the Irish, of every rank but the highest together. Our authority is that of Addis Emmett, writing in America long after the Irish Rebellion. The plan was not his, for he did not join the confederacy till 1796,† when it had existed in full operation for at least a year. It was not Tone's, for Tone, who may be called the founder of the society of 1791, did not join that of 1795 till on the eve of his departure for America, when he found it in full operation. Describing the organization, Emmett says:—

“Whoever reflects on this constitution for a moment, will perceive that it was prepared with most important views. It formed a gradually extending representative system, founded a universal suffrage and frequent elections. It was fitted to a barony, county, or province, while the organization was confined within these limits. But if the whole nation adopted the system, it furnished a national Government.”

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\* The counties in Ireland are subdivided into baronies.

† Emmet dates his admission into the society in 1706. *Memoir and Examination* before secret committee. A strange scene occurring before 1795, might lead us to give it an earlier date. Defending a prisoner charged with administering the United Irishman's oath, then a capital offence, he read aloud the oath from his brief with great solemnity—and then addressed the Court in the following terms. “My Lords, here, in the presence of this crowded auditory—in the presence of the being that sees, and witnesses, and directs this judicial tribunal, here my Lords, I, myself, in the presence of God, declare I take the oath.”—*Madden's United Irishmen*, second series, vol. ii. p. 22.

Nothing can be conceived more simple—nothing more perfect than such an arrangement. Examine it, and the constitutions of the most carefully devised systems of society seem beside it clumsy, inartificial contrivances—while this, the work of a few humble men, brooding over their real or imagined grievances or both, seems almost like the machinery of one of those philosophical romance-epics, perfect, because having no other existence than in some solitary dreamer's fancy. "Curiosity," says Emmett, "will ask what manner of men they were that dared harbour such comprehensive and nearly visionary ideas? They were almost invariably farmers, manufacturers, and shopkeepers, the representatives of men certainly not superior to themselves." The persons called the leaders would to a man have been contented with Parliamentary Reform, and between them and the oligarchy that ruled Ireland there was always room for a compromise. The evidence of all the state prisoners establishes this. The despair of obtaining this object drove them into the consideration of republicanism, which the examples of America and France naturally suggested, and which was debated among them as one, and but as one, of the substitutes for the existing order of things. No mistake can be greater than that a few restless spirits,—that a few men finding no sufficient employment in the ordinary occupations of professional life, were the creators of the fervid and pervading passions that at that period inflamed and frenzied the whole island. The passions were those of the people themselves, they did not require the fannings of idle rhetoric to force them into a blaze. It was not in the spirit of hopelessness and despair that these humble men acted; it was in the spirit of impatient and eager hope. It was not as in our day a miserable parody, in which vain men simulated feelings, and like the bulls in Borrowdale, were driven mad by the echo of their own bellowings. The Emmetts and Sheereses found the system formed. They were admitted into it doubtfully and late. The system began with the lower classes. "As the united Irish system ascended into the upper ranks, it engulfed into it numbers who afterwards appeared as leaders." \*

While the organization consisted but of individual societies, interconnected as we have described, and while there was no master spirit "to wield that fierce democracy," they were yet bold enough to send a person to France to ascertain the possibility of obtaining aid from the giant republic. This led to an important addition to their original constitution. A provincial committee for Ulster had been organized, and some inconvenience was felt from the arrangement, that the provincial com-

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\* Emmett.

mittees were by the constitution of the Society to meet but once a month. This led to the formation of a body not originally contemplated—**THE EXECUTIVE**. The Executive in the intervals between the sittings of the Provincial Committee were to *execute* what had been ordered—to report its own proceedings—it was to be a watch on the Government, and to call extra meetings of the Provincial Committee when necessary. Its connexion was but with the committee that appointed it, and its members were wholly unknown to the general body of the Society. Of the Executive it was the habit never to have more than one of them to do business with any one—and if possible their transactions were but with one person. While the secrecy that was observed by so many persons under such strong temptations to betray their associates is certainly a wonderful thing, yet, in point of fact, the system was so skilfully contrived that till a military organization was engrafted on the original constitution of the Society, each of the ordinary members knew little more than the names of the persons who composed his own integral, a number seldom more than eighteen, never more than thirty-five.

We are weary of the miserable narrative of revolts, which at whatever period you examine the history of Ireland it presents. The Irish oligarchy, ruling in the name of England, sustained by England on the supposition of their being the sole security for the connexion between the two countries, while their whole effort was to prevent any large measure of policy which must have the effect of taking the country out of their hands, had rendered the name of England odious. The United Irishmen, with all their machinery, could have little chance of doing more than upsetting a constitution. The evils under which the country was undeniably suffering, were many of them of a kind which any rational combination of their strength with that of either of the great parties in the Legislature, might have vastly alleviated. To take Ireland out of the hands of the borough proprietors was the one thing most to be desired—most to be struggled for. This was to be best and most effectually done by the union with England. But the persons whose names were most prominent among the United Irishmen, were persons who seem to have had no fixed plans whatever for the future; and from their sheer inability to suggest, or to execute any plan of government, their country must, in the very moment of their success, have fallen into the hands of France, to be, no doubt, rendered to England on any cessation of hostilities between those nations. Thus an utter anarchy must have been its fate. The vision of a bloodless revolution which was before the minds of some of the best of those enthusiasts, was also before the minds of the Dantons and Robespierres. Tone expresses some such feeling in his journals; yet



though he was the cleverest and the best of them, it is plain that he was, from the first, dazzled with the military dress, and was—in his heart of hearts—a military coxcomb, returning in the character and garb of a French general to effect a *bloodless* revolution! Grattan's account of Addis Emmett is no doubt a picture of the individual; but the individual was the type of a number, whose name is Legion.

“He set up his own crude notions as settled rules; and his plan was founded, not on practice, but on his own imagination. It was full of wildness. There were to be three hundred elections every year, all going on at the same time; and every man was to possess a right to vote. The whole country was thus to be placed in a state of tumult and agitation—all in conflagration—like three hundred windmills in motion all at once. This, too, in a country, one-third of whose population were so destitute that they were exempted from paying hearth-money tax in consequence of their poverty. Emmett forgot that elections and representatives are a work of art—he considered them as one of the operations of nature.

“When he went to America he thought his political life at an end; but it was only just beginning. Had Government intended to have rendered him harmless they should have kept him at home, where he would have staid, a tarnished lawyer, with little business; but sent to America, he found means to annoy England, and do there what he never could have done in his own country.”\*

The documents in Lord Londonderry's book prove, what however was known before, that the English Government were, from the first, acquainted with all the negotiations of the rebels for aid from France. When M'Nevin was examined before the secret committees of the Lords and Commons, he found that they were not only in possession of all that he could communicate, but that a copy of his very memoir, which he had laid before the French Government as to the state of Ireland, was in the hands of the committee. Tone mentions, that when Hoche's expedition was leaving Brest, a proclamation was printed, to be distributed in Ireland on their landing. A large sum of money was offered to the printer for a copy. He communicated with Tone, who had copies printed with *Portugal* instead of *Ireland*, and the English were thus deceived. A more singular circumstance is, that the French having sent over a messenger to announce their coming, a second message, which was believed to be authentic, arrived, saying, that the intent of invasion was deferred to the following spring. The second message so entirely deceived the rebel leaders, that when the French came, no preparations were made for them. No explanation of the second message is suggested. In the Life of Curran by his son, we are told that the French

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\* Grattan's Life, vol. iv. p. 360.



Directory, when Tone was urging the invasion of Ireland, were greatly influenced to adopt the measure, by being told that two-thirds of the sailors in the British service were Irish. He adds an anecdote which is strikingly well told :—

“Soon after the question of an expedition to Ireland had been left to the decision of Carnot, Clarke, and Hoche, they named an evening to meet Tone at the palace of the Luxembourg. Tone arrived at the appointed hour, eight o'clock. He was ushered into a splendid apartment. Shortly after, the Director and the generals made their appearance. They bowed coldly, but civilly, to Tone, and almost immediately retired without apology or explanation through a door opposite to that by which they had entered. Tone was a good deal struck by so unexpected a reception ; but his surprise increased when ten o'clock arrived without the appearance of a message of any kind from those on whom all his hopes seemed to depend. The clock struck eleven, twelve, one—all was still in the palace ; the steps of the sentinels, on their posts without, alone interrupted the dead silence that prevailed within. Tone paced the room in considerable anxiety ; not even a servant had entered of whom to enquire his way out, or if the Director and the generals had retired. About two o'clock, the folding-doors were suddenly thrown open ; Carnot, Clarke, and Hoche entered ; their countenances brightened ; and the coldness and reserve, so observable at eight o'clock, had vanished. Clarke advanced quickly to Tone, and taking him cordially by the hand, said : ‘ *Citizen ! I congratulate you ; we go to Ireland.*’ The others did the same ; and having fixed the time to meet again, the persons engaged in this remarkable transaction separated.”\*

At some future time we hope to give some account of the circumstances of Irish society which led to the Rebellion of 1798. Its causes were, we think, more deeply seated than was felt by any of the prominent actors in the scene. At the moment there are difficulties in treating the subject, which will in all probability have passed away before we next have the opportunity of addressing the public. The solution which has been so often repeated that it has become almost an article of faith with some—that the Government fomented the rebellion to facilitate their carrying the Legislative Union, is a supposition too insulting to our common nature to be for a moment thought of, and the whole evidence of facts utterly and entirely disproves it.

Lord Londonderry ought to have accompanied some of the documents which he publishes with fuller explanations than we find. Several refer to enclosed papers, which are not printed—are not probably in his possession, but the want of which leaves what he prints of about as much value as the envelope of a lost letter.

Is it worth while to state, that while looking through some of

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\* Curran's Life of Curran, vol. ii. p. 20.

the publications connected with the subject of Ireland during Lord Castlereagh's administration, we find writers of high reputation, in their anxiety to make out that kind of inconsistency which is most damaging to the reputation of a public man, between his professions at one period and his acts at another, confuse him with his father? Dr. Madden, and the author of the History of the Civil Wars in Ireland, published in Constable's Miscellany—an excellent summary of the Irish annals of some seven hundred years—have fallen into this mistake, and represent him as moving resolutions in conventions of Irish volunteers when he was but twelve or thirteen years of age. He is, we think, most unjustly accused of having violated faith with the state prisoners of 1798, by their detention in prison for some years after the rebellion was suppressed. They were in prison at the time of the treaty; and by express conditions with them the time of their removal was to be at the discretion of Government. That, surely, to all ordinary understanding, implies the right of continuing their imprisonment till such time as with safety to the state they could be discharged. The American representative had expressed anxiety that they should not be sent there, and there must have been, in a time of war, extreme difficulty as to their proper disposal.

There were those in Ireland at the time who would have made short work of the matter, and disposed of the prisoners on the principle acted on *in the town of Tunis, in Africa the torrid*, and recorded in the Anti-Jacobin Lyrics:—

- “ No story half so shocking,  
By kitchen fire or laundry,  
Was ever heard tell  
As that which befell  
The great *Jean Bon St. André*.
- “ Poor John was a gallant captain,  
In battles much delighting;  
He fled full soon,  
On the first of June,  
But he bade the rest keep fighting.
- “ To Paris then returning,  
Recovered from his panic,  
He translated the plan  
Of Paine's Rights of Man  
Into language *Mauritanic*.
- “ He went to teach at Tunis,  
Where as consul he was settled,  
Among other things,  
That the people are kings,  
Whereat the *Dey* was nettled.

“ He formed a *club* of *brothers*,  
And moved some resolutions,  
‘ Ho! ho!’ says the Dey,  
‘ So this is the way  
The French make revolutions.’

“ The Dey then gave his orders,  
In Arabic and Persian,  
‘ Let no more be said,  
But bring me his head :  
These clubs are my aversion.’

“ The consul quoted Wickefort,  
And Puffendorf and Grotius,  
And proved from Vattel,  
Exceedingly well,  
Such a deed would be quite atrocious.

“ ’Twould have moved a Christian’s bowels  
To hear the doubts he stated ;  
But the Moors, they did  
As they were bid,  
And strangled him while he prated.”

There was more than one occasion, in which men ordinarily in their sober senses thought to have acted on this precedent. In the *Pieces of Irish History*, published in America by Emmett, it is said that when they published a denial of the truth of some extracts from the report of the secret committee, a distinguished member of the Irish House of Commons proposed that the agreement with them should be regarded as at an end, and that they should be then tried, and if found guilty, as they necessarily must, be executed. Another had before this suggested, but this was, we believe, before the negotiations between them and Government, that military executions should have a retrospective operation, and that the State prisoners should be summarily disposed of. “ Lord Castlereagh, with becoming dignity and humanity, vehemently discountenanced so shocking a proposal.”\*

We cannot award any very high praise to the work as far as it has gone, and we trust that the future volumes may be more carefully put together. The book is not without a certain kind of value, and if it be not quite as much in the hands of students of history as a letter of Mr. Alison’s predicts, it yet ought to have a place—a high place—in the public libraries.

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\* Life of Curran, vol. ii. p. 44.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Stenographische Bericht über die Verhandlungen der Deutschen Constituirenden National-Versammlung zu Frankfurt am Main.* Vols. I. III. Frankfurt : 1848.
2. *Verhandlungen des Vorparlaments.* Frankfurt : 1848.
3. *Verhandlungen des funfziger-ausschusses.* Frankfurt : 1848.
4. *Verhandlungen zur Vereinbarung der Preussischen Staats Verfassung.* Als Beilage zum Preussischen Staats Anzeiger. Berlin : 1848.
5. *Protokolle der Sitzungen des Oesterreichischen Constituirenden Reichstags.* Als Beilage zur Oesterreichischen Allgemeinen Zeitung. Vienna : 1848.
6. *Deutsche Staats und Rechtsgeschichte.* Von KARL FRIEDERICH EICHHORN. Vols. I.—IV. Göttingen : 1821-3.
7. *Statistische Übersicht der wichtigsten Gegenstände des Verkehrs und Verbrauchs im Preussischen Staate und im Deutschen Zollvereine.* Aus amtlichen Quellen dargestellt. Von Dr. C. F. W. DIETERICI. Erster Theil. Berlin : 1838. Erste Fortsetzung. Berlin : 1842.
8. *Denkschriften des Ministers Freiherrn von Stein über Deutsche Verfassungen.* Herausgegeben. Von G. H. PERTZ. Berlin : 1848.
9. *Verhandlungen des Bundes Tages 1830-1845.* Frankfurt : 1848.

THE character and importance of the German revolution of 1848 has been inadequately appreciated by the mass of English political writers. The more recent of the French political revolutions are mere continuations, or after-claps of the first ; and in the course of more than half a century, the multitude of documents illustrating it which have come to light, and the sagacity and acuteness which its influence in the domestic affairs of almost all European States have compelled minds—developed under the most varied circumstances, and occupying the most diversified social positions—to bring to bear upon it in the way of commentary, have imparted form and consistency, if not truth, to its theory. But the German revolution is new to European, and, above all, to English political speculators. Its preparatory workings exercised in 1813 a decisive influence on the fortunes of Napoleon, but a transient and episodical one on the general relations of Europe. Its progress since has had interest only for Germans ; and the shackled press of Germany was unable to throw light upon that progress. Hence the events which, since the first of March, have in Germany followed each other in such rapid succession, wear to foreigners an *impromptu* appearance,

Their very form and pressure is imperfectly known; their motives are unappreciated.

These events have, indeed, been sufficiently startling. In February 1848 there were, according to the opinion current among politicians, two great powers in the north-east of Europe—Austria and Prussia. With these were connected, in some not very clearly understood relations of alliance or dependence, a number of second and third-rate States, called the German Confederation. A German literature was much cultivated,—a German Zollverein had occasioned considerable speculation; but in European politics there was no Germany. Austria and Prussia alone were recognised as existing powers by the politician; and these from their well-known anti-revolutionary tendencies and assumed military strength caused many an anxious look to be turned their way, when the Parisian *émeute* of February shook down the Orleans dynasty like an over-ripe apple, by all who feared the entanglements and atrocities of a general European war, in which principles, not nations, should be opposed to each other.

Thus stood affairs, or rather thus they were believed to stand, in the beginning of March last. Before the middle of August they were entirely changed. Both in Austria and Prussia the Governments stood paralyzed in presence of incessantly and irresistibly encroaching popular movements. Their enormous and admirably organized armies were there still, but they dared not use them. At the bidding of the popular voice, they were compelled reluctantly to convene elective constituent legislatures, to nominate cabinets from the popular party. Every attempt at evasion or counter-action was jealously looked for, instantly met, and baffled. Four several revolutions—the German, Italian, Magyar, and Slavonian—at once engrossed and distracted the attention of Austria. Prussia, more entirely identified with Germany, was sucked into the vortex of the German revolution, which it could neither resist nor lead, though apparently willing to do either. Prussia and Austria, in fact, appeared to be blotted from the list of Governments, while a new and seemingly improvised authority—the central Power of Germany—had been organized at Frankfurt; had there “a local habitation and a name,” in the persons of an elected Vicar of the Empire (*Reichs-Verweser*), with a Cabinet of Ministers, responsible to a Parliament of one House elected by universal suffrage, who issued orders to the Princes of Germany to make their armies do homage to the new order of things, and sent ambassadors to all the Courts of Europe.

Such an entire and unexpected change, bursting upon a European public utterly unacquainted with the circumstances and events which had prepared it, has been naturally regarded with stupified wonder and scepticism as to its reality. The

German revolution of 1848, especially in England, has been hastily assumed to be a mere causeless imitation of the French revolution of the same year. It has been attributed to the influence of bookish theorists working on a moment of popular excitement, and attaining to a transient show of success by having taken Governments at unawares. It has been set down as an ephemeral and unreal movement, which will disappear as rapidly as it exhaled. Thus prepossessed politicians have disdained to make it a permanent element in their calculations; have spoken and written about it slightly; have made it matter of allusive expressions of their pre-conceived opinions and sentiments, instead of seeking to ascertain its character and calculate its consequences.

We find, however, that the few, whether natives or foreigners, who have been brought into personal and practical contact with German society, regard the revolution of 1848 in a more serious light. Whether friendly or hostile, they admit it to be a reality, and augur from it, according as their prepossessions dictate, a new era of greatness and happiness for the German people, or an age of anarchy, of bloody and aimless contentions. If this more serious view of recent events in Germany be correct, it is important that the great social movement, of which they are the superficial and isolated phenomena, should be understood aright; for it cannot but deeply and permanently affect, not only the internal arrangements of that country, but its relations to the rest of the civilized world; and to the solution of this problem, as far as materials exist for the purpose, we propose to devote a few pages. Of probable or possible consequences we will of course speak with that modest scepticism which becomes those who have to treat of novel relations, in which men for the most part new to public life have been called upon to take the leading parts; and even of actual events we shall speak in that guarded tone which their recent occurrence, and the partial and imperfect accounts which have transpired, warrant. Our object is not to subserve partisan interests—not to promote any cause, however worthy—but simply to contribute towards an impartial and true estimate of events which must go far to constitute the history of Germany for the present year.

The publications enumerated at the head of this paper form but a small proportion of the sources of information that have been consulted. Had it even been possible, within any reasonable space, to have named all our printed materials, still the catalogue would have been defective; for much has been derived from manuscript, and even oral communications. But the works named will serve to indicate the nature of our authorities. The official stenographic reports of the proceedings of the three



constituent assemblies now actually in session in Germany, and of the preparatory assemblies at Frankfurt, contain not only authentic information of what has been transacted in these bodies, but of incidents for which we must otherwise have been left to rely upon newspaper or epistolary reports. The work of Eichhorn contains the most condensed philosophical and generally trustworthy accounts of the historical development of German society, and of that body of law which regulates the relations of man to man in it, that have appeared. The author's constant and careful citation of his sources render them at the same time a sort of *catalogue raisonnée* and Chrestomathia of the historical literature of Germany. Dieterici's Statistical Notices are valuable as contributions to the history of the Zollverein—a union whose influence will probably prove hereafter to have been infinitely less important in commercial than in political respects. The collected memorials of Von Stein are invaluable as a record of the rise and progress of that yearning after unity which is quite as prominent a feature of the recent German movement as its democratical tendency. By showing with whom the idea of German unity originated, and with what pertinacity it has been clinging to, they go far to vindicate it from the imputation of being the visionary and powerless fancy which so many conceive it to be. Lastly, the selection from the records of the Frankfurt Diet between 1830 and 1845, illustrate forcibly the oppression exercised by Austria and Prussia, in the name of that shadow of a government. The multitude of personal memoirs which throw light on the past and present history of Germany is so overwhelming, that we have been compelled to desist even from a specimen enumeration. In the autobiography of Göthe, in the correspondence of Schiller and Körner, and in other publications relating to the same period, invaluable contributions to the history of the immediate past abound; while the memoirs of Arndt, Luden, Varnhagen von Ense, Henckel von Donnersmark, and others too numerous to name, materials more or less valuable, abound for connecting it with the present.

Our first object is to trace distinctly the progress of events in Germany from the middle of February in the present year to the present time. To this end we commence with M. Bassermann's notice of motion in the Baden Second Chamber. That motion is of consequence, inasmuch as it contemplates the organization of such a central authority as has since been instituted at Frankfurt, and was the first of the many almost simultaneous public declarations of opinion which led to its institution. The date of this motion vindicates at least the German movement from the charge of being a mere imitation of

what was in progress in France. Hereafter we will examine how far the motion is connected with preceding popular struggles in Germany, with a view to indicate how far the revolution appears to have struck such deep roots in the national mind as warrant an expectation of its permanence and success.

On the 12th of February last, a motion, of which the Deputy Bassermann had previously given notice in the Second Chamber of Baden, was, at the suggestion of the Deputy Scheffelt, ordered to be printed, and referred to a committee. The motion was in effect for "an Address to Government, requesting it to adopt measures for obtaining, through the instrumentality of the governments, a body representing the various German elective legislatures, with a view to impart unity to the institutions and legislation of Germany." While the Representative Assembly of Baden was thus originating and promoting a popular movement, the Diet at Frankfurt was giving signs of disquiet. On the 13th of February, the very next day after M. Bassermann's motion had been deliberately entertained in the Baden legislature, a discussion took place in the Diet of the Confederation on the expediency of suppressing an "ultra-radical" journal published in Baden; and a police investigation was at the same time instituted at Frankfurt into the proceedings at an aggregate meeting of *Turn-Vereins* (politico-gymnastic associations) at Hallersheim. The remainder of the month of February was remarkable for a generally excited and unsettled state of the public mind in Germany, of which, however, no definite political aim had as yet assumed the guidance. On the 22d, the legislature of Electoral Hesse was prorogued under unpleasant circumstances. The Lola Montes squabbles were in full swing in Bavaria. In Ober-Steiermark (Austria) there were insurrectionary movements among the peasants, rather, however, of an agrarian than a political character; and in Bohemia, excessive and unequally distributed taxation had excited considerable discontent. On the 23d, several parties belonging to a Turn-Verein in Offenbach (near Frankfurt) were arrested, and subjected to an examination on suspicion of seditious machinations.

In the last days of February, and the first of March, this generally diffused, but vague perturbation of men's minds began to assume more definite form and pressure. To enumerate all the public meetings and analogous demonstrations that took place at this time on the banks of the Rhine, the Danube and the Oder, on the Baltic and the North Sea, and over all the intervening country, would be impossible. A public meeting held at Stuttgardt on the 28th of February, agreed to petition the King of Wurtemberg to promote the representation of all his German people in the Frankfurt Diet, and the emancipation

of the press throughout Germany. A meeting of members of the Chambers of Deputies, held simultaneously, expressed sympathy with this petition. A few days later a liberal ministry was appointed, and a liberal envoy to the Frankfurt Diet named to replace the conservative who had filled that office. In the Darmstadt Chamber of Deputies, a motion to the same effect as the Stuttgardt petition was made by Heinrich von Gagern on the 28th of February; and on the 29th a numerous public meeting, held in Mayence, (under the eyes of the Austrian and Prussian garrison,) addressed a petition to the Darmstadt Government in the sense of Von Gagern's motion. On the 5th of March the heir-apparent of the Grand-Ducal Crown, was declared co-regent, and on the 6th Von Gagern was appointed minister, who declared on announcing his acceptance of office to the Chambers, that the Government would urge upon the other Sovereigns the adoption of measures to unite Germany, and extend the liberties of Germans. In the state of Baden, co-terminous with Darmstadt and Wurtemberg, the movement was still more decided. There were riots in Karlsruhe on the 28th, a public meeting at Mannheim, and riots at Heidelberg on the 29th. The Baden ministers on the 29th of March, announced to the Chambers that they had intimated to the Diet at Frankfurt, that they could wait no longer for the general law for the press which it was preparing, and that they were about to introduce measures for establishing liberty of the press, introducing trial by jury, and arming the citizens. On the first of March they declared in the Chambers, that the law of the press passed in 1831, and suspended by order of the Diet, was revived. On the fourth they declared their intention to co-operate with other German Governments in re-constructing the confederation on a more popular basis. Movements of a more violent character were meanwhile in progress in Electoral Hesse. On the first of March a meeting of the Turn-Verein at Hanau, appointed a delegation to demand the universally desired reforms from the Elector. On the sixth, simultaneous public meetings of the citizens in Cassel and Hanau petitioned the legislature to the same effect. The Elector yielded with a worse grace than his neighbours, and not till after barricades had been erected in the streets of Hanau. At Leipzig, a public meeting of citizens held on the first of March, petitioned the King of Saxony to lend his aid in promoting the representation of the German people in the Diet, and the establishment of liberty of the press throughout Germany. Next day a similar step was taken by the University. The King attempted to put off the delegates who presented the petition with fair words, but yielded at last to renewed representations, backed by petitions from

various Saxon towns and villages. Bavaria did not remain inactive. Simultaneous meetings held in Munich and Nuremberg on the third of March, adopted the usual petitions for popular representation in the Diet of the Confederation, and liberty of the press. On the 7th a royal proclamation was issued, pledging the King to use his utmost efforts for the attainment of these objects. On the 21st, the King resigned in favour of his son. At Brunswick the movement began on the 5th of March, and in Hanover a few days later.

By the middle of March all the secondary German powers, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, the Hesses ducal and electoral, Saxony, Brunswick and Hanover, had yielded to the popular will. The movement was equally triumphant in the smaller States. The Dukes of Weimar and Gotha surrendered unconditionally on the 8th of March, and Henry LXXII. of Reuss on the 16th. The two great Governments at Vienna and Berlin were equally unable to resist. On the 11th of March the following proclamation was issued by the Emperor of Austria :—  
 “ Having taken existing political relations into consideration, we have resolved to assemble around our throne, representatives of our German, Slavonic, and Lombardo-Venetian territories, in order to receive the benefit of their advice on measures of legislation and administration. To this end we are making arrangements for their meeting at the latest on the 3d of July.”  
 The Austrian liberals, however, had no faith in the Government. An *émeute* began in Vienna on the 13th, on the occasion of the presentation of a petition to the Diet of Lower Austria, then in session ; Metternich fled ; the Government surrendered at discretion, and declared the Diet appointed to meet in June a constitutional assembly. In the Prussian territory there had been political disturbances at Cologne and elsewhere, as early as the 3d of March, and political clubs of all shades of opinion were indefatigably busy at Berlin. The Berlin *émeutes* broke out on the same day as those at Vienna, and the very next day a remarkable proclamation, of which the following is the substance, was issued by the King :—

“ We, Frederick William, &c. have, in conjunction with the Austrian Government, invited the confederate German Princes to hold without delay a common consultation on the measures required by the present difficult and dangerous relations of our German fatherland. We are determined to exert ourselves to the utmost for a real regeneration of the German Union, so that the German people really combined, and strengthened by free institutions, but at the same time guarded against anarchy, may re-attain their old greatness, and Germany re-assume its due place in the European system. Be the result of these exertions what they may, they will render necessary the

adoption of measures within our own territories which require the co-operation of the States-General, and they are, therefore, summoned to meet in Berlin on the 27th of April."

The period of their meeting was subsequently accelerated in deference to the popular impatience. But even before the States-General met—on the 28th of March—a petition was presented to the King in the name of eighteen of the most important towns of the Rhine Provinces, praying that a Representative Assembly might be substituted for the Estates-General. The consequence was, that the second and last meeting of the States-General of Prussia was opened on the 2d of April simply to have submitted to it on that day a bill for regulating the elections of a Representative Assembly, and on the 3d a bill for regulating the elections to a German Parliament.

This brief retrospect presents the spectacle of a number of simultaneous struggles between the different German sovereigns and their subjects, in all of which the latter were victorious. Throughout all the German States, from the greatest to the least, the people had between the 28th of February and the 2d of April, extorted from their Governments extended popular representation, better guarantees for the liberty of the people, and the emancipation of the press. Along with these, concessions had been obtained in almost every instance—a promise to co-operate in a re-construction of the German Confederation, on the principle of annexing to the delegates of the sovereigns, who formerly composed that body, a Representative Assembly elected in proportion to the population from all the States comprised in the Confederation. Hitherto our attention has been concentrated on movements which, though animated by one sentiment, guided by one opinion, were independent, isolated, and confined to local relations. We must now turn back to the period at which this narrative commenced, in order to trace the combined and centred efforts by which the establishment of a central German legislature and government in Frankfurt was brought about.

On the 1st of March a committee of seven was appointed at a meeting of Liberals in Heidelberg to prepare a draft of a German constitution, and adopt measures for assembling in Frankfurt a body of representatives from as many States as could be persuaded to send delegates. On the 2d of March an "official article" appeared in the Frankfurt *Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung*, in which "the German Diet, as the legal organ of national and political unity in Germany, appealed with confidence to the German Governments and the German people." This appeal is couched in terms sufficiently vague; but it declares that "upon the harmony and co-operation of the Govern-

ments and peoples of Germany depends the maintenance of law and tranquillity, of the security of person and property ;” and that “ Germany must be elevated to the position which is due to it among the nations of Europe, which can only be accomplished by perseverance in the path of legal progress and united development of institutions.” On the 9th the Diet issued a proclamation ordering the black, red, and gold flag—the colours of the old German empire—to be hoisted on all the buildings and in all the garrisons of the Confederation. On the 10th a resolution of more importance was passed at a meeting of the Diet : it was resolved to invite every Government belonging to the Confederation to send a delegate possessing the confidence of his fellow-subjects to assist the members of the Diet in preparing a draft of a new constitution for the Confederation, to be presented to the delegates about to assemble in Frankfurt for their approbation. These proclamations and resolutions show the conviction of the envoys of the German Governments who constituted the Council of the Diet at Frankfurt, that the revolution in progress was a reality, and that nothing was left for their masters, but by placing themselves at the head of it to save as much of their power out of the shipwreck as possible.

The proceedings of the Sovereigns represented in the Diet at their respective residences indicated a similar conviction. In the proclamation issued by the King of Prussia on the 14th of March, which has been already quoted, he intimated that “ in conjunction with Austria,” he had “ invited the confederate German Princes to hold without delay a common council” on the measures required by recent events. The King subsequently explained that envoys from every “ vote” in the Diet had been invited to meet at Dresden for this purpose. The meeting did not take place, but towards the close of March accredited delegates from the governments of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, and Nassau, repaired to Berlin, and after several deliberations with the Prussian ministers, and the Saxon ambassador at that Court, agreed that each of the seventeen votes in the permanent committee (*engerer Rath*) of the Diet should appoint a person enjoying the public confidence to assist the Diet in preparing the plan of a German Constitution.

On the 28th of March the delegates who responded to the call of the Heidelberg committee assembled at Frankfurt to the number of nearly 500. The committee had by this time prepared an elaborate draft of a Constitution. A more concise programme had likewise been prepared by the Diet and the seventeen. The two schemes differed but little in their general outline : that of the Diet, as might have been expected, aimed at retaining a greater amount of direction and influence to the



Governments. But the diplomatic fence which ensued between the Vor-Parlament (as the convention of delegates has since been called) had less reference to mere forms than to the question—of incalculable importance for the future—whether the assembling of a German Parliament should appear to proceed from an expression of the national will, or from a spontaneous concession of the Governments?

A meeting of the Diet was held on the 29th of March, at which a committee of eight was appointed to take part in the deliberations of the Vor-Parlament. Three liberal members of the Diet—Willich, (Bavaria,) Welcker, (Baden,) Jordan, (Electoral Hesse)—appointed since, and in consequence of the revolutionary movements in these States, were placed upon the committee. On the 30th of March the Diet decreed that a Representative Assembly of the whole of Germany should assemble without delay at Frankfurt; that representatives should be elected for every 70,000 souls; and that States whose entire population did not exceed 70,000, should send each one representative. The question in how far the Vor-Parlament could or ought to acquiesce in this assumption of authority on the part of the Diet was keenly debated. On the 2d of April a declaratory motion was submitted to the former body by the delegate Zitz, to the effect that they could not co-operate with the Diet until the “exceptional laws” which had from time to time been passed by it had been rescinded, and the members who supported them ejected. A modification of his motion, so expressed as to avoid a collision with the Governments, was carried; but this did not satisfy the ultra-democrats, who seceded from the Vor-Parlament in consequence. It was next day officially intimated to the Vor-Parlament that the Diet had rescinded the exceptional laws the second day, and that the envoys aimed at in M. Zitz’s motion were about to send in their resignation to their respective Governments. The seceding minority were satisfied with this result, and resumed their seats. It was agreed that the mode of election to the first German Parliament should be left to the decision of each Government within its own territories. A motion was brought forward by the ultra-democrats in the Vor-Parlament declaring it permanent till the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. This resolution was so far modified on the motion of Heinrich von Gagern, that the Vor-Parlament declared itself “morally permanent,” and appointed a committee of fifty, (to whom were to be added any Prussian and Austrian delegates who might arrive in the interim,) to adopt measures for facilitating the commencement of the Assembly’s deliberations. It was agreed that the task of preparing a Constitution should be left to the Assembly.

Members of the German Constituent National Assembly began to appear in Frankfurt about the end of April. They continued to hold preliminary meetings till the 17th of May, when upwards of 300 having arrived, it was resolved formally to constitute the Assembly the next day. This was done with due solemnity; and arrangements made for verifying the mandates of the Deputies. On the 19th of May, the Assembly proceeded to elect an *Interim* President, and Heinrich von Gagern was chosen by 305 votes out of 397. After the commissions of the Delegates had been verified, it was resolved that a President, two Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries should be elected every month. Von Gagern was again chosen President by a still larger majority, and has been re-elected every month by increasing majorities. On being appointed permanent President, he resigned the office of President of the Darmstadt Cabinet, to devote himself entirely to the business of the National Assembly.

It was soon discovered that the task of preparing a Constitution would involve protracted discussion. In the meantime, the relations of the Constituent Assembly to the Diet, and to the various State Governments of the Confederation were full of jealousy and difficulties. The conviction rapidly gained ground, that, in order to strengthen the hands of the representatives, it was necessary to combine an interim Central Executive with them. Accordingly a law for establishing a Provisional Central Government in Germany was passed on the 28th of June, by a majority of 450 to 100. This law was in substance as follows:—

“ A Provisional Central Power for regulating the public relations of Germany shall be appointed, till such time as the Constitution is completed. To this Provisional Government shall be confided:—1. The executive authority in everything that concerns the security and prosperity of Confederated Germany. 2. The control of the army of the Confederation, with power to appoint commanders-in-chief. 3. The right to act in the name of Germany, in all questions of international or commercial politics; and, to this end, the appointment of ambassadors and consuls. No voice in the framing of the Constitution is conceded to the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government is empowered to enter into treaties, and to decide on war or peace with Foreign Powers, in concert with the National Assembly. The provisional central authority is to be vested in a Vicar of the Empire, (*Reichs-verweser*), elected by the Assembly. The Vicar of the Empire acts by the instrumentality of ministers, whom he appoints, and who are responsible to the Assembly. The Vicar of the Empire is irresponsible, and cannot be a member of Assembly. His ministers have a right to be present at the Assembly's deliberations, and to speak, but not to vote, unless they are members. They are bound to attend and give any explanations required by the Assembly. The existence of, and authority of the Diet ceases and determines as soon

as a Vicar of the Empire is appointed. It is left to the Central Provisional Government to make arrangements with the plenipotentiaries of the Confederated States for the execution of its decrees. As soon as the Constitution has been completed, and has passed into a law, then the authority of the Central Provisional Government ceases and determines."

In conformity with this law, the Assembly proceeded, on the 29th of June, to elect a Vicar of the Empire. Out of 548 votes, 436 were given for the Archduke John of Austria. The dissentients appear to have been influenced in their adverse votes more by a desire to assert a principle,—to take up their ground as a constitutional opposition,—than to oppose the election. Twenty-seven members declined to vote; 52 voted for Heinrich von Gagern; 32 for Adam von Itzstein; and one peculiar gentleman voted for the Archduke Stephen.

Intimation of his election was immediately transmitted by a deputation of seven members of the Assembly, selected from the different parties, to the Archduke John at Vienna. He frankly accepted it, with the express sanction of his Court. On his way to Frankfurt, he visited several Courts, among others, those of Saxony and Prussia, who expressed their acquiescence in, and approbation of his election. Soon after his arrival in Frankfurt, envoys with addresses of recognition and congratulation appeared from several other German Governments. On the 12th of July, the President and members of the Diet present in Frankfurt solemnly resigned their functions to the Vicar of the Empire, and declared their Council finally dissolved. He was presented on the same day to the Assembly, and solemnly vowed obedience to the law under which he had been appointed. His election was confirmed and acquiesced in by the German Governments; but it was made independently of them by the representatives of the German people in the Assembly. As if to render this fact more apparent, seventy-two members entered an explanation on the protocol of the meeting, that they took part in the election solely in the hope that the Governments would acquiesce in it. This expression of submission to the Governments placed all who did not sign it in the position of men who declared that they proceeded to the election in utter indifference to the light in which it might be viewed by the Governments.

The Archduke lost no time in completing the organization of his Government. Previous engagements at Vienna prevented him from immediately taking up his abode at Frankfurt; but on the 15th July, he announced to the Assembly the nomination of a Minister of Home and Foreign Affairs, and Ministers of Justice and of War. The completion of his Cabinet, by the appointment of a President, the distribution of the Home and Foreign depart-

ments between two Ministers, and the appointment of Ministers of Finance and Commerce was notified on the 10th of August. On the 21st of that month, the Minister of Foreign Affairs communicated to the Assembly the fact, that ambassadors had been appointed to the French Government, the Court of St. James', and some secondary States of Europe. The Minister of the Interior announced that the King of Hanover, the only German sovereign who had hesitated to recognise without reserve the authority of the Central Power, had intimated his submission. The following note had been received from M. von Bothmer :—" As plenipotentiary of the Hanoverian Government, I have been authorized to acknowledge, without reservation, the authority of the Central Power, and the law by which it has been instituted." The same Minister adverted to the progress made in fitting out a German fleet ; an undertaking commenced under the auspices of the Committee of Fifty. The Minister of War reported the progress made in augmenting and completing the organization of the army of the Confederation. The Minister of Finance could only promise to report on the state of the Exchequer of the Confederation on an early day : this promise, however, he fulfilled on the 25th. The German Governments having recognised the Central Government as the legitimate successor of the Council of the Confederation, (*Bundesversammlung*,) it of course inherits the means and liabilities of that body. The income consists of annual contributions from the different Governments incorporated in the Confederation in proportion to their means, and a separate fund for meeting the costs of the Record Department, (*Bundescanzleicasse*,) raised by equal contributions from the seventeen votes in the Standing Committee of the Diet. The expenditure of the Diet embraced salaries and pensions, travelling-expenses, expenses of commissions, &c. ; but the main outlay was devoted to the maintenance of the fortresses of the Confederation. The funds transferred to the new Ministers of Finance amounted to nearly three millions of florins. Of this, however, considerably more than two millions and a half were in deposit (upon interest) with the house of Rothschild and Sons, and appropriated to the maintenance of the fortresses. The whole amount of cash in hand did not exceed 63,825 florins in the general treasury, and 16,872 in the special treasury of the Record Department. There were arrears due from some of the Governments, but of inconsiderable amount. These, it was subsequently reported, had been promptly and cheerfully paid up. The interim-government could, of course, only raise funds in the manner prescribed by the decrees of the Diet ; and the Minister of Finance did not conceal from the Assembly that the expenditure of the Central Power must considerably exceed that of the Diet. In point of fact, the

cost of the previously existing shadow of a Central Government, and of diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations, had hitherto been borne by the Governments. These would now fall to be disbursed from the Central Treasury; and, in addition to these, the indispensable outlay of the National Assembly. A budget of Ways and Means for the last four months of 1848 was promised for an early day, and a confident hope expressed, that the increased cost of the Central Government might be amply compensated by simplification and reduction of expenditure in each of the Confederate Governments.

In itself, this new central Government of Germany is unquestionably weak. Its pecuniary resources are limited to the revenue which it has inherited from the Diet, and this is obviously inadequate to meet its ordinary expenditure. Whence, then, could it derive means to defray the expense of reducing to submission a refractory Government or Governments? The Assembly might vote an augmented revenue, but the concurrence of the plenipotentiaries of the different German Governments at Frankfurt would be required to give its vote validity, and the active concurrence of the Governments themselves to carry it into execution. Again, the army of the Central Power is not only raised in contingents by the several Governments from among their own subjects, but each contingent is paid by the Government which raises it. The army of the Central Power is, moreover, only a small part of the troops kept permanently on foot by the Governments. The fortresses are nominally in the hands of the central Government, but they are garrisoned by troops in the equivocal position we have pointed out. The expense they entail is certain; the strength they bestow dubious; nor are they all immediately in the hands of the central power. Landau is directly administered and maintained by Bavaria. The Central Government can only act by and through the State Governments; and is dependent upon their continued goodwill for the power of enforcing its decrees. Its *interim* character necessarily adds to its weakness. Foreign Governments cannot be expected to negotiate with it, instead of the separate States of the Confederation, until time, and the visible appearance of confirmed strength, afford them a guarantee that it can compel the whole of Germany to fulfil its engagements. The doubts of foreigners will re-act upon public opinion at home, and enfeeble it there also. The central power is very weak; and without an efficient executive Government to uphold and defend it, a legislative assembly is but a name.

On the other hand, the State Governments of Germany are equally weak, if not more so. The central Government is the creation quite as much of the Governments as the people of

Central Germany. Before a national assembly was called together, all power had passed into the hands of the popular party in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Nassau, the Hesses, ducal and electoral, Brunswick, and Saxony. In all these States the sovereigns were in the hands of ministries more or less liberal, dependent for their continuance in office upon their power to command parliamentary majorities. In all these States, the predominant public feeling was, that the German Confederation, as organized in 1815, was merely a device for enabling Austria and Prussia to encourage or compel the minor Governments of Germany to resist the progress of liberal opinion, and withhold free institutions. The Frankfurt Diet was felt to be powerless for good, powerful to frustrate the exertions of liberal representative assemblies and ministers, even when countenanced by honest and well-disposed princes. It was the irresistible pressure of this feeling that occasioned the universal breaking up of institutions of the States we have named in March last; a shattering of dynasties as startling and complete as the *débacle* of the Rhine or Danube. The convention of a constituent assembly for Germany, with a view to the construction of a central Government, was proposed by the ministers of those countries as a measure of necessity. There was no escape from impending anarchy, except by calling into existence a central power to uphold the local Governments, or inviting the armies of Austria and Prussia to restore order by force. Subsequent events have shown that neither Austria nor Prussia was in a condition to take such a step; but even though their power had been as great as it was believed to be, their intervention was likely to have proved as fatal to the authority of the Governments as to the liberties of the people. The secondary sovereigns of Germany sought shelter under a central power from the encroachments of Austria and Prussia. Under the former they might retain some of their former pomp and power; under the latter they were almost certain to be mediatised. The constituent assembly and the central power are the work quite as much of the professional statesmen as of the people of that large part of Germany which lies south of the Hanoverian and Prussian territories, and extends from the Rhine to the Elbe.

His truculent majesty of Hanover, and such petty refractories as the Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen, must follow, however reluctantly, in the wake of the higher powers. In point of fact, therefore, the question, whether there shall be a free and united Germany, depends upon the disposition of Austria and Prussia, and the comparative power of these Governments to oppose, and of the governments of Central Germany to promote it. The German territories held by Austria are, the Tyrol, Austria Proper,



Bohemia, and the strip of country stretching southward to Trieste. Of resistance to the central power, if duly supported by the States which have called it into existence, Austria is at this moment incapable. The cabinet at Vienna holds the Slavonic, Magyar, and Italian provinces, upon a precarious tenure; and the administration of the German provinces is less in its hands than in those of the populace of the capital. The Austrian finances are notoriously in a state of bankruptcy, and the nobles, who constitute the strength of the Metternich party, are equally embarrassed. The extravagant expenditure with which the wide-domained magnates of the Austrian empire have so long imposed upon Europe, has drained their resources to the lowest ebb. For some years back they have impetrated from their Government the extraordinary privilege of raising money upon the issue of notes or bills for indeterminate periods, a certain amount of which were to be redeemed from time to time, the number to be redeemed on each occasion to be decided by lottery. The market has in consequence been flooded with a bastard paper-money, bearing the names of Esterhazy, Windischgrätz, Waldstein, &c. The amounts for which notes were issued were so low, and the chances of gain apparently so great, that they were greedily caught up by the poorer classes. A gambling spirit was thus diffused through the whole of society, the course of the exchange was deranged, and the apparently wealthy Austrian nobility placed in the condition of men who live by keeping a *rouge et noir* bank. The re-action of this semi-swindling method of raising the wind materially contributed to the paralysis of all government in Austria. The high aristocrats avail themselves of the imbecility of the Emperor, the clannish fidelity of the Tyrolese, and the national antipathies of the mixed population of the empire, to obstruct the establishment of a constitutional administration, and the incorporation of German Austria into the German Confederation; but the beggary of the imperial treasury, and of the peculiar treasuries of the re-actionary magnates, disenables them to establish a Government of their own. The German sentiment is probably weaker in the Austrian territories than in any other part of Germany; but the Austrian Government can do nothing; and the election of an Austrian prince to be Vicar of the empire cannot fail to flatter the subjects of his family, and strengthen the German party among them.

Austria is only in part, Prussia is entirely a German power. The Prussian civil administration is highly centralized, and for all purposes of mere routine administration the departments are admirably organised and well manned. The army is numerous, efficient, and ably officered. But the finances of Prussia, though

by no means in such a wretched state as those of Austria, are far from being in a condition to admit of decided hostile action against the central power on the part of the Government. A highly centralized administration is necessarily a costly one, and the Prussian army is much larger than the means of the State warrant. The greater part of the Prussian public revenue is raised by taxes; the income from the domains—a civil list having been set apart, has been in part devoted to contribute to the ordinary public expenditure, in part mortgaged to the national debt. The Crown was pledged not to increase the debt except after consulting and obtaining the consent of the States General, to whose functions and privileges a representative Assembly has succeeded. It was (though unavowedly) the impending necessity of contracting more debt that led to the convening of the States General in April 1847; and the hampered condition of Prussian finance contributes materially to keep the king so tame. There is another reason: the German party is strong in the monarchy. In the part of Saxony and in the Rhine provinces incorporated into it, this party is decidedly in the majority. The constitutional party in the old Prussian territories is obliged to strengthen itself by an alliance with the German party of new Prussia. This state of affairs in a country where every man is educated, and every man trained to arms, neutralizes the immense standing army. At this moment (October 5) an army of well-nigh 50,000 men, with 80 field-pieces, and all the munition of war, is concentrated in the immediate vicinity of Berlin; a military man of daring temper has been placed at the head of the Cabinet; and yet the king is obliged to temporize with and yield to not only his own Prussian Constituent Assembly, but to that which is sitting in Frankfurt. He dare not use his soldiers against the one, nor appeal to Prussian nationality against the other.

At present, therefore, all appearances are in favour of the Central Government and legislature of Germany being able to gain time, and thereby consolidate and extend their authority. A deeper glance into the constitution of German society tends rather to confirm than invalidate this opinion. There are in favour of the permanence and growth of the central authority material benefits which it alone can confer—that general conformity of opinion and sentiment which constitutes a nation—and some scattered institutional elements wherefrom to frame a constitution.

The material benefits to be derived from the union of Germany into a confederate State with a central Government, are many. The treaty of Vienna declared that all navigable rivers within the territory of the Confederation should be free through-

out their course to the subjects of the *états riverains*. The Diet was unable to enforce this convention. On the 17th of July a petition from the shipping interest of Ulm was presented to the Constituent Assembly at Frankfurt, which shows that this article of the treaty of Vienna has been systematically contravened on the Danube. On the Rhine and Maine the want of an efficient central authority has prevented the improvement of the navigation, and left Holland at liberty to injure materially the shipping interests of Germany. The pertinacity of Hanover in exacting the injurious toll-dues at Stade, on the Elbe, is another consequence of the want of a real central Government. The existence of the Zollverein is a further proof how much the material interests of Germany require a central authority. According to the original draft of a constitution for the Confederation by Von Stein, commercial intercourse between the various States of the Union was to be emancipated from all customs duties. The duties levied on the Rhine and sea-frontiers were to be such only as were required for purposes of revenue, and were to be levied and appropriated by the central authority of the Confederation. The omission of this provision in the Act of Confederation rendered necessary the imperfect substitution of a Prussian Zollverein, which has embraced only part of Germany, and has been thwarted and counteracted by Austria on the one hand, and the Hanoverian and Oldenburg Customs' League on the other. Again, about the beginning of the present year, two conventions of delegates from German States were held in Leipzig. The object of the one was to devise a general law of monetary exchange for Germany, of the other to devise the means of establishing a general German Post-office. There is not a mercantile man in Germany who does not feel the importance of carrying these two measures; but the necessity of subjecting the plans agreed upon by the conventions to the separate discussions and modifications of every German legislature rendered the realization of them hopeless. The extension of the railroad-system in Germany has added a new motive for wishing to have it incorporated under one central Government. And the external as well as the internal relations of Germany have conspired to confirm the desire for unity. It has been found that the petty princes among whom it was partitioned are ever ready to purchase from the foreigner seeming advantages for themselves, or even mere flattery to their vanity, at the expense of the general interests of Germany.

The existence of a general national sentiment in Germany is as certain as the community of its material interests. The mass of the population springs from four great stems—the Frank,

the Bavarian, the Suabian, and the Saxon—all speaking dialects of one tongue. These were subjected to one sovereign by Charlemagne, and severed from that portion of his dominions in which *romance* tongues prevailed on the extinction of his family. The Wendish element of population in the north-east, and the Sclavonian in the south-east, have been more or less Germanized by the establishment of German colonies and the introduction of German institutions. Germany derived its moral and religious culture mainly from the Church of Rome; but on its eastern frontier the influence of Greek missionaries encountered and set limits to those of Rome. To this was owing the struggle respecting the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both elements, of which Bohemia was the centre, but which also spread over Austria, Tyrol, and great part of Bavaria, paving the way for a fair hearing to the apostles of the Lutheran and Zwinglian reforms. The early development of the mining industry of Meissen and the Harz districts, combined with their position on the line of one of the great commercial routes of Germany, accelerated the intellectual and industrial development of these provinces, contributed to their becoming the fortresses and cities of refuge of the Reformation in Germany, and to the ascendancy which their dialect has obtained in the literature of the land. The classical language of Germany—enriched as it has been by the great writers of the latter half of last century, and their successors in the present, has helped to cast the minds of all Germans in one mould. The numerous Universities of Germany, more intimately connected with practical professional and political life than those of any other country, have aided in the development of a national spirit. Previous to 1846, the Austrian army was manned and officered by recruits from all parts of the empire; during the depressed era of Prussia which followed the battle of Jena, her best officers sought service in the ranks of other German princes, and the Bavarian army, in particular, was mainly organized by them; of late years every prince in Germany has eagerly and systematically recruited the ranks both of his civil and military services, by the best talents that he could win from neighbouring states. Not a few landed proprietors hold estates under more than one Government; some sovereign princes were members of Prussian Diets in virtue of property they possessed in its provinces. Lastly, the commercial towns of one State are not unfrequently dependent on the manufacturing towns of another for their most profitable transactions. All these crossing and intersecting relations have nourished among the Germans the sense of a common nationality.

Lastly, there are existing institutions in Germany which ad-

mit of being made the stem whereon a united Government may be grafted. Till 1806 Germany was at least nominally an empire. The extinction of Charlemagne's family, and the substitution of an elective emperor had, it is true, favoured the early development of territorial sovereignties. Long before the Prussian monarch assumed the title of king, the suzerainté of the emperor over the more powerful families was little more than a name. But it at least imparted a uniformity to the institutions of the various States favourable to their re-combination. The ambition of Prussia and Austria, and still more perhaps of the *parvenu* kinglings of the Confederation of the Rhine, prevented the amalgamation of Germany into one State, as was contemplated by Von Stein and other high-minded patriots of 1813; but the imperfect German Confederation, and its feeble Diet in Frankfurt, at least preserved the tradition of the empire. And now the Central Government, by the express declarations of the German sovereigns, succeeds to the authority of the Diet, and is to receive extended powers. It finds a Zollverein already existing over great part of Germany, of which it is the most natural administrator. It finds the first steps taken towards the establishment of a uniform post-office system, of which it, too, will be the natural administrator. The necessity of a uniform commercial code for Germany is proclaimed aloud, and the draft of an exchange law has been promulgated and generally approved: one commercial code for Germany implies one supreme court at least for appeals, and here is another instrument of central power.

Material wants, national sentiment, fragmentary institutions, admitting of further development and combination—all are in favour of the permanence and growth of the central power. The obstacles in the way of its consolidation are:—the personal ambition of sovereigns; the numerous organized armies of the more important States; the interests of the bureaucracies which swarm in Germany; and the aristocracy who turn the vanity of monarchs and the pageantry and profit of civil and military employment alike to their advantage. But the power of the aristocracy has been effectually broken in Germany. Many old families have died out. Von Stein mentions one province in which the imperial equestrian families who about the year 1700 were 140 in number, had dwindled away to four in 1825. The beggared condition of the great Austrian magnates has already been alluded to. A large amount of landed property—partly by the extinction of noble families, partly by the secularisation and sale of Church lands, and the sale of Crown domains—has passed to the bourgeoisie. Manufacturing and mercantile wealth has of late years rapidly increased in Germany. The sovereigns are

effectually checked within their own territories by the rights they have conceded to elective legislatures. And where both kings and nobles are poor, neither armies nor civil officials are implicitly to be relied upon.

To all human appearance, a central constitutional Government is a necessity of the time and country. And upon this more than on any other consideration we are disposed to rely in the attempt to conjecture the future course and results of the German revolution. Of the men who have taken a prominent part in the convulsion it is too early to pronounce a decided opinion. Von Gagern has displayed a rare talent for directing the discussions of a popular assembly : Lichnowski (the early lost) on the conservative side, and Venedey on the liberal, with many others, have displayed undoubted aptitude for debate and business. And what is of still more importance, this *impromptu* assembly collected from all parts of Germany, composed of men for the most part new to political business, has shown a readiness to conform to the rules of a legislative assembly, a diffidence in its own judgments, and withal a degree of courage that could scarcely have been anticipated. Discussions of the most heterogeneous nature, yet of the most urgent importance, cannot fail to force themselves upon this inexperienced body—foreign relations, commercial policy, the conflicting claims of the privileged and popular classes, not impossibly ecclesiastical reforms. It is easy to foresee many absurd controversies fiercely urged, and many impolitic measures rashly adopted. But the ease with which the red republicans of Germany have been suppressed during the paralysis of all government, and the general character of the German sovereigns, afford grounds for hope that time will be given to clear up erroneous conceptions, and retract false steps. The condition of neighbouring States is also favourable to the prosecution of the important experiment now making in Germany.

On the whole the balance of probabilities appears to incline to the opinion that the German revolution is a *fait accompli*; that the central power with its national assembly is in the language of English journalism—"a great fact."



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- ART. I.—1. *Trois Mois au Pouvoir.* Par M. de LAMARTINE. Paris, 1848.
2. *Memoirs of Citizen Caussidière, Ex-Prefect of Police and Representative of the People.* 2 vols. London, 1848.
3. *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux.* Par ÉMILE THOMAS. Paris, 1848.
4. *La Révolution de Février au Luxembourg.* Par LOUIS BLANC. Paris, 1848.
5. *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété, ou, Recherches sur le Principe du Droit et du Gouvernement.* Par P. J. PROUDHON. Première édition, Paris, 1840; Nouvelle édition, Paris, 1848.
6. *Le Droit au Travail à l'Assemblée Nationale, Recueil Complet de tous les Discours prononcés dans cette Mémorable Discussion; avec une Introduction et des Notes.* Par M. JOSEPH GARNIER. Paris, 1848.
7. *De la Propriété.* Par M. A. THIERS. Edition augmentée. Paris, 1848.
8. *Le Socialisme; Droit au Travail, Réponse à M. Thiers.* Par LOUIS BLANC. Paris, 1848.
9. *Lettres sur l'organisation du Travail; ou Etudes sur les Principales Causes de la Misère.* Par MICHEL CHEVALIER. Paris, 1848.
10. *Jérôme Paturot à la Recherche de la Meilleure des Républiques.* Par LOUIS REYBAUD. Paris, 1848.

AT the moment that the dynasty of Louis-Philippe was overthrown, the sovereignty of France fell into the hands of the people of Paris. What use they were to make of the opportunity, what character they were to give to the Revolution that they had just effected, depended on the collective tenor at that

moment of their political prepossessions and wishes. What those prepossessions and wishes were, however, it has required subsequent events to make clear.

One thing, indeed, was decided from the very beginning. France was to be a Republic. Abolishing royalty, and accounting the events of the preceding fifty years as a mere interruption, in part splendid and in part disastrous, of the great career of self-government that had been begun in 1792, the French people were now to resume that career in a new spirit, and under better auspices. So much may be said to have been agreed upon from the first; it was virtually settled by the people in the streets, and if there were any dissentients, they were obliged to hide themselves. Another point also may be said to have been settled at the same time; namely, that the Republic thus revived was to be a Republic based on universal suffrage. To stop at a restricted system of suffrage, such as satisfied the men of the first Revolution, was doubtless impossible. At all events the attempt was not made.

A Republic, then, and a Republic based on universal suffrage, such was the lowest result that the people would accept from the Revolution of February. To this all classes were obliged to make up their minds, Louis-Philippists and Legitimists, Politicians and Bourgeoisie; and all that the more moderate spirits of the country could hope was, that by uniting their efforts they might be able to arrest the movement at this stage, and prevent it from going any farther.

To English readers, accustomed to regard a Republic, and, above all, a Republic based on universal suffrage, as a condition of things beyond which nothing else exists to be either desired or dreaded, these words "any farther" may appear strange. But when it is considered that the word Republic is only the name for a particular method of electing the governors of a country, and that it implies nothing as to the set of principles that shall prevail in the Government, except indeed a certain conformity at all times to the will of the majority, this wonder will vanish, and it will be seen how among Republicans themselves there may be differences of moderate and extreme. One class of persons, for example, may desire a Republic as an end, and for its own sake, that is from a mere general conviction that this is the likeliest form of Government to secure the prosperity of a nation; another class of persons may desire it rather as a means, in other words, from a conviction that, if this form of Government were established, then certain favourite theories that they are obliged in the meantime to keep in reserve, might be put in practice. It was precisely so in Paris on the 24th of February last. The effective Revolutionists of that day were

not a single compact body feeling together and moving together ; they were a great straggling multitude, of which one battalion marched far in advance of the rest. One portion of them desired a Republic because they believed it would put an end to the corruption that existed, and secure better government for the future ; but many desired it more expressly because they had predetermined in their own minds certain things that they would do when they had got it.

Of the moderate Republican party, desiring the Republic for its own sake, or at least for the sake of the general prospect of good that it held out, the natural leaders were Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and other members of the small radical section in the old Chamber of Deputies. Their chief organ out of doors was the *National* newspaper, edited by Marrast. To them was attached the generous and high-souled Lamartine. If not a Republican before in the precise sense in which they had been Republicans, he had at least had democratic visions of his own ; he had fought the battle of reform along with them, and had stood boldly when Barrot had flinched ; and now that the hour of the Republic was come, he had been the first to close with it and lend it his voice.

Such was the Moderate Republican Party, the recognised and traditional Republicans of France, the successors and admirers of Armand Carrel, called from the position of a small minority of Parliamentary Radicals, to a supreme place in the eyes of the nation. To indicate the nature of their prepossessions and views, they may be called the Political Republicans, that is, the Republicans who having all along directed their efforts to the establishment of a Republic as an end, were willing, now that the end was gained, to wait for the response of the people. Very different from these were the Republicans that remain to be described. Confident that the Republic would come, but weary of waiting for it, they had turned their attention, in the meantime, by way of preparation, to certain deep social questions, the settlement of which, they believed, would form the first and principal business of the Republic whenever it should arrive. In the preliminary study of these questions, in the search beforehand for solutions or even approximate solutions to some of them, they were already, they believed, serving the future Republic, at the same time that they were procuring intellectual pleasure for themselves. "Let others," they said, "strive in the political arena to bring in the Republic ; we will assist them when it is necessary to do so, but meanwhile we will rehearse our parts in an imaginary Republic of our own." These were the Social, or the Social and Democratic Republicans, that is, the Republicans who, in virtue of the zeal with which they had studied certain social changes that they thought would take place

in a Republic, had come to value the Republic itself chiefly as a means for bringing about those changes. They had kept their promise, indeed, of fighting for the Republic when the chance came, nay, they had fought with double ardour; but they had fought with doctrines in their heads, and, when the fight was over, they stood aloof from their companions and attempted to dictate. "You have done your part," they said, "in achieving the Republic; and now we will show you what to do with it." Let us examine a little more closely into the constitution of this party, and the nature of its tenets.

The grand peculiarity of the party consisted, as all know, in certain sanguine preconceptions that it entertained as to the possibility of a sudden amelioration of the condition of the working-classes.

The father of these new social speculations in their most general form was Saint-Simon. It was he who, more than thirty years before, had thrown forth the idea, since become familiar, that a great crisis of European society was at hand; when not only should industrial interests assume the preponderance in politics, but the industrial mind itself should seize the administration; it was he that had set the example to theorists of a certain class, by proposing his ideal of society as it should be,—an ideal which consisted in a supposed hierarchical arrangement of all the members on the one great principle, that every man should be stationed according to his capacity, and paid in proportion to his services; and it was from him also, or at least from his school, that had emanated the proposition, so subversive in its purpose, for reducing all men to an original equality of chances, by abolishing the law of inheritance. Many of the Saint-Simonians, it is true, had abandoned their attitude of hostility to the existing *régime*, and, retaining their doctrines only as speculations, had even taken office as public functionaries. Others, however, maintaining their character as members of a Church-militant, had joined the ranks of the democracy, adapting the Saint-Simonian creed for immediate service, and suiting portions of it to the popular taste. Of these the most eminent was Pierre Leroux, the founder of a philosophic sect called Humanitarians. His most distinguished pupil, and his assistant in the work of disseminating his peculiar democratic generalities among the people, was George Sand.

Tributary to this great stream of Saint-Simonian speculation, were the theories of the Fourierists. From them had emanated the doctrine of co-operation, as applied to industry; the idea of associating mankind universally into little communities, or phalanxes, by the operation of their natural inclinations and tastes, each community to form a united firm or copartnership of various

trades; drawing their provision from a common fund, and dividing the profits periodically among the members, according to the three categories of Labour, Capital, and Talent; labour to share as five, capital as four, and talent as three, in the distribution. In this scheme of the Fourierists, it will be observed, and particularly in its subordination of capital and talent to labour, there was, as compared with the scheme of the Saint-Simonians, a decidedly levelling tendency, a decided tendency to assimilate human conditions, and make all men socially equal. And yet, in recognising capital and talent at all as entitled to consideration in the distribution of material advantages, Fourier clearly meant to uphold private property, and to assert some degree of social inequality to be necessary and inevitable. Still there was enough of absolute Chartism in the system to make it a powerful democratic engine; and, accordingly, among the democratic forces at work in France before the Revolution of February, may be reckoned the whole body of the Phalangsterians or Fourierists, represented in the press by the *Démocratie Pacifique*, and other journals, and headed in the public eye by Victor Considérant, their ablest man, and the ordained successor of Fourier. How little, however, the Fourierists were expecting the speedy arrival of the democratic epoch that they longed for, or how little they desired a social outbreak at all, is shown by the fact, that only a month or two before the Revolution, Considérant in dedicating (without permission) the third edition of his *Destinée Sociale* to Louis-Philippe, expressed a hope that the King himself might yet lay the foundation-stone of the first Phalangstère, and thereby win an honour for the dynasty of Orleans.

A more formidable contribution to the new democratic philosophy than either the magnificent generalities of the Saint-Simonians, or the impracticable schemes of the Fourierists, were the theories of the so-called Communists. The peculiarity of Communism, as compared with either Saint-Simonianism or Fourierism, consists in its total abrogation of all social inequality between man and man. Saint-Simonianism, we have seen, is almost an aristocratic creed: it proposes, indeed, a revolution in the present order of things, but the system of society that it would build up instead, would be a gorgeous hierarchy of functions, spiritual and temporal, in form resembling the Catholic system of the Middle Ages, all authority proceeding from above downwards. Fourierism, on the other hand, would arrange mankind in corporations smaller and larger on a level platform, each corporation, from the smallest to the largest, delegating the powers of government upwards to officers chosen by itself. So far, therefore, it is more democratic, more republican in its spirit than Saint-Simonianism. Even Fourierism, however, re-

tains differences of rank and wealth, and stops short of absolute social equality. To both systems alike Communism says, No. Absolute and entire social equality, in other words, absolute and entire equality in respect of the material advantages of life, notwithstanding all the natural inequalities of health, strength, talent, virtue, and energy, that do subsist, and perhaps will ever continue to subsist, between man and man; this is essentially what Communism demands. It does not necessarily deny the natural inequalities that have been alluded to; it may or it may not hold these inequalities to be temporary and destined to gradual extinction as society advances; it does not even necessarily deny that they should exert an influence over the mass of human relations; but it maintains, at least, that any such influence ought to be confined to the feelings, to the purely moral relations between soul and soul, and ought to have no issue into the sphere of material things. All human beings, whatever they may be in the eye of the Infinite, are here but citizens of one common planet, crowded, as it were, upon a given weight of earth, and having at their disposal but the limited quantity of material products and comforts that they can extract out of it. Let these creatures of the Infinite regard each other as they choose—with love, admiration, dislike—all as their Infinite instincts guide them, soul recognising soul through the veil of the body; but let the inequality stop here; let not heaven and earth be commingled, and let not any man, in virtue of any advantages that he may possess in the sphere of the illimitable, claim, or be allowed to have, a larger interest than another in the limited fund of material wealth that is the property of all. Whatever may be the differences of value between man and man, regarded from the *supra-mundane* point of view, (which we assume when we exercise our affections,) in the society of this world, at least, and considered as a co-partnership of individuals associated to till and otherwise modify to their use a given extent of earth, all men are equally units.

Such, in its highest and most abstract form, seems to be the doctrine of Communism. In a vague sentimental shape we see it lying deep in the popular mind of all ages, producing usually only dumb discontent, but roused now and then, by the force of special misery, into something almost resembling a scientific expression.

“ Alaboon, Sir Priest, Alaboon !  
 By your priestship now give me to see ;  
 Sir Galfred the knight, that liveth hard by,  
 Why should he be greater than me ? ”

Perhaps the first germ of the doctrine, in the modern shape in which it has been since developed, is to be found in the writ-



ings of Rousseau. "He that first inclosed a piece of land, and said, *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe it, was," says Rousseau, "the real founder of civil society. How many wars, crimes, and massacres—how many miseries and horrors would have been spared to the human race, had some one levelled the boundary, filled up the ditch, and said to his companions, 'Beware of this impostor; you are lost if you forget that the fruits belong to all, and the earth to no one.'" Among the anarchical expansions of this doctrine that sprang up about the time of the first French Revolution, the most remarkable was that of Gracchus Babeuf, who was guillotined in 1796, for an attempt to overthrow the Directory, and subvert the Republican Constitution then in force. Babeuf was the President of a club whose object it was to establish a true and absolute democracy, by means of an equal partition among all of the property monopolized by the few. The readiest way to effect this in any State, would be to confiscate all the property existing in it at any given moment, and portion it out in strictly equal divisions among the citizens; but the plan of Babeuf, as expounded after his death by his disciple and panegyrist, Buonarotti, was somewhat slower and more cautious. "To establish by the laws a public order, in which proprietors, while retaining provisionally their effects, should find neither abundance, nor pleasure, nor respect; where, forced to spend the greater part of their revenues in expenses of cultivation and in tolls, crushed by a weight of progressive taxation, set aside from public business, deprived of all influence, and forming in the State but a suspected class of foreigners, they should be at last forced to emigrate, leaving their goods behind them, or to seal with their own adhesion the establishment of universal community"—such was the scheme of Babeuf, as described by Buonarotti. In other words, the class of proprietors was to be extirpated, not at once, but by a process of gradual corrosion.

This class of Communists, frequently distinguished as the Babouvists, and sometimes also as the Equalitarians, or Equalitarian Communists, is all but extinct in France. The Communism now in vogue is of the species named Fraternal Communism, of which the chief expositor is M. Cabet, formerly Attorney-General under Louis-Philippe, and member of the Chamber of Deputies, and not long since an exile in England. In essence, the theory of Cabet is the same as that of Babeuf, namely, that all the members of society should share equally the material advantages at command; the difference between the two theorists being a difference rather of spirit and temper. Babeuf was an anarchist, a man of hard and desperate resources, ready for any amount of rigour necessary for the application of his

scheme. Cabet is a quiet dreamer, a man of inoffensive character and gentle demeanour, not at all logical or systematic in his ideas, but master of a simple and pleasing style, that seems to suit his audiences. In these respects, and in the boundless faith that he has in his own strange fancies, he appears very much to resemble his counterpart in this country, Robert Owen, who, as he walks in the streets of London, firmly believes, it is said, that in six months they are all to disappear. Cabet's chief production is a work entitled *Voyage en Icarie*, in which, under the convenient form of a fiction, he describes in rosy hues, his ideal of a society, reconstituted on the principle of equality. In this imaginary paradise, there is no money, no crushing commerce, no private capital; all labour equally with instruments and materials furnished by the state; and the results of the common industry are deposited in public magazines, for equal distribution among the citizens. The consequence is, that there is no want, no weariness, no discord; luxury such as no Eastern Nabob could command, is the lot of all in Icaria; all loll on sofas of the softest velvet, the dark-haired on sofas of crimson, the fair-haired on sofas of blue; all partake of the choicest viands at stated hours; all travel in first-class carriages; all are happy and serene—such, without a word of exaggeration, is Cabet's picture of society, as he hopes to make it. Yet, in prosecuting even this dreamy method of representing to himself what he would be at, he seems to have struck against certain obstacles; hence some limitations in his creed to the theory of absolute equality. The institution of the family, for example, is still to exist, a little monopoly of pleasures and duties. The partition of property, too, mathematical equality being impossible, is to proceed on a principle of only virtual or approximate equality, that may be thus expressed: "Each man, producing according to his faculties, is to be remunerated according to his wants." This rule of proportionality being observed, however, will in effect produce equality, for although the man of ravenous appetites will certainly according to such a rule receive most, yet, as the man of simple desires will have as much as he cares for, there will be no real inequality in the case. The fair-haired man may not have a crimson sofa like his dark friend, but then this will be because blue will suit him better.

Contenting himself with denouncing property and capital in general terms, and with affirming the abstract proposition, that the extinction of misery can be attained only by the extinction of opulence, Cabet made no direct attempt to subvert the existing order of things. The golden age, he believed, would roll in upon men unawares; and there was horror in all revolutionary courses. Only if one could exhibit to the world a model

society founded on the true principles, the example would doubtless be salutary. Accordingly, the chief immediate use that Cabet made of the Revolution of February, was to carry out a plan previously meditated, and ship off a body of his disciples to found an Icaria in Texas.

It is needless to point out how completely Communism, whether in the form of Babeuf or in that of Cabet, is opposed to Saint-Simonianism. Communism requires that the natural inequalities of men, if such exist, shall have no issue into the sphere of strictly social relations; Saint-Simonianism, on the other hand, will organize society in no other way than by the very mechanism of these inequalities. The formula of Communism, as propounded by Cabet, may be expressed thus:—"The duty of each is according to his faculties; his right according to his *wants*;" the formula of Saint-Simonianism is in one of its halves flatly the reverse—"The position of each man according to his faculties; his right according to his *works*." There is little danger, then, that Communism will be confounded with Saint-Simonianism. The confusion of Communism with Fourierism is an error more likely to be committed. And yet between the doctrines of Cabet and those of Fourier there is irreconcilable discord. The following is an extract from a chapter of the *Destinée Sociale* of Considérant, expressly devoted to the illustration of the difference between the two systems:—

"Community is so absurd that no peasant ever submitted to it voluntarily. What man would be so much of a philosopher as to bring to the general stock twice, three times, four times, as much as his neighbour, if he were to receive in return but an equal share of the profits? \* \* \* In the Phalanx, therefore, no community, no pell-mell, no equality. If Peter has brought a capital double of that furnished by Paul, Peter shall draw from the share assigned to capital, a revenue double that of Paul; and justly so. If it is agreed that Paul has worked three times as much as Peter, Paul shall draw from the share of labour a portion three times as large as Peter; and justly so. If the relations of their talent are as one to four, their shares in respect of talent shall be as one to four; and this also justly. In all this there will be justice, because there will be not equality, but proportion. If there were equal retribution, there would be monstrous injustice. Moreover, Peter and Paul, and all the others, shall lodge as they please, consulting their own tastes and the fulness of their purses, either in a luxurious or in a modest apartment; and so also they shall dine at whatever cost they please; only the one and the other and all of them shall be ten or twenty times better treated for the same money under the societarian than they could be under piece-meal regime."

Differing as they do, however, in principle and character, the three systems known as Saint-Simonianism, Fourierism, and

Communism, all agree in one respect; in the promise, namely, that they hold out of an indefinite amelioration of the condition of the working-classes. Hence the tendency to think of them together, if not to amalgamate them. Filtrating downwards through the mass of the population, modified by the popular exigencies and wishes, receiving sometimes a tincture of bitterness and malevolence by contact with individual misery, and mingling also, it must be added, with much of wilful and deliberate profligacy, the three systems of doctrine have at length become diffused, in the double form of a moral restlessness and a special intellectual tendency, through the whole of French society. In Paris, in Lyons, and in all the other great centres of French industry—wherever, in short, there are clubs, reading-rooms, debating-societies, meetings of young men, there, based on the general Saint-Simonian expectation of a splendid future for the working-classes, are discussed the means of bringing it about. The French *ouvriers*, especially the printers, cabinet-makers, weavers, designers, and members of such other trades as usually furnish in this country the more intelligent class of Chartists, are said to have a wonderful aptitude for such speculations. Generalities and verbal formulæ that are here confined to men of special culture, are there familiar in the *Atelier*. The idea, hardly yet current in the literature of this country, that as the working-classes of Europe have already passed successively through the three stages of slavery, serfdom, and hired service, so there may be yet a fourth stage in reserve for them, as superior to hired service as hired service is to serfdom, or serfdom to slavery—is in France the growing faith of the working-classes themselves. In Paris, especially, such views are common; they are to the Parisian *ouvriers* what the points of the Charter are to the workmen of Manchester or London. Nor is this a fact of yesterday. While Louis-Philippe was still on the throne, and while the Duke of Orleans was still the heir-apparent, ideas and feelings that never found their way to the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, and that were unknown in the breasts of representatives of the people, were rife in the workshops of Paris.

Upon the whole, the tendency of the workmen seems to have been towards the most thorough and levelling of the three systems—to wit, Communism. The form, however, in which they liked to conceive the doctrines of Communism, appears to have been not the vague pictorial form of Cabet, but that more specific and practical form that had been provided for them in 1839, by Louis Blanc in his *Organization du Travail*; the peculiarity of that form consisting, as all know, in its supposed fitness as a means of transition out of the present condition of society into

the condition that is to succeed it. Raising a capital by way of loan from the community, the State, said Louis Blanc, ought to expend that capital in the establishment of a limited number of national workshops in various departments of industry; these workshops to be organized on the principle of strict community or equality, so that all the workmen, contributing each according to their power in the matter of labour, should receive the same exact share of the profits. These workshops, forming as it were so many new organic centres, in the midst of a society viciously constituted on the principle of individualism or unlimited competition, would gradually work a change on that society, penetrating it farther and farther the longer they remained in operation, till at length the organization on the principle of association would pervade the whole.

Seizing, for the most part, on this swift and simple form of Communism, the workmen of Paris adopted also the phrase that had accompanied it, *Organization of Labour*. There was in this phrase a convenience for the occasion, as well as intrinsic aptness. It was general enough to include all the varieties of opinion that it was desirable at the moment to harmonize. Communism meant one thing, Fourierism another, Saint-Simonianism a third; but all three were included in the phrase, *Organization of Labour*. Somewhat more of precision, indeed, might have been secured by the adoption of the more lengthy formula—*Organization of Labour on the co-operative principle*; which, while it would have included all the Communists and Fourierists, would have excluded hardly any of the democratic Saint-Simonians. But the shorter watchword was, upon the whole, the best. In converting this watchword, however, into a name for the party agreeing to use it, there was a difficulty. *Organizationists of Labour* would have been too clumsy; it was necessary, therefore, to find a synonym. The word *Socialists* here presented itself. Equally precise and equally vague with the practical signification that it was meant to have, it was at once adopted. Whether used by itself, or lengthened, for the purpose of more strict political contrast, into the name *Social Republicans*, it indicated exactly the hopes and tendencies of the party, their devotion to a particular class of speculations, their eagerness for a social rather than a mere political Revolution. The old Saint-Simonian philosophers; the Humanitarian, Pierre Leroux, and his disciple George Sand; the Fourierist, Victor Considérant, and his whole school; Babouvists, or Equalitarian Communists, if any such existed; Fraternal or Icarian Communists of the school of Cabet; the political aspirant Louis Blanc, and whoever were willing to support his scheme,—all could co-operate provisionally, and for present ends, under the name of Socialists

or Social Republicans. Nay, the name would include men not exactly belonging to any class, not pledged to any system; men, on the one hand, like the ex-priest Lamennais, believing, with hazy eye, in a mystic Future unlike all the Past; or men, on the other, like Ledru-Rollin, already at work in the field of politics, and often startling his colleagues in the Chamber of Deputies, by unwelcome talk of certain miseries out of doors that it was the business of Parliaments to attend to.

Such were the two great parties that rushed forward to seize the sovereignty that Louis-Philippe had dropped—the Political Republicans, who wanted only to eradicate monarchy and maintain order till the population of France should declare its will; and the Social Republicans, who wanted, if possible, to confiscate the Revolution immediately in behalf of certain ideas, more or less precise, that they had in their heads.

At the first moment of the Revolution, the two parties, as yet imperfectly known to each other, found themselves in coalition, like men standing among the ruins left by a fire. Of the eleven persons hastily placed in the Provisional Government by the necessity of the hour—some by popular acclamation in the Chamber, and others by the activity of democratic clubs in the city—seven, namely, Dupont de l'Èure, aged 81 years, Arago, aged 61, Lamartine, aged 57, Crémieux, aged 51, Marie, aged 52, Garnier-Pagès and Marrast, each aged about 40, were Political; and four, namely, Ledru-Rollin, aged 40, Louis Blanc, aged 34, Ferdinand Flocon, and Albert (Ouvrier,) aged 32, were Social Republicans. In dividing them thus, we judge from the tenor of their subsequent conduct; the distinction had not yet declared itself, nor even now is it possible to arrange them exactly with a reference to their minuter differences. Of the four that we have named as Social Republicans, Louis Blanc alone could be called a Socialist by system. The other three, however, sympathized so far with him as to form a party in his favour; and as the *National* was the organ of the more moderate party, so Ledru-Rollin lent his paper, the *Réforme*, to represent the views of himself and his associates.

And now began the struggle between the two parties. From the windows of the Hotel de Ville, Lamartine withstood the crowd demanding that the red flag should be hoisted as the flag of the Republic, and secured the triumph of the tricolor. The red flag, although not demanded by the minority of the Provisional Government, would have been a symbol that they could have accepted. It was the rough popular assertion of their own view that, now that the Republic was obtained, something thorough should be done with it. But if so far the spirit of moderation prevailed, yet in giving to the Revolution its name and



character, in stamping upon it the impress that was to distinguish it in history from all preceding Revolutions, in deciding what were to be its first acts and proclamations, the extreme party won the day. This was natural. The Political Republicans, having never looked beyond the act of acquiring the Republic, did not know what to do with it now that they had it in their hands. The abolition of capital punishment for political offences was indeed a splendid inspiration, worthy of a poet swaying the heart of a people. But other things than the abolition of the guillotine for statesmen were required from the Revolution; and what these things should be, only the Socialist members of the Government could say. They, therefore, stepped forward, and relieved their colleagues of all trouble in the matter. "You attend to the foreign nations," they virtually said to Lamartine; "we will manage France." Arago, Marrast, and the rest, were taken by surprise or overpowered; and the following manifestos went forth to the country in succession:—

" DECREE, 25th February 1848.

" The Provisional Government of the French Republic binds itself to guarantee the existence of the workman by labour;

" It binds itself to guarantee labour to all citizens;

" It recognises the right of workmen to associate among themselves for the enjoyment of the legitimate profits of their labour;

" The Provisional Government restores to the workmen, to whom it belongs, the million that falls in of the Civil List."

" DECREE, 27th February 1848.

" The Provisional Government Decrees the immediate establishment of National Workshops.

" The Minister of Public Works is charged with the execution of this Decree."

" PROCLAMATION, 28th February 1848.

" Considering that the Revolution made by the people should be made for them;

" That it is time to put an end to the long and unjust sufferings of labourers;

" That the question of labour is of supreme importance;

" That there is nothing more high, more worthy the thoughts of a Republican Government;

" That it pertains above all to France to study ardently and resolve a problem now pending in all the industrial nations of Europe;

" That it is necessary without the least delay to guarantee to the people the legitimate fruits of their labour;

" The Provisional Government of the Republic Decrees:

" A permanent commission, to be called *Commission of Government for the Labouring Classes*, shall be appointed with the express and special charge of attending to the condition of those classes.

" To show what importance the Provisional Government of the Re-

public attaches to the solution of this great problem, it names as President of the Commission for the Labouring Classes, one of its members, M. Louis Blanc, and as Vice-President another of its members, M. Albert, workman.

“ Workmen shall be called to take part in the Commission.

“ The seat of the Commission shall be at the Palace of the Luxembourg.”

In these three Decrees\* we have the germ of the whole Revolution, so far as it assumed a peculiar character. Take away these Decrees and their sequel of consequences, and the movement is bereft of all originality, and becomes but a repetition, in somewhat new circumstances, of what occurred in 1792. Three things, it will be observed, are included in the Decrees—1st, The adoption by the Republic of the abstract principle, that the State is bound to guarantee the means of subsistence to all its citizens; 2d, The establishment of national workshops; 3d, The establishment of a commission to inquire, with a view to future legislation, into the whole question of the condition of the working-classes. Of the abstract principle so boldly adopted by the Republic we shall yet have to speak; meanwhile let us trace the history of the two practical measures, upon whose success or failure it very much depended whether the principle itself would be retained or abandoned.

And, first, of the national workshops, the famous *Ateliers Nationaux*, organized not by Louis Blanc, as people in this country persist in believing, (misled by the force of the association between his name and theirs,) but by the Minister of Public Works, M. Marie, on principles of his own, against the will of Louis Blanc, as now appears, and with the express intention, it is said, of lessening his influence with the people.

The number of men that the Revolution found or threw out of employment in Paris must have been very great. The first business of the Republic, and especially of a Republic that had

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\* Caussidière relates some curious particulars relative to the discussions in the Provisional Government in the matter of these Decrees. The first, recognising the general principle of the Right to Labour, was passed within twenty-four hours after the victory of the people, and also, it appears, without hesitation, general principles being cheap, and some social declaration absolutely inevitable. Here, however, Arago, Lamartine, and others of the Moderate party wished to stop, the Provisional Government being bound, they said, to abstain from deciding any question whatever. But an empty abstraction would not satisfy the people, nor their Socialist representatives in the Government. The trades came in procession with banners to the Hotel de Ville, and demanded through their delegates a Ministry of Labour, Louis Blanc supported the prayer of the people, and threatened to resign if it were refused. Arago adjured him by his grey hairs to renounce this terrible idea of the organization of labour, but in vain. At length Marrast and Garnier-Pagès proposed as a compromise, a Commission of Inquiry, instead of a Ministry. The third Decree was accordingly written. “ It is very strong; it is very strong,” said Marrast, as he signed it.

acknowledged the right of all to the means of subsistence, must be to provide work for these men. There was but one way of doing this ; to look out, namely, for whatever public works, such as levelling, draining, road making, were in progress, or could be begun anywhere in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to employ the men on these. This was, accordingly, what was actually done. On the 1st of March, public works of this description were begun at several points in Paris and its neighbourhood ; at one place 1500 men, including members of all professions, were set to work, digging and levelling ; at another 600 men were employed in terrace-making ; at another 800 men in cutting a road ; and altogether, in one way or other, about 5000 men were provided with a means of livelihood. Each of the spots where this kind of work was going on, was called an *Atelier National* ; and the mode of admission was as follows : Any workman producing at the *mairie* of his *arrondissement* a certificate from his landlord proving him a resident of Paris, was to be furnished with a ticket of admission to the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which ticket was to entitle him to employment at any *Atelier* not already full.

Soon, however, all the *Ateliers* were full ; and hundreds of workmen were going about from place to place with useless tickets, fatigued and discontented. They were entitled indeed to a daily allowance of one franc fifty centimes, on showing a certificate that they had applied and could not be admitted, but this rather increased the confusion. At this moment, M. Emile Thomas, a citizen pursuing on a large scale the profession of industrial or manufacturing chemist, and who till then had taken no part in politics, presented himself with an introduction to M. Marie, the Minister of Public Works, and detailed a scheme that he had in view for regulating the *Ateliers Nationaux*. This scheme consisted in calling in the aid of the pupils of the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, already eager to be employed in any such service, and distributing them in the capacity of officers among the workmen at the *Ateliers*, thus forming a kind of semi-military organization for carrying on public works in the neighbourhood of Paris. Remitted by the separate *mairies* to an appointed place in a quiet part of the city, the workmen were there to be formed—with whatever attention to the nature of their previous occupations the exigencies of the case would permit—into brigades, companies, &c., and marched off under their officers to the different places where work awaited them. This would, at least, give the Government some control over the confusion ; and, meanwhile, all efforts might be made to devise new works for those that should still be idle.

The scheme was gladly accepted by the perplexed Minister, and, on the 6th March, M. Thomas was named Commissary of

the Republic, and Director-General of the *Ateliers Nationaux*. He at once entered on his duties, and established himself at the place appointed for the central administration—the Pavilion and Gardens of Monceaux, situated in the suburbs, and once the property of Cambacérès. On the 9th of March, at half-past six in the morning, the formation of the men into brigades began at this place; and on that day nearly 3000 men of the 8th arrondissement were disposed of. Each brigade consisted of 55 men and a brigadier, and was composed of five detachments of eleven men each, one of whom was chief of the detachment. On the following days, the other arrondissements were taken up; and, before the 16th of March, about 14,000 men in all were brigaded. Then came into play the higher parts of the scheme: the brigades were formed into lieutenancies of four brigades, or 225 men each, with a lieutenant in command; the lieutenancies into companies of four lieutenancies, or 901 men each, with an officer called chief of a company in command; and, finally, every three companies, or 2703 men, were under the orders of a chief of service: all the chiefs of service in an arrondissement were under the orders of the chief of that arrondissement; and the commander-in-chief presiding over all the arrondissements was M. Thomas himself. To officer so vast an army with the aid of the pupils of the Central School that co-operated with him, was clearly impossible; distributing them, therefore, through the higher grades, M. Thomas allowed the men to elect their own brigadiers and chiefs of detachments. These seem to have been the only officers that received pay; and their allowances, in comparison with those of the workmen, were as follows: a brigadier 3 francs a-day, whether employed or not; a chief of detachment  $2\frac{1}{2}$  francs if employed,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  francs if not; a common workman 2 francs a-day if employed, 1 franc if not. Until the 17th of March the workman, if employed, received  $1\frac{1}{2}$  francs a-day, but the reduction to 1 franc was then effected.

All this was very well, supposing that the works on hand remained in proportion to the number of applicants. But daily new claimants poured in, men really in want, actors, painters, sculptors, designers, and clerks that had held out as long as they could; poor fellows of municipal guards, too, that had to bear popular insult as well as starvation; idle vagabonds, also, of all sorts, calculating on the franc a-day for doing nothing; and finally, hosts of workmen from the country, attracted by the prospect of work, and admitted into the *Ateliers*, by means of forged or borrowed certificates of residence. The elaborate organization of this vast mass of men was a mockery, so long as there was not work to set them to. If there had been an Irish bog in the neighbourhood, that they could have been sent out

under the command of their corporals, lieutenants, and captains, and colonels to reclaim ; if even the Government had resolved to build a pyramid, or make bricks with their labour, the organization might have been found effective, but, as it was, it had no strength to keep the men in order. Louis Reybaud in his novel of *Jérôme Paturot*, gives an account that does not seem overcharged, of the doings at an Atelier National. Visiting the chief Atelier—that of the pavilion of Monceaux itself, Jérôme finds a crowd of workmen of all professions, standing idle, jeering and laughing, and besieging the door of the pavilion, with cries for the director. The director at last comes forth, and asks what they want, when “work, work,” resounds on all hands. As he does not chance to have any shift ready, he retires, bidding them name deputies to confer with him, an exercise of republican rights which they seem to enjoy for its own sake. The election over, the fun goes on till the deputies return with the news that they have got work ; that they are to go, 250 of them, (a lieutenancy, we suppose,) to bring in 250 young trees which the Republic has purchased from a nursery-man, a little out of town, with which to replace the trees destroyed in the Boulevards. Forth they go to execute this commission. Arrived at the place, they are received with blank astonishment by the nursery-man, who sees 15 francs at stake in the circumstance, having contracted to bring in the trees himself in his cart for that sum ; he permits them nevertheless to take what they want, and watches, not without emotion, his young acacias, as they disappear in the hands of their rough carriers. Laughing, singing, and stopping at cabarets on the way, the men bring the trees into town, but in such a state that it is useless to plant them. The expense of the whole frolic is 1250 francs, (£50,) being three francs for each of the trees, and two francs to each man for his day’s work.

The idea of employing a portion of the idle men in replanting the Boulevards, was, as we learn from M. Thomas, the suggestion of M. Trémisot, the Head of the Board of Paving in Paris, to whom he was indebted also for many other shifts, some of them by no means so bad. One proposal indeed of M. Trémisot was so gigantic as to stun the Ministry of Public Works. This was the proposal, to employ the men in constructing in the flat grounds near the Barrière du Trône, a vast circus, with terraced seats, capable of accommodating 20,000 spectators, and so that the arena could be converted at will into a lake for exhibiting sea-fights. If it would have had no direct utility, says M. Thomas, this work would have at least survived as a splendid monument of the solicitude of the Government, and as a magnificent theatre for popular fêtes.

To protract the history of the Ateliers Nationaux through the months of April and May is unnecessary ; suffice it to say, that the mass of dangerous idleness, thus accumulated in Paris, increased daily ; that on the 19th of May, a census of those enrolled, showed the whole number to be 87,942 men, drawn from about 190 different professions ; and that before the end of May, the number probably amounted to 100,000, of whom, owing to the difficulty of devising work, not 15,000 were employed, the rest receiving their allowance of one franc a day instead. The Ateliers Nationaux therefore degenerated into a mere system of relieving pauperism in disguise. And yet in France at that moment, no one had a title to say so, for was it not a fundamental principle decreed in the very preamble of the Republic, that the country owed all its citizens the means of subsistence, not as a charity but as a right ?

In the meantime, while masses of workmen were thus accumulating in Paris under the auspices of M. Marie, as Minister of Public Works, Louis Blanc and his associates at the Luxembourg were keeping strictly to their own less tremendous business of expiscating the true theory of the organization of labour.

On the 2d of March, as we learn from the authorized report, the first meeting of the new Commission took place, Louis Blanc presiding, Albert sitting near him, and about 200 workmen, delegates from the different trades, occupying the luxurious benches recently reserved for the French peers. No sooner had the object of the Commission been explained by the President, than two demands were made by the delegates—the reduction of the hours of labour, and the abolition of the system of *marchandage*, that is, of the tyranny of sub-contractors over workmen. On these two points there seemed to be a wonderful unanimity among the workmen of Paris, as if they had agreed long ago to take their stand upon them. Undertaking to give them immediate consideration, Louis Blanc dismissed the assembly, and next day a meeting of a number of master-tradesmen having been called, that *their* opinion might be ascertained, it was agreed to grant what was asked. A decree of the Government was therefore immediately issued, abolishing *marchandage*, and limiting the hours of work to ten in Paris, and eleven in the provinces. Arbitrary or not, says Louis Blanc, this measure was necessary to secure peace.

Day after day, the Commission assembled at the Luxembourg. The effective business was managed by the President, the Vice-President, and a committee of ten working men, chosen by lot from among the delegates, with whom were associated also a number of persons, supposed to be capable from the special nature of their occupations or studies, of affording valuable assistance. Occa-



sionally, however, a general meeting was held of the whole body of the delegates, when, amid applauses such as had never been heard in that hall before, Louis Blanc would rehearse the doctrines of his book from beginning to end, its expositions of the fearful evils arising from mercantile competition, and the principle of *laissez-faire*, and its affirmation of the possibility of commencing a gradual re-organization of society, by means of a few model-establishments of workmen associated on communist principles. The only novelty in the way of theory that seems to have been the result of the conversations, slightly mingled with debate, that took place on the general subject of the organization of labour, is presented in a discourse delivered by the President on the 3d of April. In this discourse, more distinctly than in any part of his *Organization du Travail*, Louis Blanc commits himself to the essential principle of fraternal Communism as expounded by Cabet; namely, that the ideal state of society is that in which each man, producing according to his aptitudes and powers, shall consume according to his wants. Though we are still far from this ideal, says Louis Blanc—our present vicious civilisation both concealing aptitudes and begetting factitious wants—yet we are tending towards it, and equality of salaries would be a step in the right direction.

Oratory and discussions of theory were not, however, the sole business of the Commission. In that terrible commercial crisis that had been occasioned by the Revolution, when, according to the calculation of M. Chevalier, the loss in Paris alone, arising from the suspension of all kinds of industry, amounted to two millions of francs or £80,000 a-day, the Palace of the Luxembourg was the general dépôt for all complaints. Hither came heads of bankrupt establishments, anxious that the State should buy them up, and make Communist ateliers or whatever it chose with them; hither came masters against whom their men were in revolt; hither came journeymen to denounce their masters. In such a chaos the Commission found plenty to do. Interfering wherever it was possible, it effected, according to Louis Blanc, numerous reconciliations, and saved Paris many a scene of riot. On the 29th of March, for instance, there was a universal strike among the journeymen bakers, the object of which was that they, the worst used class of mankind, might fish some boon out of this great Revolution. That morning Paris was in danger of wanting bread. The master-bakers, dreading results, rushed to the Luxembourg. Here a hasty conference was held, masters being heard on the one side, and delegates from the men on the other; a satisfactory arrangement was effected, and Paris, little knowing the risk it had run, awoke to its breakfast. In a similar manner were adjusted dif-

ferences among the paviors, the cabmen, the slaters, the washerwomen, &c. Usually, says Louis Blanc, it was the masters that applied first at the Luxembourg in such cases ; but generally the men and they left it together.

This was not all. To illustrate by actual example the views of Louis Blanc and his associates, two industrial associations were founded on the principle of equality, the one an association of working tailors, using for their atelier the ancient prison of Clichy ; the other, an association of working saddlers, occupying a barracks in the Champs Elysées. The former included 1200 workmen, electing their own foremen, and sharing the profits equally ; the latter was not quite so numerous, but was similarly organized. Both had received large orders from the Government, the tailors for military clothing, and the saddlers for horse-gear, and both were in an extremely flourishing condition. These two associations, said Louis Blanc, in a recent letter to the *Times*, were the only *Ateliers Nationaux* for whose establishment he was responsible ; and they were then still in existence. Besides these, the Commission set on foot several model lodging-houses.

Finally, amassing all the information possible, relative to the condition of the working-classes, and resuming in a succinct shape all the practical suggestions that had been elicited, the Commission prepared an elaborate scheme to be submitted to the approaching Constituent Assembly, as the basis for that reorganization of industry in all its branches, whether agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing, of which it was hoped Republican France would set an example to the world.

Meanwhile towards this very Constituent Assembly, appointed to meet on the 4th of May, all the hopes of France were directed. While M. Marie, like another Frankenstein, was gazing on his *Ateliers Nationaux*, and Louis Blanc was occupied with his commission at the Luxembourg, all France was agitated with preparations for the elections. As in the Provisional Government there were two parties, the Political and the Social Republicans, so did this division permeate the whole country. Scarcely had the first shock of the Revolution been over, when, deserting by inevitable necessity their tattered standards of yesterday, Louis-Philippists and Constitutional Monarchists crowded round the new party of the Moderate Republicans, to prevent a movement that had gone too far, as they thought, already, from going any farther. Odilon Barrot associated with Lamartine ; and Thiers, emerging from a temporary obscurity, was seen hanging on their skirts and looking smilingly on. All this soon became manifest throughout the country ; reactionary symptoms, as they were called, broke out ; and the

Socialists were put upon their mettle, lest this Revolution, that they had hoped to confiscate for their peculiar ideas, should elude them after all. Hence the circulars of Ledru-Rollin, one of which, Caussidière tells us, was written for him by George Sand. The whole Socialist party, in short, were in arms; let us see then, what accession of strength they had in the meantime acquired, and what alteration of character they had, in the meantime, undergone.

The outburst of new opinion in France after the Revolution of February was tremendous. Doctrines and passions that had lain deep down in the uttermost corners of society, repressed thither by the restraining discipline of the monarchy, now came forth as it were in blotches. In the months of March and April several hundreds of new journals—no restriction being now imposed on publication—appeared in Paris alone; and in the very week after the Revolution there were founded in the same city 150 new clubs. Every needy fool that had relations with a printer started a newspaper; every landlord that had a large room to let originated a club. The French vocabulary was ransacked for names for these new organs of public opinion. Among the newspapers were *The Duck*, *The Volcano*, *The Red Bullets*, *Mother Michel*, and *The Devil's Eye-Glass*; among the clubs were the *Club of Rights and Duties*, the *Club of the Rights of Man*, and some dozen *Clubs of the People*. The majority of these journals and clubs were on the side of Socialism, so far at least as a blind vehemence towards anarchy may be said to have been on that side. Among them, however, were some that were expressly and emphatically Socialist, and that deserve notice from their eminence over the others. Such were, among the newspapers, the *Peuple Constituant* of Lamennais, the *Vraie République* of Thoré, supported by Pierre Leroux, George Sand, and Barbès, as contributors, the *Ami du Peuple* of Raspail, the *Commune de Paris* of Sobrier, and the *Populaire* and *Père Duchesne* of Cabet; and among the clubs, the *Club Blanqui*, the *Club Sobrier*, the *Club Raspail*, the *Club Cabet*, and the *Club de la Révolution*, of which Barbès was president, and Thoré, Leroux, and other well-known Socialists, members. Making the reckoning in men, it may be said that among the most powerful auxiliaries to the ranks of effective Socialism immediately after the Revolution were these five persons—Barbès, Sobrier, Thoré, Blanqui, and Raspail;—Barbès, who had been condemned to death under Louis-Philippe, and whom, when the Revolution had released him from his long imprisonment with a bearded and wo-worn face, the people flocked to see, as a political martyr; Sobrier, a young man of fortune, in whom political enthusiasm had taken the form of a wild semi-religious

illuminism ; Thoré, already known as a Socialist writer, and now stepping forward as a leader ; Blanqui, a restless erratic soul, charged, says Lamartine, with the electricity of the time, and bearing in his countenance the marks of the long suffering, bodily and mental, that he had endured in his previous career as a conspirator ; and Raspail, a chemist, remembered as one of the chief witnesses in the case of Madame Laffarge, and now in his new capacity as a theorist for the people, dealing forth drugs of the strongest. But a man, also added to the band of Socialist chiefs at this moment, and far transcending both in genius and courage, if not in the tact for immediate action, any one of those just mentioned, was a man whose name may yet be a terror in Europe—P. J. Proudhon.

Born in 1809, at Besançon, the birth-place, by the way, of Fourier, Proudhon, whose parents were in humble circumstances, began life there as a compositor in a printing-office. This printing-office he afterwards occupied on his own account ; but some years ago he quitted Besançon for an engagement in a mercantile house at Lyons. Devoted in youth to metaphysical, theological, and philological studies, his subsequent operations have rendered him familiar with questions of banking, inland navigation, and general traffic. In 1839, while still residing at Besançon, he produced his first work, an essay entitled, *On the Celebration of the Sabbath*, the Academy of Besançon having offered a prize for the best memoir on that subject. In this work, now regarded as one of the most extraordinary in the French language, the Sabbatic institution was defended from the author's point of view, with a power of argument quite amazing ; but as it contained opinions on social points that the Academy could not subscribe, it did not gain their approbation, and the author gave it to the world himself. For the same learned society he produced in the following year a second essay, entitled, *What is Property?* in which the anti-social doctrines that had appeared in the first, were developed with such audacity that, when it was printed, the society publicly disclaimed all connexion with it. The book, however, was of a kind to become widely known ; read in some circles of Paris it made people there aware of the existence of some eccentric paradoxical being living at Besançon ; and the attention of the Minister of Justice having been called to it, the author narrowly escaped prosecution as an enemy to public order. The impression made by this treatise was renewed from time to time by subsequent works from the same pen, including a *Second Memoir on Property*, a pamphlet called *Warning to Proprietors*, a volume entitled *On the Creation of Order in Humanity* published in 1843, and a large work published in 1846, and named *Economic Contradic-*

tions or the *Philosophy of Misery*, besides tracts on *Credit and Currency*, and on the *Competition between Canals and Railways*. It was only a month or two before the Revolution that the author, then about thirty-nine years of age, came to reside in Paris, presenting himself to people who had already known him through his books, as a man of spare and somewhat peculiar figure, with severe hirsute visage, and wearing spectacles.

To give an idea of Proudhon to those that have not seen any of his writings is impossible. To say that he is a Socialist, or even that he is the most daring and profound of Socialists, is to call up a notion very insufficient. Of an intellect that one would call enormous, plying a remorseless logic, bringing into literature a plainness of speech quite unusual, and paying deference to hardly any man or sect that he names, one regards him at first as a great scornful misanthrope dealing blows out of sheer hate. Even then, however, one admits his gifts as a writer—the terrible energy of his style, the almost blasting eloquence that bursts up amid his algebraic reasonings, the resistless force with which he makes the French language go down to depths that it rarely seems to reach. At length, through some characteristic passage, one sees him better, and recognises in him a man whose mood is that of fierce and universal intolerance. Not as a smooth-tongued flatterer does he come before the people, with the French balderdash in his mouth of *gloire, honneur, &c.*, but as a task-master with a whip of scorpions. That crime is punishable and retribution just, that work is obligatory, that marriage is holy and all unchastity an offence against nature, that a lie is a murder of the intelligence, that law is not the expression of will either individual or general, but the *dictamen* of conscience applied by reason, that he who provokes to debauch either by word or writing is infamous, and that he who denies God is frantic—such are the sayings that he seems to rest in and recur to, careless whether or not, to use one of his own expressions, his readers may find the medicine too harsh, the brewage too bitter. Though he marches, therefore, in the same general direction as the Socialists, it is in a character quite his own; and with a disposition ever and anon to knock one of them down. Caussidière, for example, loving him as he says extremely, yet cannot but lament very much that waywardness that leads him, in his fits of despondency, “to turn round on his own supporters, and to treat men as if they were nine-pins.” On many points Proudhon is at one with the Economists.

Yet, honourably distinguished as he is among French writers by his moral strictness as a theorist on many cardinal points, his heresies of general doctrine are more stupendous, more subversive of the fabric of society, than the paradoxes of all other wri-

ters put together. It is of one of these heresies, in particular, that we are here to speak.

Seeking in vain, he says, in books for an explanation of the misery that is in the world, he resolved to investigate the thing himself. And, as Copernicus, finding that he could make no way in the explication of astronomical phenomena so long as he supposed the firmament to turn round, succeeded when he supposed the spectator to turn round, and Kant by a precisely similar device had effected a revolution in metaphysics, might not this method answer also in ethics? In other words, might not the cause of evil be not in society without, but in the constitution of the human reason?

Psychologists tell us that all our perceptions are determined by certain general laws of the spirit itself, certain necessary forms or types pre-existing in the understanding, and technically called *Categories*,—such are the ideas of Space, Time, Cause, Substance, &c. Now, without denying this, one may lay it down as a fact not less true, that habit has the power of impressing on the understanding new categorical forms, derived from the world of appearances, and which, although they may be fallacious, will yet exert an influence on our thoughts and conduct not less strong than that exerted by the original categories themselves. Such a secondary categorical form was the belief, held until the discovery of the law of gravitation annihilated it, that the existence of the Antipodes was impossible. And so in morals, habit may have engrained into the constitution of the mind itself certain perverted ideas of the real fact of things.

Among all the principles on which society now reposes, the one that, according to Proudhon, answers best to the definition of a false secondary category, and that also, from its extreme antiquity may be supposed accountable for much if not all the misery with which our race is burdened, is that peculiar modification of the sentiment of justice that constitutes the idea of Property. This idea of Property, this notion that a man can in any circumstances whatever truly say of a thing *this is mine*, this belief that any individual can possess a right to a single atom of the earth's substance or its produce beyond that varying fraction that would remain to him if the whole sum to be shared were perpetually divided afresh by the whole number of those that were to share it—this idea, this notion, this belief, Proudhon undertakes to prove to be fallacious, unjust, null, disastrous, and damnable.

He divides his argument into three parts. In the first he examines the various theories of the Right of Property that have been given to the world—as that it is a natural right, that it arises from the act of occupation, that it is a creation of the civil law, that it is a result of labour and skill expended in appropriation,



that it is founded on universal consent, that it is derived from prescription ; and all these theories he successively declares absurd and futile. In the second part he enters on the field of Political Economy, and tries to demonstrate that although property may manifest itself as an accident, yet as an institution and in principle it is mathematically impossible. This is the part of the book into which, owing to the form of the reasoning, it is most difficult to follow him. The third section he entitles "Psychological Exposition of the Ideas of Just and Unjust, and Determination of the Principle of Government and of Right." Here, recognising property as a fact in the present condition of the world, he attempts to explain its origin and the causes of its establishment, and of its long duration ; after which he expounds how, in virtue of an organic law in society ceaselessly acting to destroy it, it must at last entirely disappear.

To pursue the writer through the various stages of this strange *mélange* of argument is clearly impossible at present ; the following, however, may be taken as the general doctrine of the book in its most abstract shape : That the human race are jointly and corporately the possessors, although not the proprietors, of the sphere of material conditions into which they have been ushered ; that they are associated together, in the first place, by a certain low instinct, common to them with the inferior animals, that may be called Sociability ; that, man being gifted with Reason to reflect upon himself, this instinct rises in him into an intelligent principle, called Right or Justice, the essence of which consists in the recognition in others of a personality equal to one's own ; that it is upon this principle that all society and all civil law should be founded, and that therefore inequality of material conditions, or the government of one man by another, is unjust and against nature, every man being entitled to occupy a portion of the whole field of things, varying directly as the space that there is, and inversely as the number of those that are to occupy it—a rule which renders impossible the formation of property ; that the extinction of property, and a return to equality of material conditions, and to anarchy, or entire individual freedom, are consequently incumbent on the race, and that forces are at work that will effect this, whether men will or not, as certainly as an equation disengages itself ; but, finally, that above this sphere of justice, there is a higher sphere reserved for the exercise of a third degree of sociability, that may be called Equity or Proportionality, the nature of which it is to recognise individual differences or natural inequalities, as those of virtue, talent, &c., between man and man, and to allot to each his due portion of esteem, love, admiration, hate, or disgust, all of which, being attitudes of human spirits towards each other in the

sphere of the infinite, are not incompatible with strict equality in the sphere of the finite.

In this proposition we have tried to piece together, and grasp as a whole, the doctrine of Proudhon, so far as it is developed in his *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?* Proudhon, however, does not confine himself to the mere evolution of his ideas in an abstract and philosophic form; on the contrary, he delights in daring and startling appeals to the passions, and seems on principle to spare his readers no shock that he can give them. For example:—

“If, in order to prolong for some years an unlawful enjoyment, one should allege that it suffices not to demonstrate equality, that it is also necessary to organize it, that, above all, it is necessary to establish it without ruptures, I should have a right to reply: The breast of the oppressed goes before the embarrassment of ministers; equality of conditions is a primordial law, to which economy and jurisprudence must succumb. The right to labour, and to an equal participation of goods, cannot bend itself before the anxieties of power; it is not for the working man to harmonize contradictions of codes, still less to endure the blunders of government; it is for the civil and administrative power, on the contrary, to reform itself on the principle of equality. The evil that is known should be condemned and destroyed; the legislator cannot take grounds, from his ignorance of order, for establishing patent iniquity. There is no temporizing with restitution. Justice, justice; recognition of right; the re-installation of the working man: after that, judges and consuls, see to your police, and provide for the government of the Republic.”—*Qu'est-ce que la Propriété*, p. 216.

“What form of government, then, are we to prefer? doubtless, asks one of my young readers. You are a Republican? Republican, yes; but that word explains nothing. *Res publica* is public business: Kings are Republicans. Well, then, you are a Democrat? No! What, you are a Monarchist? No! Constitutionalist? God forbid! You are an Aristocrat, then? Not at all! You would have a mixed government? Still less! What are you, then? I am an Anarchist.—O, I understand, you are concocting a satire? In no sense; you have heard my serious and deliberately-weighed profession of faith; although a very good friend to order, I am, in all the force of the term, an Anarchist.”—*Ibid.*, p. 237.

“Anarchy, absence of master, of sovereign, (people ordinarily attribute to the word *anarchy* the sense of absence of principle, absence of rule; and this is how it has become a synonym for *disorder*)—such is the form of government that we approach every day.”—*Ibid.*, p. 242.

The horrible formula in which Proudhon has expressed, and as it were summed up for practical purposes, all his various notions, is one that the newspapers must have made already fa-

miliar to our readers—"Property is Robbery; *La Propriété c'est le vol.*"

Although, as will have been remarked, the main doctrine of Proudhon is directly antagonistic to the creed of the Saint-Simonsians, denouncing that proportionality in material respects which they consecrate; although the same doctrine is also repugnant to the creed of the Fourierists, who, moreover, would repudiate Proudhon's notions respecting property as vehemently as he would scorn theirs respecting co-operation; and although, finally, even the Communists, with whom he is at one on the great point of equality of conditions, find no favour with this eccentric apostle of anarchy, but are rather mauled by him whenever they cross his path; yet the general nature of his speculations is such, that he takes rank fairly enough in that temporary coalition of the three sects known by the name of the Socialists. Nay, more, one can see that, for several years before his appearance in public life, his doctrines must have been insinuating themselves, through his books, into the general mass of Socialistic opinion, and affecting more or less the language of all the sects that have been named, but particularly of the Communists.

It was only, however, after his arrival in Paris that Proudhon became fully known. Led by some inscrutable providence to the scene of action precisely at the time when his services were about to be required, no sooner had the Revolution occurred than his haggard influence was felt. In the columns of the *Représentant du Peuple* it was easy to recognise the hand of the enemy of property, the anarchist of Besançon. In the *Club de la Révolution*, also, seated beside bilious Barbès, untidy old Leroux, and Herculean Thore, might be seen the figure of the terrible philosopher with the spectacles. Whatever his eccentricity, whatever his irritability of temper, his immense energy was indisputable; and when, in anticipation of the elections, the united democratic party of Paris drew up a list of candidates for the Department of the Seine, including ten Socialist or democratic leaders, and twenty-four working men, Proudhon's name was inserted among the former, along with those of Louis Blanc, Albert, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Caussidière, Leroux, Barbès, Thore, and Raspail.

When the elections occurred, however, only five of these pre-eminent Socialists, viz., Caussidière, Albert, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, found themselves in the list of successful candidates; and this was but a type of the result all over France. Out of 900 Representatives, probably not more than 200 could, by any method of counting, be ranked as Social and Democratic Republicans; and even of these the real and thorough Socialists formed but a fraction. Of the 700 Representa-

tives, on the other hand, constituting the Moderate party, a large proportion, though Republican by the necessity of their position, were not in heart Republican at all. In short, it was clear that a reaction was in progress; and this fact became still more evident when the Assembly, on the 9th of May, that is, on the fifth day of their sittings, chose as members of the Executive Committee that was to supersede the Provisional Government, these five persons—Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin; of whom the last alone belonged to the extreme party.

Sullen discontent reigned among the Socialists of Paris. Louis Blanc, now out of office, repeated in the Assembly his demand for a Ministry of Labour and Progress. It was refused. This increased the ferment. An accident soon showed in what relations the Assembly and the Parisians stood to each other. On the 15th of May a manifestation was arranged in favour of Poland; and thousands of workmen, under the banners of various clubs and of the Ateliers Nationaux, came to present a petition in this cause to the too laxly guarded Assembly. Whether by chance or otherwise, the demonstration soon changed its purpose. Dashing past the guard, a crowd of men in blouses stormed the lobby of the House, burst into the galleries, filling them till they cracked, and at length pouring into the hall, scattered the members like chaff. Louis Blanc was carried in triumph; Raspail, Blanqui, and Barbès spoke from the tribune; and, mounting a bench, citizen Hubert, a former political prisoner, roared out that the Assembly was dissolved. The proclamation, however, was premature; Paris had rallied, and in a little while a body of National Guards entered at quick march, and reinstated the members in their seats. Albert, Barbès, Sobrier, and General Courtais, the commander of the guard, were forthwith arrested.

The Assembly, sufficiently warned of their position by this outbreak, resolved to act with vigour. Their chief attention was necessarily directed to the Ateliers Nationaux. An army of 100,000 men, divided into brigades and regiments under pretence of work, and having no work to do, was a fearful avalanche to assemble under. The Ateliers Nationaux must be dissolved at all hazards. Such was the resolution of the Assembly, and as a first step towards their object, they kidnapped (literally so) poor M. Emile Thomas, who was inclined to be refractory, and sent him off on an improvised mission to Bourdeaux. M. Lalanne, Engineer of Roads and Bridges, was appointed his successor. To calm the fears of the workmen, however, a special commission was appointed to consult with the executive power as to ways and means, and it was officially intimated that no measure should be taken in relation to the Ateliers Nationaux

until "sure and numerous outlets" could be provided for the honest and industrious labourers.

This promise could not be kept. For a little while the Parisians were occupied with the supplementary election of eleven candidates for the city to fill up blanks that had been caused by resignations and other circumstances. The elections took place on the 5th of June, when the returns yielded this strange result—Moreau, Goudchaux, Changarnier, Thiers, Pierre Leroux, Victor Hugo, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, Lagrange, Boissel, Proudhon, and (once more) Caussidière. Thus while the Assembly gained in Thiers, Changarnier, &c., men of the old regime, and in Louis Napoleon an unknown element, it gained, on the other side, in Proudhon, Leroux, and Lagrange, three leading Socialists. But scarcely had the new members, Louis Napoleon excepted, taken their seats, when the bustle that had attended their election, and especially that of Napoleon, was merged in the pressing question of the *Ateliers Nationaux*. What plan should be pursued with them—dissolution, modification, or re-organization? Only one practical proposition was discussed, namely, that the State, taking the railways of the country into its own hands, should effect a peaceful dissolution of the *Ateliers Nationaux* by dispersing the men as labourers over the various unfinished and projected lines. This plan was advocated by Lamartine. "Give me railways," were his words in Committee, "and the question is quietly settled." "And what if we refuse you railways?" "You must employ cannon." The prophecy was too true. Scarcely had the *Moniteur* of the 22d of June promulgated the decree excluding from the *Ateliers Nationaux* all unmarried workmen between seventeen and twenty-five years of age, and offering them enlistment as the only alternative, when the avalanche fell, and unhappy Paris was again in Revolution. For three days the cannon roared in the streets; and on the 26th of June the soldier Cavaignac sat master among the ruins.

There have not been wanting men to defend on grounds of logic the insurrection of June. If there was right on the one side of the barricades, they say, there was right also on the other. They shape their reasoning as follows:—A fundamental principle in the Constitution of France at that moment—a principle as sacred in law as Liberty of Conscience or Liberty of the Press—was the Right to Labour, the Right, that is, of every citizen to obtain from the State the means of subsistence by work. This principle was the one great result of the Revolution of February; the first act of the Provisional Government had been to decree it. Nor had it been repealed since. On the contrary, it had been in a manner ratified by the Assembly itself. On the 19th of

June, only three days before the insurrection, there had been read in the Assembly the draft of the proposed Constitution of the new Republic, as it had been prepared in the Committee appointed for the purpose. That draft contained the following Articles:—

“ART. 2. The Constitution guarantees to all citizens Liberty, Equality, Security, Instruction, *Labour*, the right of Property, Assistance.

“ART. 7. The right to Labour is the right that every man has to live by labouring. Society ought, by those productive and general means that are at its disposal, and that are hereafter to be organized, to furnish work to able-bodied men that cannot otherwise procure it.”

Such were the Articles that it was intended to place in the future Constitution of France; articles, too, prepared not by a Committee of Socialists, but by a Committee in which, associated with Considérant and perhaps but one other decided Socialist, were such men as Cormenin, Marrast, de Tocqueville, Gustave de Beaumont, and Odilon Barrot. If, now, it is granted that a fair pretext for insurrection is afforded to a people when its Government violates a principle that is fundamental, then, in dismissing a portion of workmen from the Ateliers Nationaux without providing other employment for them, the French Government must be considered to have afforded a fair pretext for the insurrection of June.

Such was the reasoning actually employed; and whatever the Government and the Constituent Assembly may have thought of the reasoning, they found it necessary to take care that it should not be possible to employ it in future. In other words, they determined to strike out of the Constitution of the Republic all guarantees of the Right to Labour.

It was on the 29th of August that the question of the new Constitution was re-opened by the reading of a second draft of a proposed Constitution before the Assembly. Although the intervening period had been important, the notable events that had occurred in it had been few. Clubs had been suppressed; newspapers extinguished or suspended; order restored by military rule; Raspail and other leaders of the insurrection imprisoned; Louis Blanc and Caussidière impeached, and driven into exile. Under the protection of Cavaignac, the Assembly had indeed continued its sittings; but apart from the proceedings instituted in relation to the insurrection, the only discussion of much interest had been a discussion on a proposition of Proudhon, that the State should appropriate, partly by way of tax, and partly by way of credit, a third part of all the rents of France, whether of lands or houses, and a third part of all the interest due on capital. This tremendous attempt of the anarchist to carry his theories into actual practice had been put



down by a universal negative. Thiers, on the 26th of July, had given in a Report of Committee unanimously reprobating the proposal; and on the 31st, after Proudhon had delivered from the tribune an unexampled speech in reply, in which he dared the Assembly single-handed, drubbed Thiers and the Socialists too, and attacked property, the validity of contracts, universal suffrage, and a hundred other things, he was met with a vote declaring his opinions to be odious.

The debates on the Constitution extended over the months of September and October. The discussion on the Right to Labour occupied many days in all; but the chief portion of it took place on the four days from the 11th to the 14th of September inclusive. For its intrinsic importance, as well as for the ability shown by the speakers, this debate deserves to rank as one of the most illustrious that have ever taken place in a Representative Assembly. It is long, at least, since any debate comparable to it has occurred in the Parliament of England. Perhaps the most remarkable of the speeches were those of De Tocqueville and Thiers *against*, that of Lamartine *regarding*, and that of Ledru-Rollin *for* the Right to Labour. Proudhon did not speak; but his opinion was well known. "Give me the Right to Labour," he had said to M. Goudchaux in the Committee of Finances, "and I will let you keep the Right of Property;"—a saying that had given great offence to his brother Socialists, as presenting their views in an unduly harsh shape, but which the Economists declared to be in strict accordance with one of the clearest truths of their science, namely, that labour can be set agoing only by capital; which capital, in the case of labour that there is no demand for, must be raised by a tax.

On the division, the numbers were 596 *against* to 187 *for* the Right to Labour.\* And thus, after a short reign of seven months, was retracted, by an overwhelming majority, the single peculiar social principle that it was thought the Revolution of February had established. Of that Revolution, the only relic left is Universal Suffrage. This it would probably be difficult to retract.

The reaction had triumphed; the Socialists were beaten. At present, under the Presidency of Louis Napoleon, they exist but as a small speculative minority, probably (if we may form a guess from the state of the vote for the Presidency) about a twentieth part in all, of the French nation. Banquets are now their only demonstrations. In Paris, they are at this moment

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\* In this vote, the members of the former Provisional Government were distributed thus:—in the majority, Marrast and Dupont l'Eure; in the minority, Garnier-Pagès, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, and Flocon; absent, Louis Blanc and Albert; abstained from voting, Lamartine, Arago, and Marie.

the established subject of public laughter. In the *Illustration*, and other illustrated newspapers, there are weekly caricatures of Leroux, Proudhon, Thoré, and other leading Socialists. *Jérôme Paturot*—a wretched production in ridicule of the whole movement of 1848—is the popular novel of the day. At one of the Parisian theatres, there has been produced, under the title of *La Propriété c'est le vol*, a farce, in which the Socialists are attacked with a license as regards personality unequalled since the days of Aristophanes. When, in the course of the performance, Proudhon is introduced as the devil, the applause is tremendous. Nor are more serious answers to the Socialists wanting. The report of what has occurred in Texas has brought down a storm of indignation upon Cabet. In a shrewd, witty, shallow book, Thiers has stepped forward as the champion of property. Less popular, perhaps, but far more profound, and far more effective as an exposure of the errors of the Socialists, are the Letters of Michel Chevalier.

To one who remembers February last, all this seems very strange. A people retracting what so recently they established; laughing at what so recently they revered! But let no one think that the history is yet at an end. The Presidency of Louis Napoleon is but a mystic covering of emotion rolled over the thoughts of France. There are wild elements underneath. The existence of such a man as Proudhon is no jest in Europe.

- ART. II.—1. *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, with Memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas.* Pickering: London, 1845.
2. *Cabinet Pictures of English Life—Chaucer.* Knight's Weekly Vol. XXX.
3. *Canterbury Tales.* Do. do., Vols. LXXV. and CXIV.
4. *Selections from the Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* By CHAS. D. DESHLER, with a concise Life of the Poet, and Remarks illustrative of his Genius. London, 1847.
5. *The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer Modernized, with Life, by Professor Leonhard Schmitz.* 1841.
6. *Tales from Chaucer.* By CHARLES COWDEN CLARKE. 1833.
7. *The Riches of Chaucer.* By CHARLES COWDEN CLARKE. London, 1835.

THE name of Geoffrey or Geffray Chaucer, has a grateful sound to English ears, and the image which it conjures up, purified by time from every taint of ignoble association, looms large to us through the mists of the five centuries which intervene. We regard it as the “*sacra et major imago*” of the founder of that goodly fellowship of the gifted, which, since the dawn of civilisation, has been the salt and the savour of our English life, and we cherish it, as well we may, with a reverent and pious affection. But what the image of the poet thus gains in grandeur it loses in distinctness, and for our own interest, at all events, it may well be questioned whether this distant and misty reverence is exactly the species of incense which it becomes us to offer to one who, during more than half a century, within the range of our authentic history, was the greatest lay-intelligence in England, and whose life was perhaps as pregnant with consequences to our national development as that of any one man who ever existed in England at all. Would it not be more profitable to us, and perhaps not less acceptable to the shade of him, who was certainly no friend to unreasoning adoration, if we endeavoured to form for ourselves something like a definite notion of his character both as a poet and as a man, and thus to place our respect (if such should still remain to us) on the firmer basis of individual knowledge? Is it wise to rest contented with mere hearsay and second-hand information, when the question regards the first in point of time, and, in one department at least, the second in point of excellence of our native poets; or is it meet that those who would blush to be found tripping in the minutest details of classical philology, or of the modern tongues, should unhesitatingly confess, as they

but too often do, their ignorance of an author, an acquaintance with whom, apart altogether from his intrinsic merits, is indispensable to a knowledge of the historical development of the language which they speak? Truly the object seems worthy of some slight effort.

In order to deal with the utilitarian spirit which perhaps not improperly influences the choice of the many, in literature as in more vulgar matters, and to fix, as it were, the marketable value of Chaucer, the first question, as it seems to us, which we are bound at once to ask and to answer, is—belongs he to the living or to the dead; does he or does he not speak words of living interest to living men; is he or is he not an integral part of our existing civilisation?

The world is old enough to have seen many intellectual as well as political revolutions, and there are eras which boasted probably of no mean culture, irrevocably lost in the darkness of time. They are past, dead even in their effects—at least we can trace no influence which they exercise over our present life. Mediatly they may work, as the civilisation of Egypt through that of Greece, and it is nothing more than reasonable to suppose that by unseen links the earliest and the latest efforts of intelligence may be bound together; but the Pyramids teach no audible lesson except that of the mutability of human affairs, and the vast Sphinx is as silent as the sand at its base. These, for the present, we may not unfittingly hand over to the investigations of the curious; for although it were rashness to set limits to what learning and industry may yet effect in these darker regions, the popular reader may well be excused from intrusting himself to the labyrinth, till the clew has been found by more adventurous spirits.

But do the sayings and doings of Chaucer thus fall beyond the pale of general interest; does his image thus shrink into the shadowy past? Nothing can be more erroneous than such a supposition, and indeed, so far is his story from being strange and distant to us, that we believe every one who investigates it for the first time will feel astonished that it should have been possible for any one, in the times of Cressy and of Poitiers, to lead a life in all respects so nearly resembling that of an accomplished and successful civilian at the present day. It may make us think better of the liberality of our ancestors also, when we find that among iron-coated warriors and hooded monks, there was one who was neither a soldier nor a priest who advanced himself to celebrity and fortune, and during a long life under three monarchs enjoyed both honour and wealth by dint of his intellectual gifts and graces alone.

It is an extremely common error, both with vulgar narrators

and careless readers, to lay hold of the points of dissimilarity between distant ages and those in which they live, to the almost total exclusion of the often much more important features of resemblance, and this error it is which has so singularly estranged us from the early history of our country. We are told, for instance, that Chaucer lived before the invention of printing, in times of the darkest Popish superstition, when men believed in alchemy and astrology, wore armour, and fought for the most part with bows and arrows; and we immediately form to ourselves the picture of a barbarous and benighted age, and of a quaint and curious, but ignorant and bigoted old man, with whom we of this generation of light can have no species of sympathy or fellowship. We forget, however, that by drawing the picture a little nearer to us we should probably have discovered many objects of far more interesting contemplation in the features of resemblance which lie hidden behind the few fantastic forms of unlikeness which have attracted our eye in the foreground, and that, in short, our superficial glance has been resting upon the rude and barren crags which jut up prominently in the distance, instead of luxuriating in the fertile valleys and sunny fields, which a closer inspection would have revealed to our view. Now, if we would approach the father of our poetry in a spirit of erect and manly, but of respectful inquiry—if we would set about investigating his life and his writings, with the view of discovering not wherein he, in common with every man in Europe of his day, differed from the men of modern times, but wherein he resembled us, not in the unchangeable features of humanity alone, but in the peculiar characteristics of race and of nation—if we would compare with our own the manners and feelings of our own ancestors, as they move before us in their domestic and familiar intercourse in his graphic delineations, we should not only become reconciled to the character of the poet himself, but we should discover that he lived among a people possessing in the highest degree those distinctive features, that sharp and prominent nationality which distinguishes the present inhabitants of England from every other people. We should discover that same joyous and exuberant reality, that hatred of “humbug” which distinguishes us now, existing alongside of those superstitious observances which we rightly attribute to that distant age, and exhibiting itself, as it has ever since done in England, in a tendency, on the part of all classes of the people, to attack falsehood by the arms of argument and ridicule, rather than by an ebullition of sudden violence, which should peril the advantages of their present position, to risk a positive good for a possible better. We should meet, in the morning of our English life, with that same spirit which now sneers in *Punch* and wrestles in the *Times*,

awake and busy with Pardoner, and monk, and mendicant, and with all that then was vicious and absurd, and we should perceive, moreover, that then, as now, it was no spirit of indiscriminate destruction—that though it was revolutionary in appearance, it was conservative at heart, and that it consequently acted with perfect consistency in permitting to stand, as we know that it did for two centuries longer, a religious system of the imperfections of which it was perfectly conscious, but the uses of which it also recognised.

Much has been done in later times to approach us to our ancestors, and the gulf which threatened to separate us from them for ever, has been bridged over by the adoption of a principle little regarded by the writers of history of the last age.\* It has come to be perceived that the importance of an historical fact is often by no means in proportion to its apparent magnitude, and that the trivial occurrences of domestic life, and the usages of familiar intercourse, form very frequently a more accurate measure, both of the genius and culture of a people, than their great public events. It was long forgotten, that although trying situations may call forth striking manifestations of individual or of national peculiarities, it is in the peaceful and normal condition alone that we can hope to analyze that infinitely complex idea which corresponds to the character of a man or of an age; and that it is only when we behold it at rest and examine it in detail, that we can detect the individual colours which compose the variegated web of human life. In the hurry of a battle, or the confusion of a political revolution, in the panic of a pestilence, or the depression of a famine, men of all races, and in all ages, must manifest many features of resemblance, for this simple reason, that their actions are for the time under the dominion of necessity, or at all events of a few simple and overwhelming emotions; and to prove that their conduct had been similar in such circumstances, would be but to prove that they belonged to the common family of mankind. If their courage or their pusillanimity, their clemency or their cruelty, had been very remarkable, we should then indeed have the broad and general ideas that they were heroes or cowards, that they were men of mercy or men of blood; but as to their position on the intellectual or social scale, we should still be utterly at sea, since a barbarian may be generous, and poets and philosophers have been known who were no heroes. So long as the conduct of an individual is very powerfully influenced by the external circumstances which surround him at the time, it forms but a rude and general index to his character; and it is only when his actions proceed from

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\* See remarks on Robertson's Charles V. in Maitland's "Dark Ages."



the unfettered dictates of his reason or of his caprice, that its light becomes a clear and trusty guide. If we had heard the orders of Harold to his nobles, and known every circumstance of his conduct, and even every thought which passed through his mind during the battle of Hastings, we might have judged perhaps of the talents of the General, or even of the determination and energy of the man, but we should have known less of the civilisation either of him or of his age, than if we had conversed with him, as he buckled on his spurs for the battle, or had played the eves-dropper, when, in days of careless joy, he lingered by the side of the swan-necked Edith. Of all the days of Harold's life, perhaps the least instructive in this respect would have been that of the battle of Hastings.

Since the days of the learned and laborious Tyrwhitt, and the loving and enthusiastic but injudicious Godwin, numerous have been the attempts to bring us once again face to face with the father of our poetry. We have had "*Chaucer Modernized*," "*Tales from Chaucer*," "*Riches of Chaucer*," "*Selections from Chaucer*," with notes and illustrations and biographies without end, and to little good end or purpose either, so far as we can judge. They have failed one and all, for this good and simple reason, that they satisfied the requirements of no class of readers. Tiresome to the indolent for whom they were intended, they in vain endeavoured to rival with them the attractions of the slightest novel of the day; useless to the vain-glorious, for it was impossible to boast of such an acquaintance with the poet as they conveyed, and to the better class of readers, the learned and serious, not holding out even the promise of satisfaction, they fell, as might have been anticipated, nearly still-born from the press.\* Possessing neither brilliancy nor depth, they came within the category of that species of easy writing which, according to Sheridan, is hard reading.

A work of far higher merit, though of far humbler pretension, is one which, under the title of "*Pictures of English Life*,"

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\* To "those ornaments of this civilized age, and patterns to the civilized world, the ingenuous, intelligent, well-informed, and artless young women of England," to whom it seems Mr. Cowden Clarke gallantly dedicates his labours, they may, and we hope have been useful, though from what we have ourselves occasionally observed in these same ingenuous and artless young ladies, we must beg leave to doubt whether such a profession was the most effectual means which might have been adopted to propitiate their favour. We believe that a professed ladies' writer, like a professed ladies' man, rarely meets with the gratitude to which he may naturally conceive himself entitled, and his productions, we fear, will run some small risk of being classed with that gratification to which a popular proverb has likened a saltless egg. That there are many passages in old Dan Chaucer unsuited for the eyes or ears of juvenile gentlewomen we most readily grant, and these we think Mr. Clarke ought quietly and unostentatiously to have omitted from a publication of the kind which he meditated.

with accompanying selections from the *Canterbury Tales*, appeared some time ago in that best of all popular series, "Knight's Weekly Volume." Its author, Mr. Saunders, is entitled to the praise of having succeeded in one little book, in doing what Godwin attempted and failed to do in two large ones, viz., in transporting us from the England of the 19th back into the England of the 14th century, in forcing us not only to acknowledge, but to *feel* our kindred with our ancestors, that blood is indeed thicker than water, and that between the English then and the English now, there is more real community than between the English and any other living people. He has succeeded, too, in preserving the vigorous and masculine, the honest and downright spirit of the great original, and the coarseness by which these marvellous tales are occasionally (and considering the time at which they were written, inevitably) disfigured, he has gently put aside, by passing over in silence the passages in which it occurs; he has taken, in short, the poet's own oft-repeated advice to "turne over the leef, and chese another tale," the only sensible course in such circumstances.

But of all the later Chaucerian labours, the most important unquestionably, though perhaps not the most attractive, is the *Memoir* by the late lamented Sir Harris Nicolas, appended to Pickering's edition of the poet. Sir Harris, who belonged, as is well known, to the incredulous, as Godwin did to the credulous school of antiquarians, proceeded by personal inspection of the sources, to verify or to refute the mass of so called facts out of which, with the frequent aid of his own too fertile imagination, that latter enthusiast had contrived to weave what he was pleased to denominate his "Life of Chaucer." Rejecting altogether the aid of conjecture, in which poor Godwin had so freely indulged, he determined to give us "a Life of the Poet, founded on documentary evidence instead of imagination;" and it will be gratifying to those who, in spite of the secret misgivings with which they must often have been visited, have striven to believe in the existence of the first of our hero-men-of-letters, as Godwin had depicted him, when they learn that from this dry and rigid detail of documentary evidence, this great spirit of the 14th century comes out more than ever in the light of a great and revered and even prosperous man.

For the benefit of those of our readers whose curiosity with regard to the poet may exceed their relish for documentary detail, and also in order that we may have an opportunity of commenting upon the errors into which that universal incredulity, which he very properly adopted as the rule of his conduct, seems occasionally to have led Sir Harris Nicolas, we shall recount, as

briefly as we can, the substance of what may now be considered as finally *discovered* regarding the life and social position of Chaucer.

Over the birth and early life of our father-poet, a cloud of mystery hangs, which, as yet, has defied the industry of his biographers. All that can be asserted with safety is, that he was born about the year 1328,—that he was of Norman descent,—that his parents were persons in easy circumstances,—and that his youth was spent in the city of London. In support of the assertion that he was of Norman race, besides the form of the name itself, which is decidedly Norman, we have the very important fact, which Sir Harris Nicolas has overlooked, of its occurring in two different copies of the "Battel Abbey Roll," or list of persons of note who came over to England in the train of the Conqueror.\* The name seems never to have become a common one, and it is therefore extremely probable that, by the father's side, the poet was descended from the person there mentioned. But the period of more than two centuries and a half, which had elapsed between the battle of Hastings and the birth of the poet, is far too extensive to warrant us in tracing any portion, either of his individual character,† or of his fortune, to the circumstance of his Norman origin. His ancestors had no doubt intermarried with the Saxon population among whom they lived, and it is highly probable that the blood which flowed in the veins of the poet, like that of the English people generally, was much more Saxon than Norman. At the period of Chaucer's birth the prejudices of race had already in a great measure given way to the more generous feeling of national pride, and before his death the work of amalgamation, which time and a community of interests had begun, was completed by the community of antipathies which sprung up as the only permanent good fruits of the French wars of Edward III. and of his son. The only benefit which Chaucer could have derived from the Norman origin of his family, must have been a certain odour of gentility, which we know then adhered to those who bore a Norman name, and this he was altogether too sensible a man to value highly. "Straw for your gentillesse," was probably his own sentiment as well as that of his host; he was a man and an Englishman, and that was quite sufficient for his purpose. It is not improbable that our ignor-

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\* *Vide* Stow's Chron. in the last edition of Fuller's Church History, p. 105. The name also occurs in another mentioned by Fuller, as lately in the possession of Thomas Serwin, Esq.

† The personal appearance of the poet, in so far as it goes, is in favour of a Norman descent. His features, which, even in old age, would seem to have been remarkably handsome, are prominent, and the nose has that slightly aquiline form which we are accustomed to consider as the Norman type, probably for no better reason than because it belonged to the Conqueror.

ance with regard to his origin arises in a great measure from the circumstance of his pedigree having occupied a very much smaller portion of his thoughts than was usually the case with men of his time. It was neither a subject of self-gratulation nor of self-abasement; he was neither proud of it nor ashamed of it; and therefore it is that although he is very open and communicative with regard to the circumstances of his life generally, it never once occurs to him to say anything of the manner in which he was ushered into the world.

That his parents were persons in easy, if not affluent circumstances, may be safely inferred from the fact, that he certainly received a most excellent education. There is no trace of his ever having been intended for the Church, and yet there is no department of knowledge which was then cultivated, with which he does not exhibit an intimate and apparently an old standing familiarity.

Whatever may have been the place of Chaucer's birth, whether it was the city of London, or the county of Kent, which we shall afterwards see that he represented in Parliament, and with which there are many reasons to suppose that he was connected, there seems little doubt that he received the early part of his education in London. The fact, however, is by no means undisputed. The chief argument in its favour is derived from a passage in "The Testament of Love," which is adduced by Godwin and most of Chaucer's biographers as completely establishing the point; whilst by Sir Harris Nicolas, it is with equal confidence rejected, as proving nothing at all. The "Testament of Love" is an allegorical piece, composed in imitation of the celebrated work of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophicæ*; but in which the part of "*Philosophy*" is supplied by "*Love*," who, in a female form, appears to converse with, and console her "*Norie*" or *alumnus*. The question in dispute among the biographers is, as to how far this "*Norie*," this terrestrial interlocutor, may with safety be regarded as the poet himself; and whether the circumstances mentioned must be held to form part of the allegory, or may be construed as having reference to actual occurrences? That Godwin, with his habitual rashness, has endeavoured to make out a great deal too much, and that he has converted an imaginary Island, in which the Interlocutor is imprisoned by the allegorical personages, "*Luste*," "*Thought*," and "*Will*," into the Tower of London, in which he conceives the poet to be confined by the opponents of John of Gaunt, is beyond dispute; still it by no means follows, that, because Godwin has made an absurd blunder with regard to one passage, no part of the book shall be held to have a personal reference to the poet; or that, because Chaucer does *not mean* the "*Tower of*

London" when he speaks of an "allegorical island," therefore he *does* mean an "allegorical island" when he speaks of the "city of London." The passage itself is so pointed, that we cannot think of torturing it into any other than its natural sense. "Also the Citye of London, that is to me so dere, and swete, in whiche I was forth growen, and more kindly love have I to that place, than to any other in yerth, as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendure, and to wilne reste and pece in that stede to abide." The context is no doubt very obscure, but there is nothing in it, so far as we can see, which forbids the application of these words to the individual situation of Chaucer; and we are further confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that in the work of Boethius, the author continually speaks through the mouth of the terrestrial interlocutor. The probabilities, therefore, in our opinion, are in favour of the direct construction, and, consequently, of Chaucer's having been, if not born, at least "forth growen," in London, though we should scarcely have expected to find them giving rise to the Chapter on his "Schoolboy Amusements" which we find in Godwin.

Each of the English Universities lays claim to Chaucer as a pupil, with about equal success. That he must have studied at one of them is certain, for there then existed no other means of procuring the instruction which he possessed; and the method of solving the mystery, at which Sir H. Nicolas scouts, viz., by supposing that he was at both, seems to us by no means so absurd as he imagines. We know that it was then very common for celebrated teachers, both in England and on the Continent, to collect around them audiences drawn from every corner of Europe, and the students were a migratory population, who remained at any one University no longer than was requisite to attend on the instructions of him whose fame had brought them thither. Leland, the English Antiquary of the sixteenth century, who asserts that Chaucer was at Oxford, was a member of both Universities, and Chaucer seems to indicate a favour for the custom, where he says, that "Sondry scoles maken subtil clerkes." The English Universities had not then, and did not assume till long afterwards, that peculiar character which now belongs to them. They resembled the Universities of Paris and Bologna then, and of Germany and Scotland now; and we know that the custom of residing at two, or even three Universities, is very frequent at the present day, both on the continent of Europe and in Scotland.

It is also asserted, on still more doubtful authority, that Chaucer studied the law; and an amusing anecdote is told by Spight, of his having been fined two shillings for beating a Franciscan friar in Fleet-street, whilst he was a member of the

Inner Temple. We are further told that he travelled in France for his instruction. But with reference to all of these assertions, the question will naturally arise, whether they were not brought forward by their authors, in order to account for the acquirements of which the poet was no doubt possessed when he first comes within the range of historical vision. If a man knows French well, as he seems to have done, it is no doubt highly probable that he may have been partially educated in France; but it is not a sufficient ground upon which to assert that such has actually been the case, since the fact would be equally well accounted for by his mother having been a French woman, or a hundred other accidental circumstances.

All that can be positively affirmed of Chaucer up to the year 1359, when he was in the army which invaded France, and when, according to the date which is usually given to his birth, he must have been 31 years of age, is that he received the best education which could be obtained at the time, and that he probably was intended for a learned profession, since his studies would not otherwise have been carried so far at a time when learning was so rarely cultivated by laymen for its own sake.

The account which we possess of his first and only military service, is contained in a deposition which he himself gave on the 15th October 1387, as a witness for Sir Richard le Scrope, in defence of his right to the arms "azure a bend or" against the claim of Sir R. Grosvenor. Chaucer was then attending upon the Parliament, as knight of the shire for the county of Kent. His deposition, which is extremely curious, we shall insert for the amusement of our readers.

"Geffray Chaucere, Esquier, del age de xl. ans et plus, armeez par xxvij. ans, produit par la partie de Mons. Richard Lescrope, jurez et examinez :

"Demandez, si les armeez d'azure ove une bende dor appartaignent, ou deyvent appartaigner, au dit Mons. Richard du droit et de heritage, dist,

"Que oil, qar il lez ad veu estre armeez en Fraunce devant la ville de Retters, et Mons. Henry Lescrope armoz en mesmes les armeez ove un label blanc et a baner, et le dit Mons. Richard armeez en les entiers armez d'azure ove une bende dor, et issint il lez vist armer partout le dit viage, tanque le dit Geoffrey estoit pris :

"Demandez, par quei il sciet que les ditz armeez appartaignent au dit Mons. Richard, dist,

"Que par oy dire des veu Chivalers et Esquiers," &c. &c.

The following anecdote is curious :—

"Qil estoit une foitz en Friday Strete en Londres, com il alast en la rewe il vist pendant hors un nouvell signe faitz dez diz armez, et demandast quele herbergerie ceo estoit qui avoit pendu hors certes



armez du Scrop, et un autr luy repondist et dit, Nenyl, seigneur, ils ne sount myz penduz hors pour les armez de Scrope, ne depeynte la pour cez armeez, mes ils sount depeynte et mys la por une Chivaleir del Counte de Chestre, que homme appell Mons. Robert Grovenor ; et ceo fuist les primer faitz que oonges il oiast parler de Mons. Robert Grovenor ou de cez auncestres, ou de ascun autre portant le nom de Grovenor."

It would be extremely interesting to know in what capacity Chaucer actually served in this memorable expedition. The term "armed" by no means sets the question at rest, for he says that he was armed for twenty-seven years, during which time we know that he filled a succession of civil offices, and never once acted in the capacity of a soldier. It applies also to the time of giving the deposition, when he was certainly altogether a civilian. Perhaps it referred merely to the rank of esquire, which he then possibly for the first time assumed, or obtained. Strongly confirmatory as it seems to us of the view that Chaucer was attached to the army of Edward in a civil capacity, is the circumstance, that the next mention we have of him is in the situation of one of the "Valets of the King's Chamber," or "Valet of the King's Household," as the office is elsewhere called; and on the 20th June 1367, the king grants him, by the designation of "*dilectus Valettus noster*," in consideration of his *former* and future services, an annual salary of twenty marks for life, or until he should be otherwise provided for. From 1360 to 1367, no entry of any payment to him appears on the Issue Roll of the Exchequer, so that he probably held during that time no recognised public office; but the mention of his former services evidently implies a previous connexion with the Court, and nothing is more likely than that they may have stretched back to the date of the expedition. His being taken prisoner, of course proves nothing, for this might have befallen a civil as well as a military servant of the king, though it is very possible that the captivity which he suffered may have been reckoned among his services; and that its duration may account for some portion of the time during which, after once appearing, he again escapes from our sight. His appearance at Court in a situation which, as Sir H. Nicolas says, "was always filled by gentlemen," at a time when the requisite of birth was more indispensable than even now to Court preferment, is also favourable to the opinion that he was from the first of gentle blood, and that, though he gave himself little trouble about the matter, there were others who read the "Battel Abbey Roll" in his behalf.

Chaucer's marriage is probably to be ascribed to the period at which we have now arrived. His wife was Philippa Roet, one of the "demoiselles," or ladies in attendance on the queen, and

the eldest daughter of Sir Payne Roet, a native of Hainault, and king of arms of Guienne. She was also the sister of Katherine, the widow of Sir Hugh Swynford, who at one time was the mistress, and afterwards became the wife, of John of Gaunt. This, like most of the other facts of Chaucer's life, has been the subject of dispute, but we may now regard it as finally set at rest, by the investigations of Sir Harris Nicolas. The exact period of his marriage is not mentioned, but it must have taken place before the 12th September, 1366, since on that day a pension of ten merks annually, for life, was granted to "*Philippa Chaucer una Domicellarum Cameræ Philippæ Regina Angliæ.*" Chaucer's wife was, therefore, a *Domicella* before he was, or at least is known to have been, a *Valettus*, and it is not improbable that his connexion with her may have led to his procuring that office. Philippa, after her marriage with the poet, continued in the service of the queen, and at Christmas 1368, she is mentioned as one of the persons of the royal household to whom robes were ordered to be given. Her name occurs along with those of twelve other "damoiselles," eight "sous damoiselles," and several "veillereses" of the queen's chamber, and among these latter is Philippa Pycard, the person whom several of the biographers suppose to have been the wife of Chaucer. There is reason to believe that Sir Payne Roet came to England in the retinue of Queen Philippa, in 1328, and it is therefore probable that his daughter entered the royal household at an early period of life. We have no means of ascertaining her age when she was united to the poet, but unless the marriage took place some time before the pension was assigned to her, her husband must then have been at least thirty-five, and as it is not likely that she was much older, we may conclude that she was born after her father's arrival in England.

After the queen's death, in 1369, Philippa Chaucer was attached to the person of Constance of Castile, Duchess of Lancaster, the second consort of John of Gaunt, to whose children, by his first alliance, her younger sister, Katherine, Lady Swynford, was then governess. Like her husband, she seems to have enjoyed the favour of "the great duke," for, before August 1372, he had given her a pension of £10 per annum, which was commuted, in June 1374, for an annuity of the same amount to her and her husband for life, "in consideration of the good services which they had rendered to the duke, to his duchess, and to the late queen, his mother." In 1382, the Duke of Lancaster presented her with a silver-gilt cup and cover, as a new year's gift, and the record of this donation shows that she was then one of the three ladies in attendance on the duchess, the others being Lady Sanche Blount and Lady Blanche de Trumpington.

Such is pretty nearly all that has been discovered of her who shared the joys and the sorrows of Chaucer, and who, as we shall see, was the mother of his children. We would gladly know more, but on this, as on many other occasions, we must feel grateful for knowledge which, though meagre in itself, so considerably exceeds that which we possess of the private history of a greater poet than he, and one who lived so much nearer to our time. Of Shakspeare's wife, the name of "Anne Hathaway" is nearly all which his biographers are privileged to record.\*

We have now to contemplate Chaucer in an altogether different capacity, and in one which has very generally, though not very reasonably, been supposed to be inconsistent with the character of a poet. We have seen him a student and a courtier. We are now to behold him immersed in affairs—a man of business! On the 20th June, 1370, he obtained the usual letters of protection, in order that he might go abroad in the service of the king. This, so far as we know, was the first of Chaucer's foreign missions: the object of it has not been ascertained; but he must have discharged his duties to the satisfaction of his sovereign, for his services were soon again called into requisition, and he was sent into foreign parts *at least seven times*† in the public service. The second of these missions is the most celebrated, from his referring to an anecdote supposed to be connected with it in the *Canterbury Tales*. The commission for this embassy was dated on the 12th November 1372, and Chaucer being then one of the king's esquires, was joined in it with James Pronam and John de Mari, citizens of Genoa, for the purpose of choosing some port in England where the Genoese might form a commercial establishment. It seems that he went to Florence, as well as Genoa, for on his return, in February 1374, he received a payment at the Exchequer for his expenses while on the king's service at these places. Godwin, and several of the other biographers, assert, that on this occasion he visited Petrarch at Padua, and obtained from him, then and there, the pathetic tale of Griselda. The anecdote, which, if true, would be highly interesting, unfortunately rests upon no higher authority than the possibility

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\* As regards Chaucer's relation to the gentler sex in general, there is one passage in his writings which deserves to be noticed. In the Prologue to the "*Rime of Sire Thopas*," the host, when speaking of the poet, says,—

"This were a popet in an arme to embrace  
For any woman, small and faire of face."

And from this, which was the opinion of himself, by a man not remarkable for vanity, taken in conjunction with what we know of his marriage, it may be inferred with little danger of error, that fortune, along with her other favours, dealt to him no stinted share of womanly affection, and that, in common with most of those who have been greatly gifted, he had the still more enviable privilege of being greatly beloved.

† Some say nine times,

that such a meeting may have taken place, and the supposed allusion to it in the following lines in the Prologue to the Clerk's Tale :—

“ I wol you tell a tale, which that I  
 Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,  
 As preved by his wordes and his werk.  
 He is now ded, and nailed in his cheste,  
 I pray to God so yeve his soule rest.  
 Fraunceis Petrark, the lauret poete,  
 Highte this clerk, whos retorike swete  
 Enlumined all Itaille of poetrie.”

If Chaucer had not appeared in his own person as one of the characters in the Pilgrimage, and recited one of the tales, there would then have been very strong reasons for identifying his character with that of the Clerk of Oxenford, and the internal evidence in favour of this interesting meeting might have sufficed to supply the deficiency of external proof. As it is, however, notwithstanding the fact of Chaucer's having actually been at Florence while Petrarch was at Arquà, (for the discovery of which we are indebted to Sir Harris Nicolas, and which, if it had been known to Godwin, would have been pounced upon as a positive windfall,) we cannot regard the story in a higher light than that in which Sir Harris puts it when he says, that “until accident brings some hitherto undiscovered document to light, it must remain among the many doubtful circumstances in the lives of eminent men which their admirers wish to believe true, but for which their biographers ought to require surer evidence than what Godwin calls ‘coincidences which furnish a basis of historical probability.’”

Our space does not permit us to enumerate the subsequent diplomatic services of the poet. They were all of them, however, on affairs of importance, and frequently of secrecy, which renders it difficult to trace their object, or even to ascertain their number, as on these occasions neither commissions nor letters of protection were given, and the fact of their having taken place is only ascertained by payments to Chaucer from the Exchequer for services rendered “in secretis negotiis domini regis.” One, however, is mentioned by Froissart, in which Chaucer was joined in February 1377, with Sir Guichard d'Angle (afterwards Earl of Huntingdon) and Sir Richard Sturry, to negotiate a secret treaty for the marriage of Richard, Prince of Wales, with Mary, daughter of the King of France. On most of these occasions, as on that to which we have just alluded, he was associated with persons of more exalted rank—a circumstance which has led Saunders to form the very natural conjecture that he was in

truth the working man of the embassy, and acted in the capacity of what would now be called *chargé d'affaires*.\*

But another and much more prosaic occupation engaged the attention of the poet when in England. On the 8th June 1374, shortly after his return from his first mission to Italy, he was appointed Comptroller of the Customs, and Subsidy of "Wools, Skins, and tanned Hides," in the port of London, and this office he continued to hold for twelve years, though he was bound to write the rolls of his office with his own hand, to be continually present, and to perform his duties personally and not by deputy, excepting of course the occasions on which he was sent abroad in the King's service. On the 8th May 1382, he was farther appointed Comptroller of the Petty Customs in the port of London, but the duties of this latter office he was permitted to discharge either in person or by sufficient deputy, and on the 17th of the following February, he was accordingly permitted to appoint a permanent deputy. It is amusing to remark, in connexion with Chaucer's first appointment to the Customs, that about the same time he received a grant of a pitcher of wine daily for life, to be received in the port of London by the hands of the King's butler. Perhaps his royal master may have been of opinion that after a day spent in those "reckenynge," of which he gently insinuates his aversion in his *House of Fame*, a "cup of sack" would be no unwelcome refreshment to a poet.

But though we may imagine that the kindness of his sovereign may have been called into exercise on this occasion, by a sense of the uninteresting nature of the poet's occupations, we can by no means join with Tyrwhitt in his lamentation for the genius of Chaucer, when struggling against the petrifying effect of these Custom-house accounts. We believe, on the contrary, that much of that peculiarly healthy and normal character which belongs to Chaucer's mind, as exhibited in his poetry, is to be attributed to his having taken so large a share in the actual business of the world. To procure the means of living in ease and affluence by the exercise of moderate, though regular application, has seldom a deteriorating effect on the mind of any man, and the time which was engrossed by these occupations was probably saved from his passing amusements and his gossiping friends, rather than taken from that which would have been devoted to posterity. The Excise has perhaps been charged with more than its own share in the destruction of Robert Burns, and the India House

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\* It is worthy of remark, that in 1378, when he was sent to Lombardy, Chaucer appointed his friend and brother poet *Gower*, along with a certain Richard Forrester, to represent him in any legal proceedings which might be instituted in his absence.

may claim the merit of having saved Charles Lamb from the heaviest of human afflictions. We regard it as a proof at once of the "manysidedness" of Chaucer's mental endowments, and of the thorough manliness of his character, that whilst he acted as the spiritual exponent of his age—whilst he felt and responded to the highest of earthly vocations—he was at the same time both able and willing to discharge, and did actually discharge, long and assiduously, the ordinary duties of an English citizen. Nor is the instance a solitary one among the greatest poets. Milton was Latin Secretary to Cromwell, and took an active share in all the events of his time; Shakspeare realized a fortune by his "Globe Theatre;" Goethe was Prime Minister to the Duke of Weimar; and if Shelley, Byron, and Keates, and the rest of our morbid poets, had been forced to think a little more of other people and a little less of themselves, there would probably have been less of that fretful repining and subjective mewling by which they have disgraced both themselves and their calling.

Towards the end of 1386, Chaucer ceased to hold his offices in the Customs, and great has been the ingenuity which his biographers have exhibited in accounting for his supposed dismissal. Godwin, who never leaves anything unexplained, discovered, as he says, from passages in the "Testament of Love," or more properly speaking invented, a very ingenious and romantic story of his having taken part in the dispute between the Court and the citizens of London, respecting the election of a certain mayor of the name of John of Northampton; of his having fled to Zealand; of his there having acted with great liberality to his fellow-exiles; of the persons who had charge of his affairs in his absence having betrayed their trust and reduced him to poverty; of his having betrayed his confederates in return, in order to get out of the Tower of London, in which it seems he was imprisoned on his return, and a great many circumstances of a similar description, which, though highly creditable to the inventor, would not probably be greatly to the edification of our readers. The whole of this mass of "historical probabilities" is now blown in the air by the discovery, that, during the whole time of his supposed exile, Chaucer was quietly discharging his Custom-House duties in London, and drawing his salaries; and that, at the very time when he is supposed to have been lying a prisoner in the Tower of London, he was sitting as Knight of the Shire for the county of Kent in the Parliament at Westminster! The discovery is of course a notable one, and Sir Harris Nicolas glorifies himself accordingly. But the odd part of the business is, that although he has thus pulled down the whole of the superincumbent mass of rubbish which Godwin had built upon the theory of the dismissal, he still



continues to be haunted by the theory itself. Why does it never occur to him, that if Chaucer became a Member of Parliament on the 1st October, and ceased to be Comptroller of the Customs on the 1st December, the two events may possibly have been connected, and that the resignation of the comptrollership may have been occasioned by its duties being incompatible with those of a member of Parliament? The explanation seems so natural, that one wonders why it should have failed to suggest itself. But what, then, became of the theory of the dismissal? It went by the board of course; and this Sir Harris would by no means permit, for he (in common with Godwin, strange to tell) was determined that Chaucer should be poor at one period of his life; and the present seemed a favourable opportunity for commencing his misfortunes. We are told, accordingly, that although the accession of Richard II. had been favourable to him at first, from the power which it placed in the hands of his patron, the Duke of Lancaster, the tide had now turned against him, and that he had become obnoxious to the Duke of Gloucester, who had then risen into power. For this there is just as little proof as for the exile to Zealand. It is very possible that a change of ministers may have led to the poet's retirement from his offices in the Customs, and a similar circumstance may have induced him voluntarily to assign his pensions—a transaction which has been held as a sure indication of his being in pecuniary difficulties. In any view of this matter, the facts seem to us by no means necessarily to infer poverty; they are equally explicable on the supposition of his having attained to such affluence as to render it no longer indispensable that he should discharge the functions of laborious offices; and, however improbable it may be that a poet should be industrious, if we have the industry proved, as in the case before us, we think the supposition of its having been followed by its usual concomitant of easy circumstances, even in his case, ceases to be extravagant. The death of his wife, moreover, which seems to have taken place in 1387, by adding the element of domestic affliction to the other inducements to retirement which must always have weighed with a man of letters, renders the voluntary withdrawal of Chaucer from public affairs, at this period of his life, still more intelligible. We are confirmed in our opinion, moreover, by the fact, that he never again held any public office the duties of which he was compelled to discharge in person. In 1389, when the young king Richard II. assumed the reins of government, and the poet's patron, John of Gaunt, and his son, the Earl of Derby, (afterwards King Henry IV.), came into power, he was appointed to the valuable office of Clerk of the King's Works at the Palace of Westminster and

the other Royal Residences, but his duties he was permitted to discharge by deputy, and, even if he had not, they were probably more to his taste than those of Comptroller of Customs. This situation Chaucer held for two years; and the cause of his resignation, or dismissal, as in the former case, is unknown. For a short time he seems to have had no other pension than that which he derived from the Duke of Lancaster, and his wages as one of the King's Esquires. But on the 28th February 1394, he again obtained a grant from the King of £20 for life; and this fact, taken in connexion with the powerful friendships which we know he possessed, and the very recent period at which, as Clerk of the Works, he must have been very well off, renders it, to our thinking, rather a hasty conclusion on the part of his biographers, that he must have been in great want of money, merely because he seems, once or twice, to have anticipated his pension at the Exchequer. The truth of the matter probably is, that he made the Exchequer serve him in some measure as a banker—that he treated his pension as an account-current, upon which he drew as he found occasion for his ordinary expenses; and this view we think is confirmed by the fact, that he allowed it to lie after the term of payment, nearly as often as he drew it in advance. On the whole, we conceive that the attempt to make Chaucer a martyr to the world's forgetfulness of men of genius, has not very well prospered in the hands of his biographers; and we think it not unlikely, that the phantom of poverty with which they have insisted on marring his fortunes, may have been conjured up by that which overshadowed their own. On this subject Sir Harris Nicolas is quite as pathetic as Godwin; and the similarity of his fate, which we have recently had occasion to deplore, with that which so long pressed upon the indiscreet but gifted author of *Caleb Williams*, may not improbably have brought about this solitary coincidence. Nor are we at all shaken in our opinion on this subject by Chaucer's address "to his Emptie Purse," which has been relied on as an additional proof of his poverty. It is manifestly a sportive production, written for the purpose of bringing his claims for an increase to his pensions in a light and graceful manner before the young king, Henry IV., the son of his patron, John of Gaunt, and with whom, be it remembered, he was then nearly connected by marriage, and in these circumstances the expressions, "I am sorrie now that ye be light," "be heavy againe," &c., seem to us nothing more than what we daily hear from persons in very easy circumstances. They might be brought forward as a proof of his avarice, quite as well as of his poverty. But if he was a needy, he seems not to have been an unsuccessful suitor, for we know that within four days after Henry came

to the throne, and probably the very day that he received the verses in question, he doubled the poet's pension, and on the 15th of October of the preceding year, just at the time when his supposed penury must have been at its height, he obtained in addition to his daily pitcher, another grant of a tun of wine every year during his life, "in the port of London, from the King's chief butler or his deputy."\* If he had been so "rascally poor" as his biographers would make him, one would think that the *pitcher*† daily ought to have been sufficient for his consumption in the article of wine. That Chaucer was extravagant, or at least that he possessed those expensive tastes which so frequently accompany intellectual refinement, is extremely probable, and if such were the case it is not unlikely that his purse was occasionally "lighter" than was consistent with his habits; but we rejoice to think that there is no reason for quarrelling with the buxom age in which he lived, on the score of his having been subjected to actual want, and so far are we from wishing to claim for him the glories of pecuniary martyrdom, that we confess to regarding with some degree of pleasure, the many indications of wealth and comfort with which at every stage of his life we find him surrounded. We remember that Knox had "his pipe of Bordeaux in that old Edinburgh house of his," and we remember also the flagon of Einbecker beer, which the kind hands of Duke Erich proffered to Doctor Martin Luther, on his exit from the *Saale* at Worms, and the gratitude with which he drank it; and neither the one nor the other of these hero-priests is one whit the less heroic in our eyes from his hearty enjoyment of the good things which Providence sent him. We have every reason to believe that the father of our poets was considerably more fortunate in external circumstances than either of the Reformers, and we have no reason to doubt that his enjoyments were tempered with the same kindly and pious spirit.

But Chaucer was not destined long to enjoy the bounty of his new sovereign, for he died at the mature age of 72, on the 15th October 1400, only one year subsequent to the grants which we have last mentioned. He died in the vicinity of Westminster, in a house which on the Christmas Eve preceding he had rented from a monk of the name of Robert Humodesworth. Whether London was then the place of his habitual residence, whether he possessed, as has been said, the castle and manor of Donington, in Berkshire, or passed the latter part of his life at a favourite

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\* It is instructive on this subject to remark that a few months subsequent to this grant, if not at the very time, the King's chief butler was none other than the poet's own son, Thomas Chaucer.

† A pitcher of wine is supposed to have amounted to four bottles.

retreat at Woodstock, cannot now be, or at all events has not yet been, ascertained with certainty, though considerably greater industry has been bestowed upon the inquiry than in the eyes of many it may seem to merit.

In his family Chaucer was not less fortunate than in the other circumstances of his life, and his name was preserved in honour among the living by his eldest son Thomas Chaucer, who externally was a more important personage than even the poet himself. In the reign of Richard II., while his father yet lived, he had held the office of King's chief butler, and a grant of twenty marks a year had also been given to him. Under Henry IV. he held many lucrative and honourable appointments; he represented Oxfordshire in eight Parliaments, commencing with the year 1402, and coming down to 1429, and in 1414 he was chosen Speaker of the Commons in the Parliament that met at Westminster, on Monday after the octaves of St. Martin. Thomas Chaucer married Matilda, the second daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Burghersh, with whom he acquired large estates in Oxfordshire, and in many other counties, and latterly he seems to have been very wealthy, since he is rated after his death, in the list which was prepared of those of whom it was proposed to borrow money for carrying on the French war, at a much larger sum than any other person except the Bishops of Exeter and Ely, the Dean of Lincoln, and Sir John Cornwall. He served with the King in France with a retinue of twelve men-at-arms, and thirty-seven archers, and he was present at the battle of Agincourt. Like his father he seems also to have had a talent for diplomacy, for he was frequently employed as an ambassador during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.

Thomas Chaucer had only one child, Alice Chaucer, who married for the third time, in 1430, William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was attainted and beheaded in 1450. By him she had three children, the eldest of whom, John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, married the Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of King Edward IV., by whom he had a numerous family, the eldest of whom, John de la Pole, was declared by Richard III. heir-apparent to the throne, in the event of the Prince of Wales dying without issue; so that for some time, as Sir Harris Nicolas remarks, there was a great probability of the poet's great-great-grandson succeeding to the Crown. But the Earl of Lincoln (for such he had been created in his father's lifetime) was killed in the not very glorious battle of Stoke in 1487, and in his person the family of Chaucer was extinguished, thus suffering the fate which strangely enough seems to impend over the families of all our poets.

Besides his son Thomas, Chaucer probably had a daughter and also a sister of the name of Elizabeth, since two persons bearing the name of Elizabeth Chaucer became nuns, one in the Abbey of Berking in Essex, and the other in the priory of St. Helen's, London, in such circumstances as to lead to the supposition that they were connected with the Poet.

But of all his children, the most interesting, because apparently the best beloved, is "lytel Lowys," for whose instruction he compiled, and to whom he dedicated his "conclusions of the Astrolabie" in a style so quaint, so tender, and withal so instructive with reference both to his own character and to the time, that though intended for no other purpose than to facilitate the studies of a child of ten years old, it has become to us one of the most interesting of his works.

The object of the treatise is to reduce to a simpler form the rules for the use of this instrument, which till the invention of the quadrant, was invariably used both in astronomy and navigation, and to present them in English to his son, instead of the latin in which it was then the custom to teach them, "for latine ne canst thou nat yet but smale, my litel sonne." It is "compowned," as he tells us, "after the latitude of Oxenforde," where it is probable that "lytel Lowys" was then at school, and where his father had evidently perceived with delight the opening of powers which we have reason to believe were not destined to arrive at maturity. With a mixture of fondness and of pride which is touching, he says, "I perceive by certain evidences, thyne abylyte to lerne scyences, touching nombres, and proportions, and also well consider I thy besye prayer in especyal to lerne the tretyse of the astrolabye." The conclusion of the dedication is also well worthy of note, both for the quaint modesty with which he lays aside all pretension to scientific originality, and for the patriotic enthusiasm with which he speaks of the English language:—

"Now wol I pray mekely every person discrete, that redeth or heareth this litel treatise to have my rude entending excused, and my superfluitie of wordes, for two causes. The firste cause is, for that curious endityng and harde sentences is ful hevy at once, for such a childe to lerne. And the seconde cause is this, that sothely me semeth better to writen unto a child twise a good sentence, than he foriete it ones. And Lowis, if it so be that I shewe the in my lith Englishe, as true conclusions touching this mater, and not only as trewe but as many and subtil conclusions, as bene yshewed in latin, in any comon treatise of the astrolabye, conne me the more thanke, and praye God save the kinge, that is lorde of this langage, and all that him faith beareth, and obeith everich in his degre, the more and the lasse. But consydre thwell, that I ne usurpe not to have

founden this werke of my labour or of mine engin. I nam but a leude compilatour of the laboure of old astrologiens, and have it translated in myn Englishe onely for thy doctrine, and with this swerde shall I sleue envy."

This little tribute of paternal love on the part of our poet, is indeed remarkable in many ways, and if we consider the time at which it was written, when universality of knowledge was of much less easy attainment than in our day, and bear in mind further, that it was the fruit of the leisure hours of one, who besides his literary labours, which were neither few nor small, was as we have seen a courtier, a diplomatist, and a man of business, it will hold as such a prominent place among the curiosities of literature. Of its bearing in another point of view, we shall have to speak in a subsequent page.

We have now concluded what we conceived it needful to say of the external position of Chaucer, and of his varied career, and it will probably be admitted that we have in some measure fulfilled the promise with which we commenced the recital. We have called from the fourteenth century as a witness to its manners, one who neither in his occupations, nor in his fortunes, differed greatly from hundreds of the best class of Englishmen of the present time, and whose story, in its external aspect, might be told of many under the reign of Queen Victoria, as well as under that of King Edward III. Are we to conclude from this, that Chaucer was a solitary and isolated character, plucked as it were by anticipation from the realm of the future, and sent as a spectator for our behoof into the halls of our ancestors? or are we to accept him as a specimen of the man of his time, at the expense of foregoing all our preconceived opinions with reference to the character of the fourteenth century? On either hypothesis we should be equally in error; solitary and isolated he certainly was not, for with all that was acted, and all that was thought, he was entwined; in his life and in his character he was the expression of his time; but neither was he an average specimen, for he was its highest expression; we do not say that he was before his time, for though the phrase is often used with reference to those whose development surpasses that of their contemporaries not in kind but in degree, we do not think that it is rightly so used, and if there was any one of that day to whom in its proper signification we might apply it, it would be to Wycliffe, and not to Chaucer. Chaucer did not anticipate the future, but he comprehended the present, he was a "seer" of what was—not of what was to be. He was the "clear and conscious" man of his time. In his opinions there was nothing which others did not feel, but what they felt unconsciously he thought



and expressed, and what to them was a vapour, to him was a form. There was no antagonism between him and his age, and hence the popularity which we know that he enjoyed. In taking this view of the matter, it may be thought that we give up all pretension on the part of our poet, to the highest—the prophetic part of the poetic character. We answer that we are not here to discuss the question, as to whether the proper function of the poet is to express the age in which he lives, or to shadow forth an age which is to follow. We state the fact as we conceive it to be, and so important do we regard it in order to a just appreciation of the character and influence of Chaucer, that we shall take the liberty of illustrating it by tracing it out as well as we may, first in his philosophy, and then in his religion.

For this purpose it is not necessary that we should speak at length of his metaphysical creed, for the philosophy of Aristotle was still all-prevalent; and there is abundant proof in many parts of his writings that Chaucer, like the rest of the learned of his day, was brought up at the feet of the Stagyrte, and that he read it with the light which the Schoolmen afforded. It is probable also that the study was a very favourite one with him, that he “hadde unto logic long ygo,” and that in this, as in many other respects, he painted his own character in that of the “Clerk of Oxenford,” when he says, that

“him was liever han at his bed’s head  
A twenty bookes cloth’d in black or red  
Of Aristotile and his philosophy  
Than robès rich, or fiddle, or psaltry.”

But there is no reason to think that in this department Chaucer ever assumed a higher position than that of a recipient. In none of his works that have come down to us does he deal with the pure intelligence; and, indeed, from his whole character, it is obvious that his interest in the concrete was so intense as scarcely to admit of his lingering long in the regions of metaphysical or logical abstraction. The part of our nature with which he was concerned, and upon which it was his vocation to act, was precisely that which the logician excludes from his view; as a poet, he had to deal with man not as he thinks merely, but as he feels and acts—with his passions and affections even more than with his intelligence, and hence his devotion to ethical studies.

Of the manner in which he studied, and endeavoured to elaborate this latter department of mental philosophy, we are fortunately enabled to judge with considerable precision. In early life he translated the celebrated work of Boethius “*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*,” a book more remarkable for its fortunes than even for its merits. Composed in prison when accused of the

crime of having "hoped for the restoration of Roman liberty," by him whom Gibbon has characterized as "the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countryman," it formed as it were the connecting link between the classical and the Christian world; and the labour of translation which Chaucer performed, had already occupied the leisure of Alfred, and was yet to engage that of Elizabeth. Though Boethius was a Christian, and his quarrel with Theodoric is supposed to have arisen from a treatise which he published during his Consulship in 522, in which he maintained the doctrine of the Unity of the Trinity, in opposition to the Arian tenets of his master, the arguments by which he seems to have consoled himself for the loss of his greatness, and to have prepared himself for the death which he soon after suffered, are deduced from the doctrines of Plato, of Aristotle, and, above all, of Zeno, rather than from those of Christ and his disciples; and if the book is to be regarded in a higher light than that of a philosophical pastime, by which he sought to relieve the tedium of captivity, it must be viewed as the production of one in whom the character of the heathen philosopher preponderated over that of the Christian martyr. It possesses, however, much of the calm and dignified beauty which the ancients shed over their natural religion. In many passages we feel as if we were reading a Latin translation of one of the Dialogues of Plato, or had stumbled by accident on an unknown passage of one of Cicero's philosophical treatises: but the freshness is gone, the clearness and precision is wanting, the style is verbose, and the argument inconsequent, and we arrive at last at the conclusion, that the author intended it as an imitation of those writings with which we know, from his early studies, that he must have been conversant. Be this as it may, the work enjoyed a popularity, and exerted an influence over the better minds of the Middle Ages, beyond that of any other writing—a circumstance which will hardly astonish us if we remember that to most of those by whom it was so eagerly read, the sources from which it was derived were unknown, and that it was consequently in its pages that they first became acquainted with the flattering doctrine, that man by the exercise of reason becomes superior to the dominion of fortune. The singular destiny which attended the philosophy of the Stoics is worthy of remark as illustrating the influence which Boethius exerted on the Middle Age. Wherever their tenets appear, it is continually as a vain protest against existing corruption, feeble for present good, but full of power and of meaning for a time which is soon to follow. When Zeno first promulgated his doctrines, they were addressed to Greece, distracted by scepticism, and enervated by Epicureanism, and the Apostle of Virtue taught in vain. Greece was past

recovery, but the rival which was to supplant her listened with eagerness to the lessons to which she was deaf, and the stern philosophy of the porch found an expression in the energy and simplicity of Roman life. During the youth and vigour of the Republic, Stoicism was peculiarly the philosophy of Rome, recognised in theory and illustrated in practice; and it was not till virtue herself had departed under the relaxing and deadening influence of the empire, that it ceased to be regarded. But here, as in Greece, when corruption and effeminacy had reached their culminating point, it reappeared in the shape of a warning spirit, and though the words of Boethius, like those of Zeno, fell unheeded on the ears of his countrymen, they found, like his, an audience among a people who flourished on the ruins of those to whom they were originally addressed. It has been said that Zeno had a presentiment of the stern simplicity of Rome, and with equal truth it might be said that Boethius had a presentiment of the romantic and truth-loving devotion of the Middle Ages.

But though Chaucer inherited the ethical code of Boethius, he was not contented with the character of a simple inheritor. He endeavoured to adapt what he found in a Roman dress, or in Roman tatters, to the uses and modes of thinking of his countrymen, and hence in the curious treatise which is called his "Testament of Love," we have a complete embodiment of the practical philosophy of the chivalrous ages. The book is obscure and perplexing in the highest degree, full of quaint allegory, digressions, and repetitions, totally devoid of system, distressingly verbose, and still more distressingly long, so as almost to set at defiance the puny efforts of modern perseverance; still it evidently contains much that is important, and if thoroughly read, we are satisfied would reveal in its details many very interesting views hitherto overlooked, of the habits of thinking which then prevailed. The main features which distinguish it from the work of Boethius, and which stamp it as a production of the Middle Age, are easily seized. The place of philosophy, the celestial consoler, is supplied by "*Love*," a being whom we must in nowise confound either with the heathen goddess, or as some have done, with the divine love of the Christian religion. She is neither more nor less than the embodiment of an abstract idea which formed the central point of the whole system of chivalry, and her substitution for the philosophy or reason of Boethius is very characteristic of a state of society in which the affections and passions, rather than the intelligence, were the motive principles. The "*Love*" of Chaucer is a complete generalization, altogether independent of individual object, and the consolation which she proffers to her votary is that of enlisting

in his favour the special guardian, the "Margarite" who is supposed to watch over his individual fortunes. The "Margarite" seems to correspond to the chivalrous idea of the "Lady love" in its purest sense, when its reference to an individual was by no means indispensable, but when it signified rather the "love of woman," the highest object of the knight's ambition. Under the protection of this guardian spirit the lover is represented as altogether sheltered from the caprices of Fortune, and in her name he has a dose of rather frigid comfort administered to him, greatly resembling that which Boethius receives at the hand of Philosophy. Such is the general idea of the book, and it is a noble idea, embracing the very essence of society as it existed then, and presenting a much deeper view of that singular institution of chivalry than is usually to be met with in the writers either of that or of later times. Of the imperfections of its execution we have already spoken perhaps more strongly than we ought, but when placed side by side with the treatise of Boethius, from which it is professedly imitated, its inferiority as a work of art is very apparent. The one may very aptly be compared to a bright sunny day in the end of October, when much of the richness of vegetation still lingers though its vitality be gone, whilst the other resembles an arid day in March, when through the biting east winds of our northern spring, we with difficulty distinguish the germs of life which are soon to burst forth into luxuriant summer.

We have said that in his religion, as well as in his philosophy, Chaucer was the expression of his time. Though it is well known that both by his interests and his sympathies he was all along united with the reforming party in the Church, we fear that we cannot claim for him the epithet of a reformer in the sense in which it unquestionably belongs to Wycliffe. From his early translation of the "Roman de la Rose," up to the crowning efforts of his genius in the Canterbury Tales, the corruptions of the clergy were no doubt the unceasing objects of his satire, and the baneful influence which their vices exercised on the civil as well as the religious society of the time called forth continually his pathetic, and, we doubt not, his sincere lamentations. The biographer of Wycliffe has well remarked that "few are the evils, either in Church or in the state of society, to which the censure of Wycliffe was applied, which may not be found as the subject of satire or complaint in the poems of Chaucer." Still we must repeat he was no "thorough-going" reformer. Perhaps he was not bold enough; perhaps, with Erasmus, whose conduct in this respect was open to the same reproach, he would have said, "*non omnes ad martyriam satis habent roboris; vereor autem, ne, si quid inciderit tumultus, Petrum sim imitaturus.*" We in-

cline, however, to the opinion that the position which Chaucer held with reference to the Reformers was consistent with the honest sentiments of his heart, notwithstanding the suspicion of interestedness to which it is manifestly exposed from its coincidence with that of his great friend and patron John of Gaunt. He felt, as England and Europe felt at the time, that the hour for the downfall of the priesthood had not yet arrived, that they still had a part to play and functions to discharge in the history of the world, which in spite of their corruptions they would discharge, better or worse, and which could not with safety be intrusted to any other body of men which then existed. They were still the custodiers of nearly all the learning of the age, and it was in their community alone that civilisation as yet had found a secure and permanent resting-place, for the class of non-clerical men of letters to which he himself belonged was far too insignificant to undertake the task of preserving even secular knowledge. Though the clergy were indolent, their efforts, when they did exert themselves, were so much more in accordance with his own views of what was worthy of rational endeavour than those of the fighting and gasconading laymen of his day, that Chaucer, along with the scorn which he so unhesitatingly expressed for individual members of the body, had probably anything but a hostile feeling towards them as a class. Above all, Chaucer was a cheerful, hopeful man; some one has said that he was the "gayest and most cheerful writer of our language," and certain it is that the natural bent of his mind led him to view the sunny rather than the shady side of human affairs. He had nothing of the stern and uncompromising genius of a true reformer; humour and sarcasm are the characteristics of his satire, and for the scorching indignation of Juvenal, or the still more lofty reproof of Tacitus, we should search in vain in his pages. His temper was too gentle for condemnation, too hopeful for despair. Such shameless charlatans as the "Pardoner" he no doubt exposes most unmercifully.

"His wallet lay before him in his lappe,  
*Bret ful of pardon come from Rome, al hote.*"

And again—

"He had a crois of laton full of stones,  
And in a glass he hadde pigges bones."

But even here his love for the ludicrous continually breaks forth, and the description excites our laughter where it ought to awaken our indignation.

"A vois he hadde, as small as hath a gote,  
No berde hadde he, ne never non should have,  
As smothe it was as it was newe shave."

This is not the manner in which Wycliffe spoke of such men as the Pardoner. Still we by no means admit that Chaucer was either a dishonest or a frivolous man. He used against corruption such weapons as he possessed, and such as, viewing the matter through the medium of his own hopeful and sanguine temper, he conceived to be needful; for there is every reason to suppose that he did not regard the amendment of the existing ecclesiastical system as hopeless, and consequently that he scarcely approved in his heart of the extreme measures which Wycliffe recommended.

In judging of the conduct of persons in the situation in which Chaucer stood with reference to the Reformers, we are often guilty of injustice by taking it for granted that the question presented itself to them in the same pure and simple form in which it comes before us. We bring together the arguments which we imagine must have been used, which to our minds are so convincing, and which we know ultimately prevailed, and we wonder that a person of common honesty, or common understanding, could have resisted their force. But whilst we thus marshal the victorious arguments which now alone have possession of the field, we forget that the question must then have been complicated by a thousand considerations and sympathies, the strength of which we are now incapable of measuring. To England at the time, the proposed Reformation was indeed a vexed question, nor did the views of the Reformers possess, as is frequently supposed, the force which novelty gives to startling revelations. For more than a century before Chaucer's time, the opposition to the corruptions of the Church had been the cause of much bloodshed in the neighbouring nations, and in his own land they had already been attacked by writers of every class. The satirical ballads which go under the name of Walter Mapes, and the so-called "political songs" of England, in Latin, Anglo-Norman and English, were in everybody's mouth, the "Malverne hilles" had already been the scene of the "ploughman's vision," and we have mentioned Chaucer's own early translation of the "Roman de la Rose." All of these works, and others which could be mentioned, and many which are forgotten, derived their point from the state of feeling which then existed with reference to the clergy, including of course the Monastic orders. As a question simply, it cannot be doubted that the subject was very familiar to Chaucer's mind; and it is perhaps in its very familiarity *as a question* that we are to look for the cause of its never having assumed a more definite form.

In this respect the poet occupies unquestionably a much less lofty position than the heroic and devoted Rector of Lutterworth, but his conduct is still altogether consistent with the



character which we have assigned him as the man of the present. The indecision under which he laboured was the characteristic of the time; and two centuries more were required before words were finally ripened into deeds, and the dreams of Wycliffe obtained their fulfilment.

It has been conjectured on very probable grounds that Chaucer enjoyed the personal friendship of the Reformer, and the Lutterworth Rector is by many supposed to have been the original of "the poure persone of a toun." To us it seems that this character of pure and simple piety is intended rather as an embodiment of Wycliffe's favourite idea of "a good preaching priest," than as a sketch of the stalwart proportions of the Reformer himself. We doubt not that among his flock at Lutterworth, Wycliffe was in his own person the brightest example of the character which Chaucer has so beautifully touched when he says—

" Wide was his parish, and houses fer asonder,  
But he ne left nought for no rain ne thonder,  
In sickness and in mischief to visite  
The ferrest in his parish, moche and lite,  
Upon his fete, and in his hand a staf.  
This noble ensample to his shepe he yaf,  
That first he wrought, and afterward he taught."

But the father of the Reformation was something more than "a good preaching priest," and in the "poor parson" we find nothing of the grandeur of him who stood alone before the Oxford Convocation, like Luther at Worms; or who, when the sixteen doctors from the four orders of friars came to console him on what they thought and hoped was his death-bed, and to exhort him to renounce his errors, greeted them after a fashion which still more forcibly reminds us of the sturdy German. The anecdote is so characteristic, that we shall give it in the words of his biographer. The Reformer, reduced to the last stage of weakness, listened, we are told, silent and motionless to the address which the doctors delivered—"he then beckoned his servants to raise him in his bed; and fixing his eyes on the persons assembled, summoned all his remaining strength, as he exclaimed aloud—*I shall not die but live, and shall again declare the evil deeds of the Friars.*"

Though the fact has never been positively ascertained, the mutual connexion of Chaucer and of Wycliffe with the Duke of Lancaster, renders it highly probable that they were personal friends; and if such was the case, it is pleasing to reflect that the gentle piety of the country rector was even more highly appreciated by the poet than the grander qualities of the intrepid

Reformer, and if they met at all, there can be little doubt that their friendship must have been cemented by their thus coming together on the common ground of religious feeling.

There is yet one other point of view in which Chaucer was peculiarly the expression of his time—we mean as an Englishman. During the century which preceded his birth, the English character and language had been steadily evolving themselves from those antagonistic elements which, since the battle of Hastings, had divided men scarcely differing in race—the great original Saxon had now at length absorbed the Norman element, which till then had floated on its surface, and the English nationality and English tongue had assumed the character of complete and finished existences. But we should greatly deceive ourselves if we regarded either the one or the other as entirely the product of the thirteenth century, for though then, and not till then, they assumed that modified and complex form in which we possess them now, they had never at any period of our history ceased from the land, and in so far as the language is concerned, the error of the writers of Tyrwhitt's school, who spoke of it as a new compound substance, formed as it were by pouring the two simple elements of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman into the same vessel and stirring them together, has been entirely refuted by modern scholars. The English language is now admitted on all hands to have developed itself spontaneously out of the Anglo-Saxon which preceded it; and though we cannot go so far with the reactionary party as to say that it would probably have been in all respects such as we find it if the Norman Conquest had never taken place,\* we conceive it to be established beyond the reach of farther controversy, that very few grammatical changes are to be attributed to that event. These we believe to have been the result of that tendency towards simplification which has been pointed out as forming the law of development of all human speech,† and which may be observed in the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian as compared with the old Norse, or in the French, Italian, and Spanish, as compared with the Latin, quite as well as in the English as compared with the Anglo-Saxon. The rule that as languages become modern they substitute prepositions and auxiliary verbs for cases and tenses, is now admitted to be nearly universal, and the flecational changes which the English tongue has undergone, are sufficiently accounted for on this general principle, and would have taken place independently of foreign admixture.

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\* Hallam—Middle Ages.

† Latham's English Language.

But it is for flecional changes alone that this principle will account, and when we come to the introduction of foreign roots we are driven to seek for causes from without. Now that we have in the English a Roman element, forming, after the Saxon substratum, by far the most important portion of the language, and that we have this element in so much greater degree than the other Gothic languages, German, Danish, Swedish, &c., as to render its introduction from direct contact with the Latin either of the first, or Roman, or of the second, or scholastic period, impossible, we hold to be clear, and it is equally clear that we have the phenomenon exhibiting itself shortly after an historical event which must have brought us in contact with a people who spoke a Romanized language, and such being the case, we confess, for our own part, that we are totally unable to separate the two facts, or to consider the one in any other light than as the cause of the other. The English language unfettered, and very probably (in its structure at all events) unaffected by the Norman, developed itself forth, but it did so in a proximity so close, and in the midst of a contact so continual, as to render it impossible that it should have borrowed nothing from so intimate a fellowship. There was no amalgamation, properly so called, there was not even, except to a very limited extent, (in words, for example, in *tion*,) a direct adoption; the Saxon element asserted its privileges everywhere, and even on what it borrowed from the Norman it immediately stamped its characteristic forms. The manner in which this adaptation took place is well pointed out by Mr. Tyrwhitt, though he has failed to recognise its philological importance. “*Accorder, souffrir, recevoir, descendre,*” he says, “were regularly changed into *accorden, suffren, receiven, descenden.*” Everywhere we see the impress of the Saxon mint on the Norman ore.

But in proof of the direct influence of the Conquest upon the language to this limited extent, it is also important to remark that subsequent to the age of Chaucer, and what has been called the period of the middle English, when the process of absorption may be considered as completed, we have no further addition of foreign words, except such as can be directly traced to accidental sources. We had no more Conquests, and consequently our language underwent no further change, except that of the natural development of a Gothic tongue. That the original process was one of absorption and not of amalgamation, in the sense in which we have used the terms, is also clearly established by the fact that the further development has been entirely in the Gothic direction, whereas if the two elements of Saxon and Norman had been in anything like equal power, we might have

looked for a development now in the one direction and now in the other.

Such being the view which we take of the formation of the English language, it will not be difficult to characterize the speech which Chaucer employed. In its form it was the Saxon of Edward the Confessor, with such flectional modifications as three centuries of further development had effected; and in its substance it had superadded to the great Saxon substratum, such Norman words as the contact of three centuries had gradually introduced.

Chaucer's language was therefore the language of his time. Of all the errors into which Godwin and his school have fallen, the most absurd is that of asserting that Chaucer at the age of eighteen, when a student at Cambridge, having maturely considered the prospects of his own future celebrity, coolly set himself down to compose his "Court of Love" in English, as the language which was most likely in future to be that of his country, and in order to the proper accomplishment of his task, that he vigorously applied himself to purify and refine that hitherto barbarous tongue. However it may tell for the glory of Chaucer, the truth of the matter unquestionably is, that he took the language as he found it, in its most modern form of course; for he was in this as in other respects of the progressive party of his day, and insensibly he contributed what one mind might do in one generation towards its development. As to his merit in preferring it to the Norman French, all that we have to say is, that though it is highly probable that he knew that language sufficiently to have used it for the purposes of poetical composition if he had chosen, that fact is by no means certain, and that he regarded it at all events in the light of a foreign tongue, is clear on his own showing. "Let then clerkes enditen in Latin, for they have the propertie of science, and the knowing of that facultie; and *lette Frenchmen in their French also enditen their queint termes, for it is kindly to their mouthes, and let us shewe our fantasies in such wordes as we learneden of our dames tongue.*"

It were needless to occupy the small space which remains to us by insisting further on this point. The theory of that sorrowful interregnum between Anglo-Saxon and English, when our ancestors are said to have spoken a chaotic and Babylonish jargon, incapable of being turned to intellectual uses, is now happily abandoned by all our scholars, and we have the Anglo-Saxon, the semi-Saxon, the old, the middle, and the modern English, each shading gradually and naturally into the other. From the reign of Henry III. up to Chaucer's time, we have a series of political and satirical songs and poems in the vernacular

tongue ;\* and so far from the native language having been prohibited by the earlier Norman kings, we know that from the Conquest till the reign of Henry II., it was invariably employed by them in their charters, when it made way, not for French, but for Latin.† We have thus at last recovered the missing link, and we have now to thank modern industry for the unbroken chain which binds together our speech and that of our ancestors.

Our space does not permit us to dwell at any length on the poetical merits of Chaucer, and, indeed, our intention from the first has been to supply our readers with such information as might induce them to peruse his works, rather than to save them the trouble of perusal, by furnishing them with opinions ready made. But a few observations before parting, for the purpose of fixing, in some measure, the rank that he is entitled to hold among our poets, we cannot deny ourselves. We do not venture to equal him to the two greatest of them. With Milton, indeed, he can in nowise be compared, for the difference in kind is so absolute as to render it impossible to measure the degree ; and by Shakspeare he is unquestionably surpassed in his own walk. The divine instinct of the Swan of Avon he did not possess, and hence his characterization is broad and common as compared with his. But here our admission of inferiority must end. As a poet of character—and as such chiefly he must be viewed, we believe him to come nearer to Shakspeare than any other writer in our language. There is the same vigour in all that he portrays, the same tone of health belongs to it. When Carlyle said that Sir Walter Scott was the healthiest man that ever was, he ought to have added, “after Chaucer.” We believe that no writer ever was so healthy as Chaucer ; and we dwell on this characteristic with the greater pleasure that it seems to us a proof of the thoroughly good constitution with which our English life began. Even where he comes in contact with grossness and immorality, they never seem to taint him, or to jaundice his vision. They are ludicrous or hateful, and as such he represents them freely and unshrinkingly ; but there is no morbid gloating over impurity, or lingering around vice. There is nothing French about him, neither has he any kindred with such writers

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\* The first verse of the song against the King of Alemaigne, temp. Henry III., does not differ much from the language of Chaucer.

“ Sitteth alle stille ant herkneth to me :  
The Kyn of Alemaigne, bi mi leauté (by my loyalty)  
Thritti thousand pound askede he  
For to make the pees in the countré.”

Political Songs of England, from the reign of John to that of Edward II., edited for the Camden Society, by Thomas Wright, Esq.

† Codex Diplomaticus.

as those of Charles the Second's time, or with the Swifts, and Sternes, and Byrons of later days. He is not very scrupulous about words, but there is no mistaking his opinion; and the question as to whether his weight is to be thrown into the balance in behalf of virtue or of vice is never doubtful. "If he is a coarse moralist," said Mr. Wordsworth, "he is still a great one."

Chaucer is essentially the poet of man. Brought up from the first among his fellows, and discharging to the last the duties of a citizen, he wandered not,—nor wished to wander in solitary places. His poetry is that of reality, and an Elysium which he sought not in the clouds, he found abundantly in human sympathies. We have spoken of his cheerfulness, and the best description which we can give of him, as he appears in his works, is, that in all respects he is a cheerful, gregarious being, not ashamed to confess himself satisfied with the world in which God has placed him, and with those with whom he has seen fit to people it. There is no affectation of *tædium vitæ* about him; he does not think himself too good for the world, nor the world too bad for him. Though there is much that he fain would mend, he is still by no means disgusted with matters as they stand, and gladly and thankfully extracts the sweets of a present existence.

The masculine air of his delineations is what strikes us most. His characters are large and strong, and stand out with an almost superfluous fulness of form, which often reminds us of Rubens' pictures; but he is more tender, he has more feeling, and his gentler characters are touched with exquisite delicacy. The "Chapeau de Paille" will bear no comparison with the tender Prioress that "was cleped Madame Eglantine," of whose womanly heart we have the following picture:—

" She was so charitable and so pitous  
She wolde wepe if that she saw a mous  
Caught in a trappe, if it were ded or bledde."

The Prioress's Tale is one of the happiest examples of the pathetic, in which Chaucer was so great a master, and there is a depth and earnestness of feeling about it, and others of the class to which it belongs, which we should scarcely expect in the writings of one usually so gay as Chaucer. There is so much gentle grief which pervades every part of it, that the reader is insensibly led into the feelings of the poor widow who

" Waileth al that night  
After hire litel childe, and he came nought ;"

and if we compare it with the common version of the story which appears in the Percy Reliques, under the title of the



“Jew’s Daughter,” we shall see to how great an extent it is indebted for its beauty to Chaucer’s genius. If any one should doubt the versatility of Chaucer, and should be tempted to regard him in the light of a mere humorist, let him peruse the *Prioress’s Tale*, and consider her character along with those of Constance, the patient Grisilde, and others of the same class in the serious tales. In these touching delineations, the poet whom we had known, the man of mirth, vanishes from our sight, and in his place we have a character made up of the finest sympathies, and regulated by sincere and humble piety.

Another characteristic of Chaucer as a poet, is his love for external nature. His poems seem everywhere strewn with flowers, and wherever we go we encounter the breezes of spring. The image of “*Freshe May*” is continually recurring, the very word has a charm for him, and in the *Shipman’s Tale* we find it used as a woman’s name. The description of Emilie in the garden, in the commencement of the *Knight’s Tale*, though probably familiar to many of our readers, is so beautiful in itself, and so completely illustrates Chaucer’s best style as a poet, that we shall insert it at length, slightly modernizing the spelling. Palamon and Arcite are looking down upon her from the prison.

“Thus passeth year by year, and day by day,  
Till it fell once in a morrow of May,  
That Emilie, that fairer was to seen,  
Than is the lilly upon his stalké green,  
And fresher than the May with flowerés new,  
(For with the rosé colour strove her hew,  
I n’ote which was the finer of them two.)  
Ere it was day, as she was wont to do,  
She was arisen, and all ready dight,  
For May will have no sluggardy a-night.  
The season pricketh every gentle heart,  
And maketh him out of his sleep to start,  
And sayth, ‘Arise and do thine observance.’

This maketh Emilie have rémembrance  
To do honour to May, and for to rise  
Yclothèd was she freshe for to devise.  
Her yellow hair was braided in a tress  
Behind her back, a yardé long I guess.  
And in the garden at the sun uprist,  
She walketh up and down where as her list.  
She gathereth flowers, partly white and red,  
To make a subtle garland for her head;  
And as an angel heavenly she sung.”

In many respects it seems to us that Chaucer resembles Goethe more than any of the poets of our own country. He has the same mental completeness and consequent versatility which dis-

tinguish the German ; the same love of reality ; the same clearness and cheerfulness ; and, in seeming contradiction to this latter characteristic, the same preference for grief over the other passions, in his poetical delineations. In minor respects, he also resembles him ; and in one, not unimportant, as marking a similarity of mental organization, that, namely, of betaking himself at the close of a long life spent in literature and affairs, to the study of the physical sciences, as if here alone the mental craving for the positive could find satisfaction. We would willingly follow the comparison farther, but we must at length reluctantly bid adieu to what has indeed been to us a labour of love ; and we do so in the hope that we may not be the only gainers from our communings with the poet ; that, notwithstanding the imperfections of our work, the double blessing of charity may be extended to it, in consideration of the object with which it was undertaken, and that it may be the means of introducing some of our readers to the more intimate fellowship of him whom Dr. Johnson refused to recognise as a poet ; but in the “ footing of whose feet” Edmund Spenser was not ashamed to tread as an humble disciple.

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- ART. III.—1. *The History of Rome from the First Punic War to the Death of Constantine.* By B. G. NIEBUHR. In a Series of Lectures, including an Introductory Course on the Sources and Study of Roman History. Edited by LEONHARD SCHMITZ, Ph. D. 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1844.
2. *Vorträge über Römische Geschichte, an der Universität zu Bonn gehalten.* Von B. G. NIEBUHR. 3 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1846.
3. *Lectures on the History of Rome, from the earliest Times to the Commencement of the First Punic War.* By B. G. NIEBUHR. Edited by Dr. M. ISLER. Translated, with many additions, from MSS., by Dr. LEONHARD SCHMITZ, F.R.S.E., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. 8vo. London, 1848.
4. *B. G. Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History, delivered at the University of Bonn.* From the Edition of Dr. M. ISLER. Translated by HAVILLAND LE M. CHEPMELL, M.A., and FRANZ C. F. DEMMLER, Ph. D. Vol. I., 8vo. London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1849.

BARTHOLD GEORGE NIEBUHR has an undoubted claim to be considered the founder of a new dynasty of Roman historians. How was he peculiarly qualified to attain this high distinction? And has he any title to be considered the founder of a truthful dynasty?

We shall confine ourselves in this Article to an answer to the first question, and this will require us to glance, very hastily and rapidly, at the leading events of his life, till he became publicly known as an historian.

His noble-hearted and simple-minded father, Carsten Niebuhr, by birth a German, had by his integrity, and the energy of an indomitable will, risen in the service of Denmark from the education of a peasant to be numbered among the most famous of Eastern travellers. In the year 1778, with his wife, who also was of German extraction, an only daughter, then four years old, and Barthold his only son, then in his third year, Carsten Niebuhr left Copenhagen, where he had held nominal rank as an officer of engineers, for Meldorf, in the South Ditmarschen, where he was appointed district secretary. His native place was in Friesland, from which Meldorf was not far distant, and with which he was now enabled to hold more frequent intercourse. For sixteen years the young Niebuhr continued an almost uninterrupted residence in Meldorf. This is the principal town of a dreary, treeless, flat district, abounding in

marshes, which had an injurious effect both on his own constitution and that of his mother. Indeed, his German biographer\* remarks, that this was not the only circumstance in which he resembled her. He was like her in personal appearance, save that he wanted her brown eyes—like her, he was passionate, impetuous, but withal affectionate and tender-hearted. If we add a deficiency in physical courage to his father's incorruptible honesty in all matters, literary or otherwise, and also to his father's obstinacy or dogmatism, we get a tolerably correct outline of his moral conformation. For many of his peculiarities we can easily account. Alone with an only sister—himself an only son—having little intercourse with boys of his own age—in a lonely country town—in feeble health—the cherished companion of a sickly mother, he could only have been saved from feebleness of character by his father's practical sense, and an intellect of uncommon vigour and promise, even in his earliest days. His home education—and that was all he had for many years—was such as might have been expected from the habits of his father. That father had made himself, and he held it as a maxim that it was a preposterous absurdity to teach unwilling pupils. In the teaching of languages he did not aim at grammatical indoctrination. He cared more that his son should take an interest in events than in the language in which they were narrated. The following circumstances, besides, contributed to develop in the boy the rare powers of imagination which his after-life unfolded. The traveller was wont to take upon his knee his little boy, and narrate wonderful but true tales of the far

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\* The sources of Niebuhr's biography used in this brief notice are, 1. The work quoted above, (*Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr*,) being a History of his Life, in three volumes, containing a narrative interspersed at epochs with his letters. The materials were furnished principally by his intimate friends, Hensler, Brandis, Bauer, and the publisher Perthes. It was edited, we believe, by Madame Hensler, the daughter-in-law of his old friend Dr. Hensler of Kiel, sister of his first, and aunt of his second wife. It was published at Hamburgh, in 1838. A translation of it, by George Valentine Fox, M.A., New College, Oxford, was announced in Tait's Magazine, November 1844, and specimens—which were tolerably accurate representations of the original—given in that and several subsequent numbers. What has become of this work? The whole of the original is deeply interesting, and to the British student would be highly instructive. 2. *Reminiscences of an Intercourse with George Barthold Niebuhr, the Historian of Rome*. By Francis Lieber. London, 1835. Lieber was a German, who having fought in the wars of Grecian independence, in 1821, 1822, was obliged to return home, which he did by way of Italy. He reached Rome with difficulty, penniless, and in no becoming attire. Personally unknown to Niebuhr, who was then Prussian ambassador at Rome, he sought, and gained his protection and assistance. He obtained more. He was taken for a short time into Niebuhr's family as tutor, and these *Reminiscences* are mainly a record of certain opinions and *dicta* of Niebuhr, uttered while Lieber lived with him. There is, besides, an outline of his career principally as a statesman, in a serial publication, entitled *Preussens Staatsmänner*. Leipsic, 1842. His life is the fourth in the series.

lands of the east—of sultans, and caliphs, and the wild Arabs, to whom his heart clung in fond remembrance. Then, in his sixth year, Boie, brother-in-law of the poet Voss, himself a distinguished literary man, and as editor of the German Museum in communication with the *literati* both of the Continent and of England, and moreover possessed of a rich library, became domiciled at Meldorf, as provincial governor, and was soon on the most intimate terms with the traveller and his family. Through him and his library, young Niebuhr came into contact with the general world of literature.

The boy's aptitude for the acquirement of languages was marvellous. It was a matter of course that he spoke both Danish and German. His father had early conceived a strong desire to see him following in his footsteps as a traveller,—and that under the auspices of our own East India Company. Hence he taught his son English with much assiduity. French too was not neglected, nor Arabic; but he failed in the latter, probably as his son himself hints,\* from his having lost that ready use of the vocables, essential to a man who disdained grammatical instruction. This language Niebuhr afterwards acquired at Copenhagen. At the age of six he commenced the study of Greek; at eight he mastered with ease any ordinary English book, and was in the habit of reading aloud to his father the English newspapers.† In his French studies, he was materially assisted by Boie's first wife, whose death in 1786, was his first grief. When it was thought proper for him to commence a more methodical course of study, the services of one of the teachers in the grammar school of the place were employed. But the teacher's attainments were a source not of profit but of amusement to his pupil, who tormented him beyond measure, by feigning ignorance, and betraying him into ludicrous blunders. So Niebuhr was again, for a time, left to his own efforts and the aid of his father.

He was roused to inquire into passing events by the Turkish war of 1788, which haunted his night and day dreams, and still more by the troubles in the Netherlands, that broke out under the Emperor Joseph. By this time Meldorf had acquired a certain degree of celebrity, and strangers came to visit the residence of the travelled Niebuhr, and the learned Boie, on whom the fame of his brother-in-law conferred additional distinction. Such visitors were struck with amazement when they found in a meagre boy of thirteen, not only a ready command of many languages, but a most copious fund of geographical, statistical,

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\* In a life of his father, from which Mrs. Austin drew her materials for the Traveller's Biography, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.—See p. 23 of the latter work.

† Arnold's Life and Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 390.

and historical details. Notwithstanding all this, he was preserved both in his youth and in his riper years from vanity and pride, by his contempt of the superficial, his constant yearning after the real, the simple truthfulness of his nature, and his familiarity with the great intellects, both of his own and of ancient times. There is nothing like this for humbling the conceit which is wont to be engendered by a shallow scholarship.

But the boy must go to school; and so, at Easter 1789, when twelve and a-half years of age, he is found prepared to enter the highest department (*prima*, the Germans call it) of the grammar school, taught by Jäger, the rector, a scholar of considerable eminence. His school education here lasted only till August 1790, when Jäger thinking it absurd to keep back a boy of Niebuhr's talents and attainments, recommended that he should leave school, and under his private instructions—a rare privilege—prepare for the University. At this very time we have a symbol of a great portion of his after career, the union of active business with indefatigable study. His father writes to a friend, when referring to his functions as collector of the district duties,—“Barthold has, in truth, been of valuable assistance to me in my duties as Collector.”

For four years Niebuhr's range of study must have been desultory enough. He was only one hour a day with Jäger, and the work which he had to do for him can have occupied only a small portion of his time. He complains bitterly of this in after years; but, in his case, as in that of many others who have made similar complaints, it may be doubted whether his wide range of reading, which would have been incompatible with a regular range of study, was not after all the best preparation for his after career—to say nothing of the restraints on severe and regular mental exercise, imposed by his feeble constitution in youth.

Various events broke in upon the monotony of his life from this period till he entered the University of Kiel, in 1794. About thirty-five years before, his father, then in pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, had commenced the study of mathematics at Hamburgh, under Büsch. This professor, in addition to his academical labours, now conducted in his own house a Commercial Academy, where the youths were trained in the modern languages, and in the departments of knowledge more directly bearing on mercantile and commercial pursuits. Niebuhr the elder had continued on terms of intimate friendship with Büsch, and was anxious, for many reasons, to place his son under his care. But the experiment did not succeed. The youthful scholar was unfitted by disposition, habit, and inclination for the rattling, gay life, and the rude, noisy jocularities of



his *confrères*, and so after a three months' trial, he returned home, at the harvest of 1792. Another, and more stirring event, which had great influence on his future destinies, as well as the current of his thoughts, was the breaking out of the French Revolution. Whether it was from a precocious profundity of judgment, or derived from his father's contempt and hatred of the French, it is certain that the boy, so far from sharing in the enthusiasm with which so many of his seniors regarded the first glorious days of French freedom, foresaw and predicted the sea of blood in which that bright sun was to set. So alarmed was he by the progress of events, that a favourite project of his was to seek refuge from European troubles in America. It is interesting to notice how, in later years, his historical habits led him to look with distrust on a nation governed by merchants, and unadorned by associations with the mighty past.\* So strong in him became the historic feeling.

His father's views for him were bent on some career different from that of a literary life, but unsettled otherwise. All thoughts of travel as a permanent pursuit were ultimately abandoned, from his own want of the necessary bodily vigour, and from his mother's infirm health. Diplomacy seemed a suitable occupation for him. And in the meantime, the father's fame and the son's promise were attracting notice elsewhere. Manuscripts, for collation, were sent to the young Niebuhr, from Copenhagen and Göttingen. Heyne was anxious to superintend his studies, but first it was resolved that he should spend two years in the Danish University of Kiel.

Here (1794-1796) he studied with his wonted enthusiasm, and felt none of the home-sickness which had driven him from Hamburgh. His course of study was, at first, the History of the Empire, Introduction to the Study of Civil Law, with Logic and Metaphysics, under Professors] of great celebrity—Hegewisch, Cramer, and Reinhold. In his next course, he discontinued his attendance on Cramer, and studied, in addition to the remaining branches, Physics and Organic Chemistry under Eimbke. His aim was to combine mental Philosophy with Physics, Mathematics, and Astronomy, not only for themselves, but as a means to his "darling pursuits, Ancient Literature and History." Here he contracted friendships with many men of eminence in their day, and became favourably known to individuals who were able to promote his interests. Through them, he attracted the notice of Count Schimmelmann, the Danish minister of Finance, whose private

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\* Compare *Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 31, with a most interesting letter in *Lieber*, p. 36, &c.

secretary he became in March 1796. The bustle and gaiety of a minister's residence did not suit the habits of the studious Niebuhr; he retired from this appointment in the course of the next year, and was nominated a supernumerary Secretary of the Royal Library of Copenhagen.. On a visit to his maternal home, and also on his return, he did not neglect Kiel; and then and there he was betrothed to his first wife Amalie Behrens, who was for years his constant, cherished, and invaluable companion.

But first, that is in the commencement of 1797, he must return to his duties at Copenhagen. And there his dream is to obtain an appointment in the University of Kiel, in order to be near his beloved home, and in the centre of his newly acquired friends, with his own Amalie. Hence he devoted himself with ardour to his philological studies, but always combined with history, waiting till an appointment should open up to him.

Meanwhile it was deemed advisable that he should travel. And as Great Britain alone was, at the time, safe for such a purpose, he sailed in the end of June, 1798, for London. Thence, after seeing a few of his father's old friends, acquired in his eastern travels, he betook himself to the University of Edinburgh, where he spent almost a year, varied, in the summer of 1799, by a few excursions to East-Lothian, Fife, Kinross, and Inverness-shire. It is curious to look back on his letters from Edinburgh, (*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. pp. 201-260)—his notions of the literary condition and manners of the people, his opinions of his Professors—Hope, Robison, Playfair, Rutherford, Coventry. No one—save, perhaps, Mr. Laing, the bookseller, and Professors Playfair and Coventry—was aware that there was a young lion in the midst of us. Thus, there is narrated in his letters an amusing incident which occurs in the course of a visit paid to East-Lothian. One of the lairds, little knowing that he had under his roof the future illustrator of Roman history, and, what is more to the purpose, as his lairdship might not have cared for that, a future minister of finance and ambassador, coolly walked him out of the house, as he expected that day a large dinner party. On Niebuhr's return home by London he worked hard at a revisal of what he had learned of the sciences in Edinburgh, and it was not till April, 1800, that he repaired to Copenhagen, where he obtained from Government two inconsiderable appointments, connected with the Danish commercial interest. Immediately thereafter he married his beloved Amalie, and was offered a professorship in Kiel, which, for various reasons, he refused.

Then, in 1801, came Nelson's bombardment of Copenhagen, of which Niebuhr, in his letters, gives a lively account. (*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. pp. 286-301.)

He continued in the service of Denmark till 1806, his labours,

chiefly connected with finance, ever increasing. Yet he never let go his hold of antiquity. Thus, we find him, in a letter, of December 1803, writing in the following terms :—

“ I am working at a Dissertation, as I before briefly wrote you. The subject is the nature of the Roman public lands, their apportionment, colonies, the Agrarian Law, &c. This is an interesting subject, and I believe that I have made it more distinct than has hitherto been done. With studies like these I occupy myself, as if I were still at Kiel.”—*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 278.

The sympathy of his wife was a great cordial and support to him in his multifarious labours, as bank-director and trade-commissioner. With her, at his leisure hours, he read everything new of interest. To her he communicated all his plans. She even carried on the study of Greek, that she might the more fully share in his pursuits, till her feeble health forced her to abandon it. Not long before her death, in 1815, when he was passionately asking her if he could do anything for her, she replied, “ Yes ; finish your History whether I live or die.”—*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. ii. p. 114.

Towards the close of 1805, tempting offers were made to him on the part of the Prussian Government, which, after great hesitation, he accepted, and that with the reluctant assent of his steady friend, Count Schimmelfmann. Accordingly, in October 1806, when thirty years of age, he became for evermore a German. But he came to the court of Berlin only to share its flight, after the battles of Jena and Auerstadt. Stettin, Dantzig, Königsberg, were the first hasty stages. He made a longer stay at Memel, where he cultivated Slavonic lore, in his own thorough fashion. In April 1807, we find Niebuhr employed in finance and the commissariat, under the administration of Count Hardenberg. Important events followed each other quickly—the battle of Friedland—the rapid approach of the French, and the peace of Tilsit. Wearied out and distracted by his wife’s illness, which rendered these constant journeys both annoying and dangerous, Niebuhr had tendered his resignation to Count Hardenberg. But the minister, with tears in his eyes, besought him not to abandon the king at such a crisis, and he then reluctantly consented to remain in office. He again endeavoured to withdraw when Hardenberg was dismissed, in terms of the treaty of Tilsit, but yielded to the king’s earnest entreaties. In consequence he returned to Memel, where he learned of the second assault of the English on Copenhagen, (1807,) and the seizure of the Danish fleet.

Till 1810, he laboured most laboriously in the service of the Prussian Government, negotiating loans, acting as a privy coun-

cillor, a commissioner of the treasury, and undertaking financial duties, which must have overwhelmed him, had it not been for his elasticity under labour. But when, in 1809, he found plans meditated, which had the sanction of the king and the authority of Count Hardenberg, (again the real, though not the ostensible prime minister,) but which appeared to Niebuhr impracticable, dangerous, and oppressive, he requested permission to retire. At the same time he applied for a professorship in the University of Berlin, which was on the eve of being opened for the first time. Many efforts were made to retain his services. His name was placed on the list of the treasury commissioners, and publicly announced, and Count Hardenberg came in person to present him, in the king's name, with the third class order of the Red Eagle. But he had before this received an honour which he valued more highly—he had been elected a member of the Berlin Academy of Science, (*Akademie der Wissenschaften*,) and proof against all solicitations, he retired with the admiring regret of the king and his minister, receiving, at the same time, the appointment of Historiographer, in place of Müller, the celebrated historian of Switzerland.

His exultation on returning to uninterrupted study, after an interval of fourteen years, was unbounded. We find him on the 15th of July, busily preparing for the Academy—that they might find him no unworthy brother—a dissertation on the Amphictyonic Council.\* His position gave him a right to lecture in any of the Universities of Prussia. Of this right, in co-operation with other members of the Academy, and at the earnest solicitation of the learned Spalding and Nicolovius, he availed himself. In the beginning of November, 1810, he for the first time promulgated those views of Roman History which he afterwards unfolded, with some modifications, in his published works. The first volume of his History appeared in 1811.

Thus it was that Niebuhr commenced that course of which it has been well said, that “it may be safely affirmed that no man can be regarded as competent to discuss or investigate the early history of any nation, or to appreciate any question of literary criticism, who has not first acquired the habits which Niebuhr's History illustrates, and is so admirably adapted to form.”

It is now time to take up the question, how far Niebuhr's genius, acquirements, and moral condition, fitted him to be the trustworthy founder of a new school of historians?

For this important service his early training, his natural gifts, and the course of his maturer life, pre-eminently qualified him.

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\* This, which is interesting as his first published production, will be found in vol. ii. of his *Kleine hist. und philol. Schriften*, p. 158.

His father's attachment to his native Friesland was strong. Together they often made journeys thither; and with German simplicity, they kept up their connexion with their peasant relations. Now the nature of the rights possessed by the freeholders of Friesland was well suited to attract the attention of a thoughtful youth, one of whose favourite dreams was to colonize new lands, and to give new constitutions. The hereditary owners of the soil, the freeholders, constituted originally the legislative body, and had no superiors, in the feudal sense, but the State. In this we have the germ of Niebuhr's subsequent notions regarding the Patricians—the Burghers, the hereditary landholders of Rome—who held of the State the *Ager Publicus*. Again, as to the Ditmarsians, among whom his youth was spent, he was not loath to acknowledge his great obligations to his intimacy with their habits. Thus we find him saying:—

“It is a very great mistake to consider the Romans as exclusively a warlike people. They were essentially farmers; they loved farming, and their greatest men paid much attention to it. This circumstance must always be remembered in studying Roman History; it alone explains a variety of phenomena in their political development. My knowledge of country life and farming, as well as my acquaintance with the Ditmarsians, have greatly assisted me in my historical inquiries. Those Ditmarsians were a very peculiar race—as gallant lovers of liberty as ever existed.”—*Lieber*, p. 107.

Then the habits of his quiet domestic life, without impairing the sense of the humorous, in which he always found great enjoyment—good caricatures exciting in him side-splitting laughter, (*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 346,)—saved him from plunging into the frivolities, or the more debasing pursuits of fashion and of pleasure. And, in this respect, even in his early career, especially in the house of Count Schimmelmann, his temptations were great. Niebuhr's home was ever associated with his books. His relaxation was study, and learning was his amusement when it was not his professed occupation.

His memory was extraordinary. On one occasion Lieber (p. 94) expressed his astonishment when he found that Niebuhr was as well acquainted with the bye-ways, remains of wells, paths over high ridges, and other minute details in the topography of Greece, as if he had been there. “Oh,” said Niebuhr, “I never forget anything I once have seen, heard, or read.” His biographer confirms this—

“His memory was so extraordinary, that he almost never forgot anything that he had read or heard; and it united a readiness in the most minute references, with the faculty of weighing and combin-

ing analogies apparently remote. In order to put the extent of his memory to the proof, when he was in Copenhagen, his first wife and her sister amused themselves with taking up Gibbon, and questioning him, from the index, on the most unimportant particulars. They continued this for a considerable time till they were tired of it, and gave up the hope of finding a single instance of error, or, in a single instance of convicting him of failing in a knowledge of the complete connexion between the subjects on which he was questioned. And all this examination was carried on while he was engaged in another employment—some light piece of writing.”—*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 346.

His knowledge of languages was most extensive. The elder Niebuhr in a letter to a friend, (*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 30,) mentions that his son, who was then at Memel, had learned seventeen European languages, besides Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic. This is confirmed by Niebuhr's own statement. Lieber thus writes of him, while at Rome, in 1822 :—

“I (Lieber) had found a Russian grammar and some Russian books in his library, and asked him, if he had ever studied that language? He said, ‘Oh yes, I would not leave the whole Slavonic stock of languages untouched; and I wished to understand all the *European* languages at least. Every one may learn them; it is easy enough after we once know three. I now understand all the languages of Europe pretty well, not excepting my own German, only those Slavonic idioms excepted. I have not read much in them; only I know them.’ . . . Do you speak most of the languages you know? I asked, ‘Yes, nearly all,’ he replied, ‘except the Slavonic idioms, as I told you.’”—*Lieber*, p. 76.

His was not mere amateur scholarship. This superficialism to which he was much exposed by the liberty of study in which he roamed in his early years, was prevented by his retentive memory, his intercourse with great scholars, his habit of investigating the depths of every subject before him, his innate love of the real, and his laborious habits. He never ceased to be a scholar, even when he was busiest as a statesman. That he is entitled to the very highest rank as a Philologist, is abundantly proved by his writings in the *Rheinisch Museum*, a publication which, with the aid of Professor Brandis, he conducted at Bonn, after his return from Rome, in 1823. To many of them the English reader has access, in translations which appeared in the *Classical Journal* and the *Philological Museum*. Of course his scholarship was both deepened and extended as he advanced in years. But the highest expectations must have been early formed of him, when the collation of manuscripts was intrusted to him at the early age of seventeen. And what use he made of his habits, thus acquired, may be known from the fact, that



to him we are indebted for the discovery (at Verona, when he was on his road, as Prussian Ambassador, to Rome, in 1816) of the remains of the Roman Jurist, Caius, and at Rome of less important portions of the writings of Cicero and of Livy. Above all—his most material service to scholarship, apart from his Histories—he not only edited the first volume of the new edition of the Byzantine Historians, but it was at his suggestion that this stupendous work was undertaken by the Berlin Academy. It is a rare distinction, that on the title-page of each volume of such a work such a body of *literati* should have pride in inscribing, as its best recommendation and introduction,

CONSILIO B. G. NIEBUHR, C.F.

But he was not a mere philologist, he revelled in the spirit as well as the form of languages, and brought their essence to bear on his theme. Thus, he was deeply imbued with a love of Shakspeare. His friend Boie tells an interesting incident of his reading to the parents of Niebuhr Shakspeare's play of Macbeth, without thinking of the boy who was present, then not seven years of age, till he observed what an effect it had upon him. Boie then took the trouble of explaining the drama to him, and seemingly with some difficulty convinced him that the witches were only the creatures of the poet's fancy. To his great astonishment, the father produced to him some time afterwards an accurate account of all the essential circumstances of the play, written by the child on seven sheets of paper. Niebuhr wept when his father asked to see what he was doing, through fear that he had not done it right. See how the impression abides with him till the close of life. Forty-five years afterwards he commences a lecture thus:—

“Shakspeare has connected awful phenomena of nature with the occurrences in the moral world, as Thucydides connects the physical phenomena of the Peloponnesian War with the moral condition of the people. During the second Punic War the earth was shaken by extraordinary convulsions and fermentations which were going on in its bowels; and Pliny says, that in one year fifty-seven earthquakes were reported at Rome—a greater number than has ever been observed before in so short a period.”—*Schmitz's Edition of Lectures*, vol. i. p. 185.

The range of his education enabled him to combine and compare matters bearing intimately on the physical facts of history; and, in estimating the truth of many statements made by the early historians, it is desirable, indeed it is sometimes necessary, to know something of the sciences that are founded upon observation. We have not space for the lengthened illustrations

which this subject would require. We would merely remind the readers of Niebuhr of his remarks on the Cyclopiæ cities, the draining of the *Vallis Albana*, and other similar passages.

It adds no small weight to the proofs of his qualifications, that he seems early to have cherished the idea of history—and that Roman history—as his proper vocation. Thus he writes home from Kiel, on the 2d August 1794, (when discussing his philosophical studies) :—

“ But my vocation is history ; and philosophy, when once acquired, I will perhaps make to act as her handmaiden.”—*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 51.

To these philosophical studies he had devoted himself with much assiduity at the bidding of Dr. Hensler, whom, at his first introduction, he had startled with the germ of those ideas which afterwards found a place in his history. Thus he writes home from Kiel on the 11th May 1794 :—

“ My ideas on the origin of the Greek races, the history of the extension of the Greek cities, and especially my ideas on the oldest movement made by the nations from west to east, are new to him, and probable. He advised me to bring them into as distinct a form as possible. But he will, at first, permit me to engage almost in no other study than philosophy ; the other I must give up, or at least devote but little time to it.”—*Ibid.*, p. 40.

Niebuhr repeatedly returns to the same subject in his letters from Kiel. To have the qualifications of a statesman, according to the notions of Bolingbroke, is one of his aims—and this to please his father, who, at first, could not bear the notion of his betaking himself to a literary life. But there is a strong undercurrent of historical lore running through all his thoughts and pursuits. It has often been remarked, and it deserves notice here, that to a cherished profession, or to a favourite pursuit, all our associations are directed, whatever may be our present employment. As the geologist sees in rocks principally lessons or illustrations of a former world, and the agriculturist looks on them mainly as the enemy of the plough and the waving crop, and the lover of the picturesque views them as the crowning glories of the wild and the sublime, or as Brindley looked on rivers only as feeders for canals—so does each man, whose mind is intent on one object, assimilate, to use a physiological term, all his mental nourishment, so as to become part and parcel of his leading idea and pursuit. Hence Niebuhr, in Meldorf, Kiel, England, Copenhagen, Berlin, wherever he was, however engaged, in study or in flight, or in active financial labour, assimilated all to history :—not, perhaps, at first distinctly ; for we find this in Lieber (p. 65) :—

“ My early residence in England gave me one important key to Roman history. It is necessary to know civil life by personal observation, in order to understand such states as those of antiquity. I never could have understood a number of things in the history of Rome without having observed England.—Not that the idea of writing the history of Rome was then clear within me ; but when, at a later period, this idea became more and more distinct in my mind, all the observation and experience I had gained in England came to my aid, and the resolution was taken.”

Like all great students he meditated more than he performed. As he trusted much to his stupendous memory he seldom finished any outline on paper. He conceived first, and then, with the whole subject in his head, embodied the results in writing. But there were found in his writings notes of what he intended to do—in very various departments—in politics, statistics, finance, history, and jurisprudence. It is interesting to notice in some of them the germs of his after-productions. Thus there was found, after his death, among his papers a note, which his biographer refers to the year 1802 or 1803, while he was in Copenhagen :—

“ Works which I have to complete :—1. The Dissertation on the Roman Demesne Lands. 2. A Translation of Extracts (*auszügliche Uebersetzung*) from El Wakidi. 3. History of Macedonia. 4. Exhibition of the Roman Constitution in its different epochs. 5. History of the Decline of the Achæan League, of the Social War, of the Civil War of Marius and Sylla. 6. Of the Constitution of the Greek States. 7. Of the Reign of the Caliphs.”—*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. i. p. 348.

Though he joyfully agreed to lecture at the opening of the university of Berlin, it was not till the September of that year that he had fixed upon his subject, and the course was to commence on the 1st of November. When he did begin, he threw himself on his subject with his whole soul, with the impetuous delight of a mind like his when it has at last found freedom to pour out the collected store of years, gathered from all sources of learning, and from the acutest observations of living, real men.

The political life of Niebuhr, the experience which he had had of finance, of troublous times, of arms and of revolutions, the references which he was called upon to make to the various interests of his country, and of its connexions with other nations, his varied experience in delicate negotiations, combined with an incredible quickness of judgment, keen powers of observation, and great comprehensiveness of grasp, caused the past, when once fabricated and pieced together by him from fragments, to other eyes disjointed and valueless, to start up, like a living thing, full of lineament, distinct, real. Hear himself on this qualification :—

“The great misfortune has been that, with one or two exceptions, those who have written on Roman history either had not the stuff for it, or they were no statesmen. Yet no one can write a history of this people without being a statesman, and a practical one too. \* \* \* No wonder that so little has been done in Roman history; for a Roman historian ought to be a sound and well read philosopher and a practical statesman.” I [Lieber] asked whether some periods of Roman history did not require also military knowledge? M. Niebuhr answered:—“Roman history can be understood by a statesman who is not a general, but not by a general who is no statesman; for it is the growth of the law which constitutes the essential part of Roman history. Military knowledge, in a considerable degree, is always necessary, I admit; but then this may be obtained without one’s being necessarily a soldier.”—*Lieber*, p. 67.

No less an authority than Dr. Arnold thus writes of the political knowledge of Niebuhr:—

“In all such questions he is to me the greatest of all authorities, because, together with an ability equal to the highest, he had a universal knowledge of political history, far more profound than was ever possessed by any other man.”—*Arnold’s Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 192.

Niebuhr’s political notions were of a mixed nature. He had a strong bias to freedom, but not to a freedom of *forms*. His love of the real, his experience of the horrors of the French Revolution, his observation of the manly inhabitants of the Ditmarschen, his admiration of England, all combined to make him recognise in the old Roman struggle for plebeian independence, where men of law-honouring, upright minds, strove strenuously, constitutionally, and triumphantly, for self-government, and the evolving of rights already possessed, the model of all attempts at rational and genuine freedom.\* Thus he says:—

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\* He was for some time political or finance tutor to the then Crown Prince, now the King of Prussia. How far may the sentiments of the mob-hating, rational-freedom-loving, form-despising Niebuhr have acted upon his pupil? It may be interesting at this time to select one from many passages in Niebuhr’s letters regarding—the future Emperor of Germany. The extract is from a letter to his friend Madame Hensler, dated Berlin, 17th December, 1814:—“I have several times before this intended to sit down for the purpose of telling you the pleasure afforded me by the hours spent with the Crown Prince, but I have been hindered by interruptions or by work. I am glad when the day comes on which to go to him. He is attentive, inquisitive, full of interest—and all the princely gifts, with which nature has so richly endowed him, unfold themselves in these hours before me. Our work often takes a turn to conversation, but never to gossip, and there is no loss in consequence. His playful manner presents no hindrance to deep interest, and his heart is stirred as profoundly as his imagination flies with light wing. He seeks conviction and correction without in any way surrendering to mere authority. I have never seen a finer nature in a young man.”—*Lebensnachrichten*, vol. ii. p. 127.

“ In most of the late attempts at establishing free institutions nations have committed the great mistake of seeking liberty in the legislative branch only, or mainly; but liberty depends at least as much upon the administrative branch as upon any other. The English are the only modern European nation who have acted differently; and the freedom of North America rests upon this great gift from Old England even more than on the representative form of her government, or on any thing else.”—*Lieber*, p. 63.

This is the key to Niebuhr's opinions on ancient and modern governments—his contempt of mere forms of freedom, and his approval of self-control and self-development in the various parts of a constitution. Indeed, his views in this respect made him take up an isolated position from both court and reformers. He disliked the *bureaucracy* of the former, and he feared the theorizing, rashness, and unreal visions of the other.

The last point which we have room to notice is the independence of thought generated by his home education and solitary musings—be it remembered that the only classical training which he had in a disciplined, orderly way, was for about a year and a half at Meldorf—combined with the check upon this exercise by his intimacy and correspondence with learned men of all countries; as in earlier days, with Voss and Klopstock; thereafter with Jacobi, Schlosser, Stolberg, Valkenaer; then in a literary club at Berlin, with Spalding, Buttman, Heindorf, Schleiermacher, not to mention Böckh, Savigny, and the whole host of the *litteratissimi* of Germany, irresistibly attracted by the new views of the ex-financier and statesman, who had negotiated treaties of great national importance, and yet was most ambitious to be known as a simple man of letters—whose cherished patent of nobility was the recognition of his claim as the upbuilder of historic truth.\*

As we are anxious to glance at the works whose names are prefixed to this Article, we have no space to dwell on the claims of Niebuhr to occupy the rank of the restorer of the truth of

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\* “ I [Niebuhr] have been asked whether I wish for a title of nobility? I never could bring myself to accept of such an offer. I should feel as if I were insulting the memory of my father, whom I am far from resembling.”—*Lieber*, p. 135. His father had refused a title of nobility from the Danish Government. When asked by a relation if he had caused himself to be ennobled?—“ No,” replied he; “ I would not offer my family such an affront.”—P. 32 of Mrs. Austin's *Life of Carsten Niebuhr*. Compare with this the following passage in the Historian's Preface to his first volume;—“ The further continuation down to the term I have now set before me, I may, if it please God, and his blessing abide with me, confidently promise, although the progress may be but slow. It is the work of my life; which is to preserve me a name not unworthy of my father's. I will not lazily abandon it.”—*English Translation*, p. xii. He accepted, however, the third class order of the Red Eagle and the first class of the Austrian Knighthood of Leopold—both being bestowed on him for his services at Rome,

Roman history, either in its early periods or in its constitutional development. We may return to this subject, and shew wherein consists the peculiarity of his views, chiefly with the view of examining how far subsequent research, conducted after his own fashion, has served to confirm or to reverse his decisions. One remark, in the meantime, we may be permitted to make. It is a common rule to judge of a man's skill, in matters which we do not know, from his power or discrimination in those with which we are acquainted. In the early history of Rome, an ordinary reader might be puzzled to decide on Niebuhr's success. But in the third volume of his History he reaches a period where every scholar of tolerable acquirements may judge for himself. And we think that it will be admitted by all competent judges, that it is impossible to read this portion of the History without *feeling* that Niebuhr is depicting real men and real events—unostentatiously grouping and painting marches and battles, as if he had been an eye-witness—and realizing to our imagination scenery with which he had become personally familiar, as, to be sure, he had. We may quote the opinion of Arnold on this point.

“It is since I saw you that I have been devouring with the most intense admiration the third volume of Niebuhr. The clearness and comprehensiveness of all his military details is a new feature in that wonderful mind, and how inimitably beautiful is that brief account of Terni.”—*Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 371.

Yet it cannot be denied that, especially in the earlier portion of the History, we have mainly dissertation instead of narrative. While the purely historical portion will always command attention, from his admirable power of weighty unadorned narrative—weighty from the feeling that what is told is not only true, but the matured conviction of a truthful genius—we must confess that we entertain a suspicion that the earlier portions will be reserved for the scholar to study—a quarry from which others, such as Arnold, will dig the materials wherewith to rear less complicated structures.

It is fortunate, in these circumstances, that Niebuhr's Lectures do not labour under this disadvantage. Their literary history is, briefly, as follows :—

When Niebuhr, in 1823, returned from his Roman embassy, he found, after a short visit to Berlin, that a permanent residence there would be, for political reasons, an unpleasant one. He retired to Bonn, where he continued till his death in January 1831, with an interval of some six months, spent at Berlin in 1828, at the desire of the king himself. Being a “Free Associate” of the recently-erected university of Bonn, he com-



menced, in the summer session of 1825, to lecture on Greek history. Thereafter, till his death, with the exception of the time during which he was at Berlin, he discoursed regularly on various subjects, devoting the fees derived from the lectures to the maintenance of poor students, and the institution of university prizes. On Roman history he delivered two memorable courses :—the one, in the winter of 1826–7, embraced a philological inquiry into the sources of Roman history, and carried down the course till the time of Sylla ;—the other occupied the winter and summer sessions of 1828–9, and extended over the whole period of Roman history, down to the fall of the Western Empire. Dr. Leonhard Schmitz had been a student of Niebuhr's during the last course. He had an intense admiration of the great historian ; and having become a resident in London, he had, in co-operation with Dr. William Smith, the editor of two Dictionaries illustrative of ancient literature, which mark an era in the scholarship of this country, translated the third volume of the history. He was struck with the thought that Niebuhr's views were much more likely to become familiarly known through his Lectures than his History, and he suggested the idea to his family in Germany ; but as Niebuhr did not write out his Lectures, their publication could only be effected from notes taken by the students. The friends of Niebuhr were afraid of sacrificing the great master's fame, and refused to stir in the matter. Fortunately for the world, Dr. Schmitz took heart of grace, and collected in Germany, for collation, and to ensure completeness, a number of notes of the last course of lectures. In 1844, England gave the learned world the first view of the German Niebuhr as a lecturer on history. A wretched translation of the work into German alarmed and roused the friends of Niebuhr, and they had recourse to the same plan as that first adopted by Schmitz—the collection of notes. The first volume appeared in 1846 ; but it is to be distinctly noted, that, with the exception of a portion, the German publication broke ground at a period different from that opened up by Dr. Schmitz. He had justly deemed that the English public would be most interested in those views of Niebuhr which his History had not embraced, and, accordingly, he gave only the Introductory Lectures on the sources of Roman history, and the later period of the history itself, from the First Punic War. Thus England had,—1. Niebuhr's views of the sources of Roman history in the *Lectures* ; 2. his *History* extended in three volumes to the First Punic War ; 3. his views of the history from the First Punic War to the time of Constantine, were given in the remaining part of the *Lectures*. Matters might have rested here, but the German editor commenced regularly from the beginning ; and as many readers might desire to have Niebuhr's views completed in the form of Lectures, Dr. Schmitz

translated that portion of the German work which he had previously left untouched; and, besides, as we have ascertained from examination, he has added many important passages from the fuller manuscripts in his hands. Any one who is acquainted with the method in which students take notes, will understand how much one set may differ from another; and these differences were heightened, in the case of Niebuhr, from the peculiar qualities and characteristics of the man. With his high-pitched—to speak profanely, his *squeaking* voice—his small person,\* and also with his enthusiastic, impetuous temperament, and his inexhaustible store of illustration—his perfect command of his subject and his consciousness of power, he poured forth such a torrent of narrative, comment, disquisition, personal anecdote, description, eulogy, vituperation, (for he was too often in extremes, his *dramatis personæ* being devils or angels)—that he quite took the breath from the wondering Teutons. But what one set of notes lacked another supplied, and by full collaboration, a remarkably accurate report was supplied. Our confidence is confirmed by the following circumstance. Dr. Schmitz's publication, and that of Germany, so far as the Introductory Lectures are concerned, were derived from totally different sources. Indeed, in the portion of the Lectures first published in Germany, and re-produced by Dr. Schmitz, it is evident that the book, as we have it, is not a mere translation of the German, but partly derived from it, and partly from another set of notes altogether. And yet the agreement between them, in the main, places the faithfulness of the reporters beyond all question. In this we, in England, have the advantage. Wherever there was matter in the German notes, not to be found in those in this country, the deficiency could be easily supplied, by translating the additional matter. But wherever the German notes are deficient the case is altered. The German edition is bound to give not only *what* Niebuhr said, but *how* he said it; and to translate from English into the Niebuhrian dialect, would both be impossible, and, if possible, too dishonest to be thought of for a moment by his friends.† The three volumes

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\* A lively Picture of Niebuhr is given by Dr. Arnold.—*Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 388.

† All Niebuhr's Lectures are, we are glad to learn, in the course of publication. Two volumes of Lectures on Ancient History, and on the history of "The Last Forty Years,"—referring to the French Revolution—have already appeared in Germany. His family have with great good taste, and a proper regard to their father's fame, committed the translation, as a sacred charge, to Dr. Schmitz. This we learn from a notice at the end of the *Vorträge*, &c., vol. i., by the editor, Dr. Isler.

By the way, no notice whatever is taken of Dr. Schmitz's services in the new translation. Is this usual with literary men?

containing the Lectures, thus partly originating with, and partly enlarged by Dr. Schmitz, are in a high degree refreshing, interesting, and impulsive to the highest methods of historical investigation and pursuit. They place the lecturer, with all his powers and peculiarities, vividly before us. The style is clear, unaffected, and uninvolved. From Dr. Schmitz's remarkable command of our language and its idioms, from his scholarship and his intimate acquaintance with the subject, as evinced by his own History of Rome, he has been enabled to confer a signal service on the scholars of this country. He has done more. He it was who gave the Germans themselves the means of stamping perennially on their University history the very form and pressure of one of the largest minds that ever graced their annals.

We were therefore somewhat surprised when we saw a new translation announced. Not only had Dr. Schmitz earned the gratitude of the reading public—not only were his labours completely satisfactory, but it was evident that a new translation must be defective, for any new *doers* were precluded by the law of copyright from availing themselves of Dr. Schmitz's additional matter. And this is often the most interesting of the whole. Most of the students laid down the pen when Niebuhr digressed, as they thought, into literary gossip; the wiser portion perceived its value, and followed him through all his reminiscences. These hints—these *disjecta membra*—are generally the most characteristic portions of the discourses in which they occur. But now that the new translation has actually reached us, we judge it to be doubly fortunate that we had Dr. Schmitz's first, as the chances are that with this alone in our hands we should have pronounced Niebuhr, when uttering *vivâ voce* his historic responses, to be infected with not only the dogmatism, but with the obscurity of the ancient oracles. Or, it might be true of Niebuhr, as of another great man,

“He wrote like an angel, but talk'd like poor Poll.”

We may amuse our readers and ourselves with a few specimens of the new translation.

“His [Beaufort's] literary and personal imperfections caused him to root up the tares with the wheat.”—P. 3.

Original (p. 3): Das Kind mit dem Bade auszuschütten—a highly humorous idiom, literally, “to empty out the child with the bath.” Dr. Schmitz translates it, “to reject the wheat with the chaff.” His followers seem to have thought it enough to use the same words, no matter in what order. How would they relish, Das Bad mit dem Kinde auszuschütten?

“Some verses in it are taken from Claudius Sacerdos, *who is still lying in manuscript in Vienna*” (!)—P. 25.

“Whenever Gaius *stands upon his own legs*, he has no substantiated historical statements.”—P. 35.

“Wherefore at that time *already*,” (*schon*).—P. 321.

So *passim* in the use of *schon*, the force of which answering to the Latin *jam tunc*, is best rendered in English by such expressions as—“even as early as this.”

“A *fabulist* is *always* an *unlearned* man, and even a *learned* one would have made here some mistake.”—P. 327.

What, a learned fabulist, when a fabulist is *always* unlearned! Our friends must have studied in the land of bulls. Are they accurate interpreters? Then, Shades of Esop, Phaedrus, Fontaine, Gay, Grimm, “avenge yourselves alone on Niebuhr.” Yet, no; for what Niebuhr (p. 330) really says is, that a *falsifier of history* “is *always deficient in erudition*; and even a *learned man* would have blundered here.”—*Schmitz's Translation*, p. 278.

In short, if our readers wish to enjoy Niebuhr in *broken English*, they have a rich treat in this volume. But we cannot promise them much edification. There are manifest traces of carelessness even in rendering their author in their own way. We shall give one instance.

“Afterwards we once find these military tribunes instead of the consuls, and Dionysius on that occasion says that it was determined to satisfy the plebeians, by appointing military tribunes, three of whom were to be patricians, and three plebeians. *But there were only three, and one of them was a plebeian.*”—*Schmitz's Translation*, *ibid.*

On this last clause, which is in the original, depends wholly a charge of inaccuracy made by Niebuhr against Livy; but it is omitted in the new translation, and the whole passage is thereby rendered unintelligible.

As the translators evidently do not understand Niebuhr's peculiar views, they consequently cannot reproduce them. Thus, there is a well-known distinction between the *connubium*, the full legal marriage of Roman citizens, and other marriages, which, according to law, did not confer the full legal privileges and consequences of the *connubium*. It was by the *Lex Canuleia* that this *connubium* was permitted between the patricians and the plebeians, though Niebuhr argues that *marriages* between individuals of the two orders must have been quite common before that time. Whenever he speaks of the marriage sanctioned by law, he terms it *connubium*; other forms he calls by the German name, *Ehe*. Throughout the whole account of the *Lex Canuleia*, the new translators (p. 326) do not give a hint of any such distinction. They speak of “the *repeal* of the *prohibition* of inter-

marriage between patricians and plebeians" as being "a remarkable change"—and state, moreover, that this prohibition was "sanctioned by usage;" and yet immediately below, "mixed marriages from both orders [?] must surely have been common at all times." Poor Niebuhr!

From apparent innocence of anything beyond a mere acquaintance with the elements of Roman literature, these translators make singularly absurd errors, that are ludicrous in those who volunteer to be the interpreters of such a gigantic scholar as Niebuhr.

Thus Niebuhr refers on one occasion (p. 34, *Vorträge*) to the scholiast *zum Ibis* (on the *Ibis*.) The translators are evidently unaware of Ovid's Satire of that name, (*Ibis* or *in Ibin*,) and suppose *Ibis* to be the name of an *Author*; hence they say, (p. 35,) "The scholiast on *Ibis*!"

"Vopiscus mentions that they [*the Annales Pontificum*] had been kept *ab excessu Romuli*, beginning therefore with Numa; but this is only the opinion of an illiterate man."—P. 6.

Why, Vopiscus is one of the authors of the *Historiæ Augustæ*, and the passage referred to by Niebuhr (which has *post excessum*, and not *ab excessu*\*) will be found at the commencement of his life of the Emperor Tacitus. Niebuhr (p. 6) says that he was *ungelehrt*—but this does not import illiterate; all the force of it is "deficient in erudition."

But more than enough of this: We should probably have allowed this curious production to die a natural death, had we not been provoked by a disingenuous mis-statement and insinuation in the prospectus, which we are grieved to see issuing from the house of a respectable publisher. It is this:—

"Our translation is a faithful version of the authorized German edition, having, like the original, for its sole object, to give a correct text, which, *as emanating from Niebuhr himself*, will ever remain a standard work; while *any additions, not originating with him*, would be likely soon to lose their value."

We had another motive: We feared that our ingenuous youth might be deterred by the uncouth horrors of the interpreters from benefiting by discourses possessed of a rare and rich union of qualities—being profound, simple, quaint, original, unaffected, suggestive, and stimulative.

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\* This is no fault of the Translators, as the German original bears them out,—saving so far as they were bound to trace their authorities, and unostentatiously correct, wherever correction was needed. This passage is one of the few that do not occur in Dr. Schmitz's edition. And this reminds us, that one good fruit may be produced by this translation. We venture to suggest a new edition of the Lectures from Dr. Schmitz, embodying, in a consecutive and complete form, both the notes in the names of the German editor and those in his own.

ART. IV.—*Essay on the Union of Church and State*. By BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL, M.A. Pp. 631. London, 1848.

No person of reflecting mind will deny that the astonishing revolutions of the past year must have materially affected all the old relations between Church and State. The whole fabric of society has been shaken to its centre, and whatever may be the final result, it is very obvious that the former connexion between the spiritual and secular kingdoms, if not destined to be dissolved, must, in order to meet the altered exigencies and advancing demands of the age, undergo some important modifications. Great difference of opinion, no doubt, still exists among good men of various parties, on the general question of religious establishments; but while some are swayed by the love, and others deterred by the dread of change,—while one party may be cleaving with pertinacious attachment to ancient institutions, and another may be driven into the attitude of open warfare against them,—there is, we firmly believe, another and a growing party, who, averse to join either with the bigot or the leveller, feel persuaded that the time has come when the union of Church and State, as it now exists, whether at home or abroad, cannot and ought not to stand much longer.

In our own country, we are satisfied, that so far as true Christians of all parties are concerned, the question is gradually narrowing itself within very small compass. From the extremes into which partisans were betrayed in the heat of controversy, they have been approximating each other more nearly than they themselves may imagine. On the one hand, many of the zealous, but candid and conscientious advocates of Voluntaryism, while they may still condemn the union of Church and State, and may be even more than ever opposed to compulsory endowments, are ready to acknowledge that in looking too much at Government as “the creature of man,” they may have overlooked it as “the ordinance of God,” and may have been tempted to forget, though they never meant to abandon, the principle of national responsibility; and that now, waiving the question of endowments, they agree with us in holding that Christian men, in their civil and social as well as personal capacities, are bound to regulate themselves by the Divine will, and act in subserviency to the glory of Christ, the King of Zion. On the other hand, the most ardent and able defenders of endowments have not only been obliged practically to renounce them, but have been insensibly led, from their new position, to take a calmer survey of the advantages and disadvantages of that system for which they once



contended as *pro aris et focis*. Without dropping a single principle for which they did battle within the pale of the National Church, they are not disposed to take such high ground in maintaining the duty, the desirableness, or the necessity of having at all times an establishment. They are, in short, more anxious to secure national religion than to set up national Churches; more solicitous that our rulers should act in accordance with the laws of Scripture than to become themselves stipendiaries of the State. Nor are these mere vague ambiguous sayings, leaving the parties really as distant from each other as before; they are, we solemnly believe, the utterances of Christian minds, touched with "the same spirit of faith," and "walking by the same rule," because they "mind the same thing."

We may safely advance a step farther, and assert that, in Scotland at least, their late struggle for independence, and their experience of State patronage, have opened the eyes of many of the friends of Establishments to the peculiar perils attending that connexion, and to the inefficiency of the most stringent legal securities for the conservation of the spiritual liberties of the Church, when these securities have been rather concessions wrung from the reluctant hands of despotism than cordial recognitions of spiritual independence. And indeed, without at all condemning the policy of our fathers in soliciting the sanction of the State to their standards of belief and forms of discipline—policy which was dictated by their peculiar situation, placed as they were between the machinations of priestcraft and the usurpations of monarchy,—we may be allowed to question its general wisdom, and the propriety of its application to every period of the Church. In the event of any future negotiation with the State, were such a thing at all likely, the ancient guarantees would no longer be accepted as sufficient. Besides, it would not be difficult to show that the formal sanction by the State of the profession made by the Church, is inconsistent with the proper idea of an *alliance* between Church and State. In entering into an alliance with any foreign power, Great Britain would surely hold it foul scorn to ask her ally to sanction her laws. It is enough that the allied States acknowledge each other's independence. Our fathers, no doubt, meant nothing more than this; but they calculated too much on the good faith of men in power; and, with all their logical acumen in defining the respective spheres of authority, they seem to have never anticipated that the magistrate, being in his own province supreme, if called upon to give his official impress to the deeds of the Church, would naturally step from the position of the ally into that of the sovereign, and, in the act of sanctioning her laws, would regard himself as imposing his laws upon her. When the monarch came forward, in stately

dignity, to touch with the royal sceptre the Acts of the Church of Scotland, it is not surprising that he should have felt himself for the time to be acting the superior. The danger lay, not where our Voluntary friends have laboured to find it, in the alliance formed between Presbytery and the Government, but in the Church submitting her laws to be sanctioned by, and incorporated with the laws of the State ; instead of demanding, as from an ally, a simple and distinct recognition of herself as an independent kingdom. To prevail over her enemy, she allowed herself to be saddled and bridled by a treacherous umpire, who was sure to turn the transaction to his own advantage.

By these remarks, we do not condemn the securities obtained at the Reformation for the Protestant *religion*. Religion we hold to be a fair subject for legislation—but not the Church. And here we are surely entitled to look for a general agreement among the friends of truth. It cannot really be held by any right-minded Christian that Government has nothing to do with religion. That sentiment has been distinctly, and, we believe, heartily repudiated by many who are anxious to be accounted Voluntaries. Let it then be granted, on the one side, that the Christian ruler is bound, in his official character, to regulate himself by Christian principles, to do all in his power for the advancement of the truth ; and that it is the duty of nations to own the authority of the highest Lord. Let us no more hear such Pilate-like questions started as—What is truth ? or Who is to be the judge of it ? Then is the way open for the admission, on the other side, that though religion, as being common to both Church and State, ought to be recognised by the latter as the best friend of man, and the firmest pillar of society, yet the Church, as being a spiritual and independent kingdom, cannot be legislated for by another kingdom, further than to have her independence acknowledged and settled by law. In this simple distinction between religion and the Church—between the divine life and the organized body—may not a *via media* be found on which the friends of Christ may yet join hands and keep step in the march of Christian freedom ? And may not even the vexed question of endowments be settled among them, theoretically, on the same amicable terms ? What repels and alarms the one party here, is not merely the elevation by the other of the mere mode of supporting the pastors into a Christian ordinance, which it must be sinful to violate, but such assertions as that the endowment of truth and of error are equally sinful, and that in no case may Government grant supplies of money for religious purposes. But few will deny that, in certain states of society, the endowment of any one corporation of Christians may become highly inexpedient ; and the

question of support might be made to rest on the duty of maintaining the independence of the Church.

Entertaining such views, it was, we confess, with no ordinary interest that we looked forward to the publication now before us. The position, the character, the principles, so far as hitherto developed, of the estimable author, led us to anticipate that, "now, after so long a time," the Christian world might be conducted to common ground, on which, under the standard of "Union in the Truth," all the genuine friends of Zion might gather their forces, and dropping their respective banners of dissidence, might form one universal Free Church of the three kingdoms. Our expectation in this respect has been disappointed; but the work itself is of too much importance, and bears too much on the probable destinies of the Church, to pass without our special consideration.

This volume issues from the press under circumstances of more than ordinary interest and notoriety. On no mind, we are persuaded, have the mere adjuncts of his recent separation from the Church of England produced less impression than on that of the excellent author himself. To these he has hardly made a passing allusion in the massive work now before us; and those who may look into it with the expectation of finding a philippic on his personal treatment by the Bishop of London, will go away as much disappointed as the crowds who, from a similar motive, flocked to hear the farewell discourses at his chapel. The Christian public, however, will not easily forget, that no sooner had Mr. Noel, with the frankness so congenial to his character, announced his intention of leaving the communion of the English Church, expressing at the same time a desire to remain till his flock was provided with a suitable successor, than he was peremptorily silenced by his diocesan. If anything had been wanting to bring out, with lurid distinctness, the anti-evangelistic spirit of that Church, it would have been supplied by this specimen of the infatuated policy of its rulers, who, while they will forbear, up to the last moment of their nominal adhesion to the Church, with Anglo-Catholics, even after they have avowed their Popish predilections to their superiors, will seize the first opportunity to pounce on an evangelical clergyman, when, from excess of candour or of conscientiousness, he gives them the slightest pretext for the exercise of discipline.

Another circumstance which will intensify the effect produced by his work, much more than the modesty of the author will allow himself to believe, is the high status which he occupies in the Christian world. In the eyes of all good men he shines as a star of the first magnitude. The name of Baptist Noel, familiar as a household word, is associated with "whatso-

ever things are true" in the faith, " whatsoever things are honest" in purpose, " whatsoever things are just" in conduct, " pure" in motive, " lovely" in spirit, and " of good report" with all men at home and abroad. Independent of his rank in society, the voice of the Christian public has conferred on him the insignia of spiritual nobility, and, in despite of his Church, raised him to the episcopate of talent and of piety. With such a character, as far beyond the patronage of his opponents to confer as it is beyond their power to denude him of it, Mr. Noel has occupied a position the most favourable perhaps of all others for an impartial view of his subject. Born and nurtured in the Church of England, of which he has been now for twenty years the popular idol and the ornament, he had no temptations to scan with invidious eyes the corruptions of that " venerable institution," while, at the same time, he has enjoyed the best opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with its real condition. To none, certainly, will his own brethren, who still remain in the English Establishment, deploring its abuses, listen with more candour and attention. To them his book is specially addressed; and those without the pale of the Church will read it chiefly from curiosity to ascertain what impression it is likely to produce on those within.

Few acquainted with the sentiments of Mr. Noel, expressed in his former publications, will be surprised at the step he has taken; all must be interested to know how he has vindicated that step, and what position he now means to occupy. On opening the volume with such feelings the reader may be somewhat disappointed. The author does not profess to give reasons for his procedure; these are rather left to be inferred from the whole tenor of his reasonings. He lays down ample ground certainly for his secession, but he does not explain how he has been so long in making up his mind to occupy that ground. In fact, the book might have been written by one who had never been a member of the Church of England, and who wrote rather to warn others against entering its gates, or to invite them to " come out and be separate," than to vindicate himself for having resolved, after tarrying so long within the city, to retreat from it as far as possible. Nor is it very easy to guess the final resting-place which he contemplates. All this we might set down to that forgetfulness of self which seems singularly developed in the ardent and enthusiastic temperament of the author. But we have not proceeded far into the volume before we are struck with another peculiarity, not so easily accounted for. The title is " The Union of Church and State;" but while the entire argument of the book is directed against " the Union," in whatever form it may be supposed to exist, the form of Union described is

that only which exists in the Church of England. Thus, at the very commencement, he says:—

“ I have, then, to inquire, in the following pages, whether it is the will of Christ, as deducible from the Word of God, that the Christian congregations of this country should receive the salaries of their pastors from the State, and *be consequently placed under its superintendence.*”

On this side the Tweed at least, the criminal, if not rightly described in the indictment, escapes scot-free from the bar. The union here defined may be the English Union, but it is certainly not the union of Church and State which *our* reformers recognised, or which any enlightened advocates of establishments would vindicate in our country. It is, indeed, exactly the theory of an Establishment upon which the law courts proceeded in condemning the acts of the Scottish Church, and the prosecution of which, in the highest court of civil appeal, issued in the late memorable Disruption. How Mr. Noel, who came so generously to the aid of the Non-intrusionists on the question of independence, should have adopted a theory which, if true, would stultify all the contendings of that party for freedom while within the pale of the National Church, is a question which he affords us no means of deciding. He takes the whole point then in dispute for granted, and professes only to argue with those who hold that “ the State is competent to protect and *superintend* the Church.” We are driven, therefore, to one of two conclusions—either that Mr. Noel is now convinced that the State payment of salaries to the pastors necessarily involves State patronage and supremacy, and that, consequently, the Church of Scotland before the Disruption took up an untenable position in her contest for independence; or that, leaving this point undecided, and assuming that the State *de facto* claims supremacy over the Church, as an inseparable sequence of its support, he reasons, in fact, against the Union viewed in this complex form. The first supposition would imply such an amount of presumption in the absence of all proof, that we prefer the second, more especially as the whole work is directed against the Erastian Union of Church and State as exemplified in England.

At the same time, it is too obvious that, with the Church of England in his eye as the *beau idéal* of “ the union,” Mr. Noel is opposed to all forms of ecclesiastical establishments, and has, unwittingly, but naturally, adopted, to nearly all their extent, the arguments and objections of the Voluntary school. In one important particular we were glad to find him taking up a position which shows that he is not prepared to plunge into all the conclusions which have been drawn from Voluntary principles. He

admits "it may be very true that Governments ought, by all means in their power, to advance the cause of Christ," and says:—

"Each Member of Parliament is no less bound to make the law of God the exclusive rule of his public conduct. Each public measure should be considered with reference to the Divine will; each vote should be given in the fear of God; and every legislator is called to avow that he is governed in all things by the authority of Christ. The same principle should obviously govern the united action of all the members of the State. *They must legislate and govern in the fear of God, according to Scripture, for the glory of God and the good of the nation.*" —Pp. 22, 23.

This doctrine will, doubtless, be hailed by many as depriving Voluntaryism of its sting, and as admitting the main principle which they consider to be endangered by that system. Nor do we think that any enlightened friend of Establishments *in this country* would hesitate to subscribe to what our author states as the last Christian duty of Governments, viz., that "they no less owe it to their Lord and Redeemer to leave his Churches free from all secular control, to intrude no ministers upon them, to impose no tax on the reluctant for the purposes of religion, and to use no coercion whatever of their subjects in any religious matters." The paragraph following this may well, however, startle them, as somewhat inconsistent with the above:—

"Thus, if the State were wholly Christian it ought to abolish its Union with the Churches. But is it Christian? How many Members of Parliament profess to trust wholly to Christ for their salvation from hell, and therefore make his Word their exclusive rule of conduct? If the majority are without this faith they are unchristian and ungodly; and the Union between the Church and State is the Union between the Churches of Christ and a body of unconverted men—it is the Union of the Church with the world. And since all who are not with Christ are against him, it is the union of his friends with his enemies. The effect of the Union does not depend upon what the State ought to be, but upon what it is; and to advocate the Union because the State is bound to be evangelical, is the same thing as to say that a thief should be made the trustee of a property because he is bound to be honest, or that the Lord's Supper should be administered to a drunken profligate because he is bound to be virtuous and sober. The advocates of the Union constantly argue, not from what the State is, but from what it ought to be, and infer most erroneously the effect of the Union of the Churches with the actual State, from what they suppose would be the effect of their Union with the Utopian State. The actual State is irreligious, and the Churches are bound to dissolve their Union with it."—Pp. 24, 25.

The amiable author is certainly guilty of some confusion of thought here. The legitimate conclusion, even from his own



premises, is not that “*if the State were wholly Christian, it ought to abolish its union with the Churches*”—but that, if the State ought to be “*governed in all things by the authority of Christ,*” it *will* abolish its union with the Churches. This may be true, or it may not; but Mr. Noel was not warranted to shift from this ground, which refers to the *duty* lying on every State, whether Christian or not, to the actual *character* of the existing State. The question is not what legislators ought to be, but what legislators ought to do. None that we know of “*advocate the Union because the State is bound to be evangelical;*” though some may maintain that the State is bound to support evangelical religion. The instances of the thief and the profligate are, therefore, out of place. The personal character of the rulers, or the actual character of the Government, may be such as to render a union with the Church both dangerous and inexpedient. But the duty of the State, whatever that may be, remains unaffected by its character, or by the course which the Church may see meet to pursue. The same error of confounding the character with the duty of statesmen, appears in his remarks on the “*Constitution of the State.*” And here we regret to find it involving him in a statement which, however it might sound on the hustings, comes from the lips of Baptist Noel on our ears with singular dissonance.

“Is the world spiritual or unspiritual, regenerate or unregenerate? If unspiritual and unregenerate, why should they choose spiritual men to represent them in Parliament? I will add, that it ought not to be otherwise. If we are to be well governed, the House of Commons should gather to itself the greatest capacities in the kingdom. A religious man without talent is no more fitted to be a senator, than a religious man without muscle is fitted to be a blacksmith; and electors should no more choose a Christian without sound political knowledge to direct the nation, than a Government should choose a Christian without knowledge of navigation or of gunnery to command a man-of-war. Our rulers ought to be men of ability, and if they have sound morals, this is all that can be generally asked.”

To those familiar with the controversy which lately agitated this country, it must be superfluous to point out the various fallacies lurking under these few unhappy sentences. For the sake of others, we beg to put the following plain questions to our much esteemed author. Granting that the majority of our electors are unspiritual men, does this necessarily imply that the constituency or State of Great Britain is “the world” condemned by Scripture as “lying in wickedness?” If so, how can Christian men belong to that constituency? and does not their connexion with the State as members of it involve as much incongruity as any “union of Church and State” that ever existed?

Does Mr. Noel not confound “the world” as the secular society, “out of which he must needs go” altogether, if he would avoid all connexion with it—with “the world” as the sinful society, out of which Scripture commands him to go even while he remains in the other society? Is there any necessary connexion between what is secular and what is sinful? And are civil governments inevitably sinful because they are inevitably secular? Again, does the prevailing irreligious character of electors release them from the obligation of choosing as representatives “men fearing God and hating covetousness?” or are Christian electors not bound to see that such men represent them? In fine, granting that “our rulers ought to be men of ability,” and that religion will not compensate for the absence of talent, does it follow that talent will atone for the absence of religion? or are we warranted to expect that the affairs of the nation will be crowned with the Divine blessing, if conducted without any regard to the Divine law?—No! we may conceive Mr. Noel as replying to these queries on further reflection; these are consequences which I cannot entertain for a moment, and I now perceive that I must be wrong, and that it must be as much the duty of electors to choose good men, as it is the duty of our representatives (not *to be* good men, but) *to act* as good men; for I maintain that “they must legislate and govern in the fear of God, according to Scripture, for the glory of God, and the good of the nation.”

We cannot leave this part of the subject without expressing our regret, that before proceeding to advocate the dissolution of the union of Church and State, our author should not have recognised, more plainly and heartily, the moral character of government as an ordinance of God, and the duty of nations to Him who is “King of kings and Lord of lords.” It is here, we conceive, that the grand defect of his work lies. In his conclusions as to the duty of the *Church* in such times as those we live in, few will refuse to concur who are not interested in the abuses which he has exposed. But in his views as to the duty of governments, and of Christians in regard to them, we can assure him he is radically mistaken, and will find himself opposed by the best friends of civil and religious liberty. The author himself, if closely questioned, would be the first, we should suppose, to shrink from the allegation, that between two candidates equally qualified in other respects, it mattered little whether the man of mere “navigation and gunnery” were chosen, or the man whose well known character would be his pledge and our guarantee that in all his public actings he would be regulated by a sacred regard to the interests of the God of the Bible, of the Sabbath, and of the Church.

Nor can we sufficiently regret that in the very outset of his book Mr. Noel should have considered it necessary to indicate, in such strong terms, his leanings to the Congregational system of Church polity. In his introduction he has been at pains to define the meaning of the word "Church," in attempting which he gives too obvious evidence of being more indebted to the late treatises of Doctors Wardlaw and Davidson, than to an impartial course of reading on the subject. It is surely of small importance to the present question, in what sense the word "Church" or assembly is employed in the New Testament. It is a convenient phrase, which is not more sacred than many other scriptural phrases, and which it is no more unscriptural to apply to an assembly of Christians united under one form of discipline, than to an assembly of Christians united under one roof. Mr. Noel, however, rejects the use of the phrase, "Church of England," as if the word were thereby profaned, and his argument compromised. "I shall speak of the Roman Catholic Churches, and the Greek Churches, of the Scotch Establishment, of the English Establishment, or of the Churches within these Establishments; not of the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, the Church of Scotland, or the Church of England." This might pass as a trifling peculiarity, amounting, indeed, on the theory which Mr. Noel seems to have embraced, to something like a *reductio ad nihilum*, for his new friends, the Independents, would hardly acknowledge any of the congregations within the English Establishment to be Churches of Christ at all. And had we been critically inclined, we might have adverted to the inconsistency shewn in denying the use of the collective term Church to the religious establishment, while he has no difficulty in applying that of State to the civil establishment. If we can conceive, and may be permitted to speak of the visible complex body, including "the legislative and executive powers," the crown, the ministers, Houses of Parliament and constituency, as the "State," why may we not conceive and speak of the equally visible body, composed of professing Christians, as the "Church?" And surely it is of the Church as a visible, and not as an invisible society, that Mr. Noel speaks, when treating of "the Union of Church and State." It is impossible to speak of such a union intelligibly, without using the phrase as descriptive of the religious in contradistinction to the secular society; and accordingly, besides exhibiting it on his title, he has frequently, in the course of his book, been betrayed into the expression.\* But our author has

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\* The following is one example among many of this unconscious forgetfulness of his Congregationalism :—"If 'the earth' means the European population gene-

given still more decided evidence of his leanings to the congregational polity in other passages; and symptoms appear of a disposition to go more than half-way even with the Baptists. Unwilling to dwell on this theme, we refer the reader to pages 146, 212, 325, 436, 460, 486, 514.\*

What we chiefly deplore, however, is the effect which this unhappy ultraism and indecision of tendency must have on the minds of his former brethren. If not deterred from following his example by the length of the leap he has taken, they must be all the more content to linger with the abuses he has denounced, when it is seen that, in Mr. Noel's opinion at least, there is no intermediate ground, no sure footing, between an outrageous Erastianism, crushing under its iron-heel every fibre of life and freedom in the Church, on the one hand, and on the other, a nomadic unorganized Dissenterism; no alternative between the Establishment as it now stands, with all its corruptions, and an ecclesiastical revolution which would not only dissolve the Union of Church and State, but dissolve the Union of the Church herself, and explode her into ten thousand fragmentary churches, as unlike as unallied to each other, and the prospective constitution of which no man could foretell. The English mind seems hitherto unable to devise a middle path between the purest despotism and the rankest radicalism in ecclesiastical matters. We had hoped to find in Mr. Noel's book a more moderate scheme of reform projected, which might have reconciled the two extremes; but we are compelled to say that we despair of him as a leader in any great movement of reformation, when we see him thus merging himself in the confused ranks of existing dissent—descending into the arena, single-handed, as the champion not of the Church but of a chapel—and pleading, with all the ardour of a neophyte, for a system of disunion and disorganization, the utter impotence of which for any combined action, even its veteran supporters were beginning to deplore.

We shall not therefore follow our author into his lengthened discussion on the separation of Church and State. We are not aware that he has introduced a single new argument. When

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rally, and 'the woman' represents the Church of Christ, it shews that *the Church* may receive help from the people in any country, but the nature of the help is left undetermined. It may be the duty of nations to *help the Church* in one way, but unlawful to seek to help it in another. It may be right for them to *protect it from violence*, while it is wrong to *fetter it* (that is, *the Church*) by a Legislative Union," &c., p. 126. This must refer to the visible Church; for the Church invisible does not admit of being either helped or fettered.

\* "I do not find in the New Testament any other church court than the Church itself [*i.e.* the congregation] under the presidency of its elders."—P. 460. "Not a word is said in Scripture, clearly and explicitly, about the baptism of infants."—P. 436.

we state that his reading seems to have been limited on the side of Establishments to such writers as Hooker, M'Neile and Gladstone, our readers will not feel surprised that he should have adopted the views of "Wardlaw, Ballantyne, Conder, Gasparin, Vinet and Baird." And when it is kept in mind that his idea of an establishment is thoroughly Erastian, that he argues against what he calls the "State Episcopate," it need hardly be said that our advocates of establishments, whose reading and reflection are not "almost all on one side," will readily admit the force of the "General Considerations" which he has drawn from "the Constitution of the State," "the parental relation," from "history," from "Old Testament prophecies," and from "the New Testament," as quite applicable to such a union as that which he takes for granted.

The same remark applies to the latter, and by far the most important part of the volume, which refers to the "Effects of the Union." The fearful disclosures made in this portion of the work, of the inefficiency, the bondage, the corruption, and the baneful results of the system, when applied to that particular form of the Union which exists in England, are certainly fitted to create, and must leave, a deep impression on the mind of every Christian reader. This Part is divided into the "Influence of the Union upon Persons"—such as bishops, pastors, members, dissenters; and the "Influence of the Union upon Things"—such as the number of ministers, maintenance, doctrine, discipline, evangelization, union, reformation, religion, government, and other national establishments. Under each of these heads the influence of the Union is brought out with great power and effect; though, throughout the whole, no distinction is ever suggested between "the Union" itself, and "the Union in England." The impression left on our mind indeed, is the utter hopelessness of seeing such corruptions removed while such a connexion continues to exist. But we regret that the author should have exposed his well-intentioned arguments to be met, not by any attempts at reforming the Union as it is, but by a volley of counter-arguments in behalf of the Union as it should be; and that the odium which his *exposé* may, with too much justice, enhance against the Establishment will only be confronted by references to the growing attachment of multitudes to the Church established. There is a delusion here which, we fear, the friends of established abuses are destined sooner or later to discover; for if, after such an unfolding of the depth and extent of the disease, no remedial attempt is made, the body must sink into that state of collapse in which neither the skill of the physician nor the affection of friends can save it. Meanwhile, this concentration of attack upon the Union of

Church and State, as the sole cause of all the corruptions of the former, savours too much of the empiric and the visionary, to prove effective in the proper quarter. It may call forth *Io pæans* from a certain class of dissenters; but will the blow be fatal to Establishments? We doubt it greatly.

“The Union of the Churches with the State is doomed,” says Mr. Noel; and, for aught we know, the prediction may be a true one, though we do not think the prophet has taken the best way to ensure its fulfilment. Had he come forth in the character of a Reformer of his native Church, denouncing the Union simply because he despaired of seeing her abuses removed while such a species of Union remained, and zealous to restore her to a purity and vigour outrivalling the days of the Sixth Edward, of Jewel and Latimer and Cranmer,—he might have enlisted the best sympathies of Old England in the cause of spiritual independence. As it is, he has to fight his way against English patriotism as well as English pride; and the issue of such a conflict is more than doubtful.

The bomb has exploded within the citadel; but the effect on those within, who still constitute the majority, can only be to stimulate their zeal in its defence. It must always be an impolitic, if not an unfair mode of warfare against the corruptions of a Church, to trace up all of these to a single source, however profound in error, or prolific of evil that source may be. It may be true that the corruptions may never be effectually reformed while that source remains untouched,—just as the wounded warrior cannot be healed till he has been disencumbered of the armour which frets the sore and impedes the operation; but it does not follow that all the disorders which cry for remedy flow from one fountain, or will vanish on its removal. The grand origin of the evils affecting the English Church, it might be easy to shew, lies not in its being an Establishment simply, but in its having been, to a sad extent, from the very beginning, an establishment of abuses. Romish errors, never sufficiently purified by the Reformation, were consolidated and perpetuated by the despotism of Elizabeth, and have lain to this day congealed as in the iceberg of a long Arctic winter. Drifted as it has been lately within the influence of another spring, is there not some hope of seeing it thawed and broken up, and reduced to its original elements? And if so, is it not the office of all the friends of that Church, and of the truth as it is in Jesus, to see that due preparation is made to “separate the precious from the vile,” and build up, from among the wreck of scattered abuses, a second Temple more glorious, because more spiritual and simple and godlike, than the first?

But we must conclude our rapid review. As a specimen of



the author's style, we select the following passages in which he brings out, with withering effect, some of the most glaring faults of the Establishment which he has left :—

#### INFLUENCE OF THE UNION UPON BISHOPS.

“From this enumeration of some of the functions of a prelate imposed by the State, it is too obvious that a pastor suddenly raised by the fiat of the premier to the prelatic dignity, must undergo temptations of no ordinary force. How can one, whose position was so humble, become at once so lofty without giddiness! That smile of a statesman has made him at once a peer, the master of a palace, the owner of a lordly revenue, the successor of apostles. Thenceforth he shines in Parliament, and moves among the most splendid circles of the wealthiest nation of the earth; or, retiring to his palace, he administers within its baronial precincts an extended patronage, wields an absolute sceptre over one-third of his clergy, and by an indefinite prerogative, awes and controls the rest; meets with no one to question his opinions or contradict his will; and may look along a lengthened vista of enjoyments to the more dazzling splendour and prerogatives of Lambeth. If a man, under these circumstances, is not deteriorated, he must have extraordinary wisdom and virtue. But when worldly men are chosen by the Government, and are rendered more worldly by the disadvantages of their position, their distribution of livings, their visitation charges, their circuits for confirmation, their private intercourse with the clergy, and their whole influence, must check evangelical religion, and add to the numbers of worldly and unsound incumbents throughout the land.”—Pp. 273-275.

The following is a severe, but we suspect not an overdrawn picture of

#### THE PIOUS ANGLICAN PASTOR.

“He may exaggerate the importance of the Union, extol ‘the Church’ as the purest and best in the world, persuade himself that it is the chief bulwark of Protestantism; he may fill up his time and thoughts with the duties of his ministry, and may resolve not to read, speak, or think on those disputed topics. Thus he may strive to hide out the errors of the prayer-book, and avoid every conclusion respecting the legal fetters of his ministry, shielding himself under the thought that many excellent men do all that he is called to do, and that matters so trifling ought not to endanger an institution so venerable and so necessary.

“Symptoms of this state of mind are, I think, common.

“Amongst pious Anglican pastors it is common to hear strong and even violent denunciation of Popery, which requires no courage, because the thunderer launches his bolts against a despised minority, and is echoed by admiring multitudes. But the ten thousand practical abuses within the Establishment wake no such indignant thunders,—the nomination of worldly prelates,—the exclusion of the Gospel from thousands of parishes in which by the Union ungodly ministers

have the monopoly of spiritual instruction,—the easy introduction of irreligious youths into the ministry,—the awful desecration of baptism, especially in large civic parishes,—the more awful fact, that thirteen thousand Anglican pastors leave some millions of the poor out of a population of only sixteen millions utterly untaught,—the hateful bigotry of the canons, which excommunicate all who recognise any other Churches of Christ in England except our own,—the complete fusion of the Church and the world at the Lord's table,—the obligation upon every parish minister publicly to thank God for taking to himself the soul of every wicked person in the parish who dies without being excommunicated,—the almost total neglect of scriptural Church discipline,—the tyranny of the license system,—the sporting, dancing, and card-playing of many clergymen,—the Government orders to the churches of Christ to preach on what topics, and to pray in what terms, the State prescribes,—the loud and frequent denunciation of our brethren of other denominations as schismatics,—the errors of the Articles and of the prayer-book, and the invasion of the regal prerogatives of Christ by the State supremacy,—the total absence of self-government, and therefore of all self-reformation, in the Establishment, &c. &c. &c.: all these enormous evils are tolerated and concealed. Dissenters are often and eagerly attacked because comparatively weak; but scarcely a tongue condemns the tyranny of the State towards the Anglican Churches, because the State is strong and holds the purse.”—Pp. 300-302.

The following is his melancholy account of

#### THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

“If the 16,000 pastors and ministers of the Anglican Churches were living according to these divine commands, England would soon turn to Christ.

“But what is the actual state of the Establishment? Myriads of its members have nothing of Christianity but the name, received in infancy by baptism, and retained without one spontaneous act of their own; and millions do nothing whatever to promote the cause of Christ. Its 13,000 churches are generally without evangelistic activity, without brotherly fellowship, without discipline, without spirituality, without faith. Like Laodicea, they are lukewarm; like Sardis, they have a name to live and are dead. Of its 16,000 ministers, about 1568 do nothing; about 6681 limit their thoughts and labours to small parishes, which contain from 150 to 300 souls; while others in cities and towns profess to take charge of 8000 or 9000 souls. And of the 12,923 working pastors of churches, I fear, from various concurrent symptoms, that about 10,000 are unconverted men, who neither preach nor know the Gospel.”—Pp. 568, 569.

#### MR. NOEL'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

“The Union of the Churches with the State is doomed. Condemned by reason and religion, by scripture and by experience, how can it be allowed to injure the nation much longer? All the main principles

upon which it rests are unsound. Its State-salaries, its supremacy, its patronage, its compulsion of payments for the support of religion, are condemned by both the precedents and the precepts of the word of God. We have seen that it sheds a blighting influence upon prelates, incumbents, curates, and other members of churches. It adds little to the number of pastors, it distributes them with a wasteful disregard to the wants of the population, and it pays least those whom it ought to pay most liberally. It excludes the Gospel from thousands of parishes; it perpetuates corruptions in doctrine; it hinders all scriptural discipline; it desecrates the ordinances of Christ, confounds the Church and the world, fomenting schism among Christians, and tempts the ministers of Christ both in and out of the Establishment to be eager politicians. Further, it embarrasses successive Governments, maintains one chief element of revolution in the country, renders the reformation of the Anglican Churches hopeless, hinders the progress of the Gospel throughout the kingdom, and strengthens all the corrupt papal Establishments of Europe.

“Worst of all, it ‘grieves’ and ‘quenches’ the Spirit of God, who cannot be expected largely to bless the Churches which will not put away their sins.

“But when it shall be destroyed, we have reason to hope that the churches will revive in religion speedily. Sound doctrine will then be heard from most of the Anglican pulpits; evangelists will go forth into every part of the land; scriptural discipline will be restored; schisms will be mitigated; Christian ministers will cease to be political partisans; we may look for a larger effusion of the Spirit of God; and England may become the foremost of the nations in godliness and virtue.

“Let all who fear and love God arise to accomplish this second Reformation. The work which our martyred forefathers began in the face of the dungeon and the stake, let us, in their spirit, complete!

\* \* \* \* \*

“Since many will hold back from even an examination of truths which entail momentous consequences to themselves, each disciple of Christ, who ascertains the separation of the Churches from the State to be his Master’s will, must count it an honour to serve him singly, if need be, in this conflict. Great events in history have waited on the actions of a few intrepid men. Hampden, by his resolute resistance to an act of tyranny, awoke in his countrymen the spirit which secured our liberties. The gallantry of Clive saved our Indian empire. Luther long thought and laboured almost alone. The extensive revival of the last century was owing, under God, to Wesley and Whitfield, with very few companions. Let each member of the Establishment, therefore, who comprehends this duty, determine that he will, without waiting for the decision of others, do his utmost in the name of Christ to secure the freedom of the Anglican Churches from the shackles of the State.

\* \* \* \* \*

“With greater confidence I address my brethren of the free churches. There should be no longer disunion or sloth. Indepen-

dents and Baptists, Wesleyans and members of the Free Church of Scotland, let us all, with united voices, from Caithness to Cornwall, claim, in the name of Christ, the Christian liberty of the British Churches; and this generation may yet see accomplished a second Reformation more spiritual, and not less extensive, than the first.

“Above all, let us take care to fulfil this duty in a Christian spirit. No religious cause requires irreligious means for its advancement. Let us disgrace ourselves by no railing, condemn all personal invective, and be guilty of no exaggeration, for these are the weapons of the weak and the unprincipled; but, uniting with all those who love the Redeemer, let us recognise with gratitude every work of the Spirit within the Establishment as well as without it. And with much prayer, with constant dependence on the Holy Spirit, with a supreme desire to glorify God, and with an abundant exercise of faith, hope, and love, which are our appropriate armour in every conflict, let us persevere in our efforts till the blessing of God renders our triumph a decisive step towards the evangelisation of the world.”—Pp. 627-631.

Alas, for the Church of England! the first-born of our Reformation, and the beginning of our strength! Time was when “men would have healed her, but she is not healed!” Time was when she might have kept her bulwarks by surrendering her palaces—and retained all her real beauty and spiritual efficiency, at the sacrifice of her trappings. Time was, at the critical juncture of the Restoration, when by a moderate reform of her hierarchy, liturgy and canons, she might have retained her emoluments without losing her liberties, and might have seen a virtuous hardworking clergy, distributed through her much loved island,—

“In bright succession raised, her ornament and guard.”

But in an evil hour, she yielded to the dictation of a perfidious and unprincipled tyrant, who robbed her of her strength under pretext of advancing her to worldly honours; and now, undermined within, and besieged without, she is fain to cling for support to the arm of her oppressor. Saving the pledged and interested supporters of things as they are, none can believe that this can continue long. If the Church is destined to stand, it will be by the energies of her own children, awakened to a sense of danger and duty by the signs of the times, and demanding a thorough reform, both in her relations to the State, and her internal administration. If she is doomed to fall, it will not be by the assaults of her enemies, but by her own weight—by the plethora of wealth and power flowing to the head, and forsaking the extremities; and by clinging, with infatuated fondness, to those ponderous abuses, which, unless parted with, will assuredly drag her downwards with them into the weltering waters of revolution.

ART. V.—*The History of England, from the Accession of James II.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. In 2 vols. London, 1849. 1300 pp.

WE have never perused a work of literature or science, or even one of fiction, with such an intense interest as that with which we have devoured the two remarkable volumes now before us. We have cheated our mind of its usual food, and our body of its usual rest, in order to grasp, by one mental effort, the great truths which they teach, and imbibe the noble lessons which they convey. Were we among the personal friends of Mr. Macaulay, or did we adopt the latitudinarian views of religious truth which he has presented to us in all the fascination of language and of sentiment, we might have suspected that our judgment was partial, and our admiration extravagant; but, though our Presbyterian feelings have been often offended, and our most venerated martyrs but slightly honoured, and our national creed not unfrequently reviled, yet these penumbral spots disappear, while we study in his bright and eloquent pages the vindication of our country's liberties,—the character and the fate of the sages who asserted them,—and the righteous but terrible doom of the Princes from whom they were wrung.

There is no period of the History of England in which the events are so closely related to those of the present day as the few years of oppression and judicial murder which constitute the reign of James II. In watching at present the revival of Popery, and in resisting its insidious approach, we must study its spirit and its power previous to the Revolution; and in contemplating our domestic disturbances, and the political convulsions which are now shaking the civilized world, we may discover their cause and their cure by a careful study of Mr. Macaulay's volumes. In the arbitrary rule of the House of Stuart—in the perfidy and immorality of its princes—in the bigotry and licentiousness of its priests—in the venality of its statesmen—and in the blood-thirstiness of its captains—we see the germ of that revolutionary tempest which swept into one irresistible tide the otherwise conflicting elements of society. The Giant of Reaction, in his most grim and savage form, summoned a patient and oppressed people to revolt, and with its scorpion lash hurried one sovereign to the scaffold, and another into exile.

But while we shudder over the recitals in which these crimes are emblazoned, and through which our liberties were secured, the mind searches for some powerful principle of action to which they can be referred. Why was the prince perfidious, the

judge sanguinary, and the priest corrupt? It was because an idolatrous superstition reigned in Christendom—irritated at the progress of *Protestant* truth—inculcating the heresy of passive obedience to kings—exercising an authority over the souls and bodies of men—usurping the sceptre, and assuming the ermine of the Church's Head—sealing the ark of divine truth—and closing or poisoning the fountains of education and knowledge. In the lap of this superstition even Protestant England slumbered. Truth, secular and divine, had indeed begun to throw its mingled radiance among the ignorant and immoral masses of English life. It had long before gilded and braced the Scottish mind, and raised the Scottish heart to a sense of its duties and its wrongs. The noble doctrines of the school of Calvin, which Scripture taught and philosophy confirmed, had been accepted as the creed of Presbytery, and formed the basis of its simple discipline and worship. Through the unity and power of her faith, and the indomitable courage of her people, the Church of our fathers would have maintained her ground against all the power of the Papacy, if wielded only by her domestic princes; but the Union of the Crown of Scotland with that of England, which in happier times has been the source of her glory and her strength, threw her back a century in the race of civilisation and knowledge.

A despicable king, in carrying off its Crown, forgot his duty to the land which gave him birth, striving to overturn its blood-cemented Church, and launching against its priesthood and its people the formidable power of his double sovereignty. Her humble temple fell beneath the sword of the tyrant, but only to rise again with a nobler pediment and a loftier peristyle. The same godless princes who had desecrated our altars and slain our martyrs lifted their blood-stained hand against the Sister Church; but they lifted it in vain, for their dynasty perished in the wreck of the superstition which they upheld. Under a Protestant race of kings, and a Protestant constitution, the Sceptres of England and Scotland have been welded into one. Their Churches have flourished and grown together—the one rich and powerful—the other humble and contented. Their literature and science—their trade and their commerce—their arts and their arms—have achieved throughout the civilized world a glorious and imperishable name. We have now nothing to fear from perfidious and criminal sovereigns, from unprincipled statesmen, from venal judges, or from sanguinary chiefs. We have nothing to fear from political turbulence. The progressive reform of our institutions, and their gradual accommodation to the ever-varying necessities of man, and the ever-changing phases of social life, can always be secured by the



moral energy of an educated and religious people. We have still less to fear from foreign invasion. The diffusion of knowledge, and the local approximation and mutual interests of nations, have exorcised the spirit of war; and should it reappear, with its iron vizor and its bloody drapery, we have bulwarks of steel and of oak that may defy the hostile levies of the world. But we have much to fear from that gigantic superstition which has so often erected the stake and the scaffold in our land, and which is again girding itself for the recovery of its power. Crowds of its devotees have been long stationing themselves in our towns and villages. Idolatrous altars are rising thick around us. The Upas seeds of Papal error, long concealed in the rubrics and liturgies of a neighbouring Church, have already begun to germinate—now hiding their blanched vegetation from the eye of day—now rising up in rank luxuriance—now budding under the surplice—now bearing fruit under the mitre. The breath of a bigoted minister, or the fiat of an unprincipled monarch, is alone wanting to plant the poison-tree in our land, and renew the battle of faith which was waged and won by our fathers.

It is not probable that such a direct agency will be employed, but there are crooked lines of policy by which treason finds an easier and a quicker path to its crimes. There may be a minister, and there may be a parliament, so blind to religious truth, so ignorant of the lessons which history has read to them, and so reckless of the temporal and spiritual interests which they control, as to supply with the munitions of war the enemies of our Faith, and thus arm a Catholic priesthood against a Protestant shrine, and marshal a wild population against the peace and liberties of the empire. Had we at the helm of State some modern Orpheus, who could charm with his lyre of gold the denizens of the moral wilderness, or some Indian sage who could cajole the poison-tooth from the snake in the grass, we might expect by a stipendiary bribe to loose the Jesuit from his vows, or the priest from his allegiance; but history proclaims to us, by a handwriting on the wall, what the experience of the nation confirms, that every concession which truth makes to error is but a new buttress to support it, and that every shackle which toleration strikes from fanaticism, adds but to its virulence and power. To our Roman Catholic brethren we would cheerfully extend every right and privilege which we ourselves enjoy—to every civil and military office we would admit them—with every honourable distinction we would adorn them. Whatever, indeed, be his creed, we would welcome the wise man to our board, and we would clasp the good man to our bosom—some modern Augustine if he exists—some living Pascal if he is to be found; but we

would never consent, even under the torture-boot of James II., to pay out of the hard earnings of Protestant toil the stipend of a Catholic priest, or build his superstitious altar, or purchase the relics of his idolatry.

We have no desire to support these views by any arguments of our own. We are content to refer our readers to the truth-speaking and heart-stirring pages of Mr. Macaulay. In his history of James II., every fact has but one meaning, every event but one tongue, and every mystery but one interpretation. We here learn that with civil liberty Popery cannot co-exist.—With Scripture truth it is utterly irreconcilable.—With the faith of science it is at variance.—To the spread of education and knowledge it is bitterly opposed.—From the sage equally as from the novice it demands the secrets of the life and the heart; and over the domestic sanctuary, the seat of the purest and holiest of our affections, it has exercised, and insists upon exercising, the control of a parent, and it has wielded, and insists upon wielding, the sceptre of a god.

Gathering these truths from the work before us, and entertaining the opinion which we do of its transcendent merits, we cannot but record our satisfaction at the rapid and extensive circulation which it has already obtained, and express the wish that it may adorn every library and enlighten every family in the kingdom. And notwithstanding the imperfections which in our eyes it bears, and the errors of opinion which to us it occasionally exhibits, and the hard judgments which it sometimes pronounces against truths which we accept and revere, we would yet wish to see it in an abridged form, diffusing through middle life its great truths and lessons, and we should not object to have it read in our schools, and studied in our universities, as the best history of our Revolution, and the safest expositor of our civil and religious liberties.

As Mr. Macaulay's History of England is to be brought "down to a time which is within the memory of men still living," it will no doubt include the chronicle of the Great Revolution, which, at the close of the last century, subverted European dynasties, and which, after being itself subverted, has re-appeared with redoubled energy, threatening the extinction, or heralding the improvement, of every political institution. The path of the historian will therefore lie among thorns and quicksands, exposing him to the assaults of vindictive factions—of men rushing headlong to change, or checking the march of that great civilisation which the highest oracles have taught us to anticipate. The manner in which Mr. Macaulay has traced his course through the intricacies of our own revolutionary period is the best earnest of his future success; and though we sometimes start at what is perhaps

only the shadow of secular leanings, when he refers to conflicting creeds, and treats of ecclesiastical strife, we yet look forward with confidence, and even with delight to his future labours. It is difficult for a statesman embroiled in the politics of his own day, and committed often to party opinions which he does not himself hold, to descant freely and consistently on the events of other times, and to protect those stern decisions which he pronounces for posterity, from the taint of passing interests and contemporary feeling. Mr. Macaulay has, in our judgment, stood clear of this Scylla and Charybdis of history, and we feel assured that even his political adversaries will not venture to assert that he has chronicled the reign of James II. with the temper of a partizan, or sought to magnify his own political opinions by distorting the facts or suppressing the truths of history.

The first volume of the work, which we shall now proceed to analyze, is divided into *five* chapters. In the *first*, Mr. Macaulay gives a condensed and elegant sketch of English history from the earliest times to the Revolution in 1660. In the *second* chapter, he details the leading events in the reign of Charles II. In the *third*, he describes the state of England at the accession of James II., treating of its statistics, its literature and science, its arts, its agriculture, manufactures and commerce, the state of its towns and villages, and the condition of its population; and in the remaining *two* chapters, he gives the history of the last of the Stuarts, which is continued and concluded in the *five* chapters of the second volume.

The great event of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity is justly regarded by Mr. Macaulay as the "first of a long series of salutary revolutions" which laid the foundation of that noble constitution by which England has been distinguished from other nations. The predominance of the sacerdotal over the civil power, which marked this early period of our history, and which was continued for a great length of time, he conceives to have been a real blessing to "a society sunk in ignorance, and ruled by mere physical force." Viewing the power of priestcraft as *mental*, and "that which naturally and properly belongs to intellectual superiority," he pronounces it to be "nobler and better than that which consists merely in corporeal strength;" and as the priests were by far the wisest portion of society, he decides "that it was on the whole good that they should be respected and obeyed, and that their dominion in the Dark Ages had been, in spite of many abuses, a legitimate and a salutary guardianship." Even "the spiritual supremacy arrogated by the Pope in the Dark Ages is held to have been productive of far more good than evil;" and Mr. Macaulay reaches the

climax of his admiration, when he expresses his doubt *whether a purer religion might not have been found a less efficient agent in accomplishing* "that revolution which, in the thirteenth century, put an end to the tyranny of nation over nation, and that revolution which, a few generations later, put an end to the property of man in man."

Although we regard these laudations of sacerdotal and papal supremacy, and of the pilgrimages, and sanctuaries, and crusades, and monastic institutions of the Middle Ages, as an oblation to the political liberalism of the hour, and as a stumbling-block at the very threshold of Mr. Macaulay's labours, we yet feel some difficulty in reducing such general assertions into a proposition which can be fairly analyzed. That the ascendancy of *mental power* as a principle of government is superior to "that which consists merely in corporeal strength," or, as elsewhere expressed, to that which governs "by vigour of muscle, and by audacity of spirit," is a truth too palpable to be denied. But when we express it in another form, and aver that the government of Popery, as exercised in the Middle Ages, was better than that of a purer faith, and better, too, than that of the muscular and audacious baron, who, in the same age, led his hereditary bondsmen to battle, there is not a Protestant versed in history that will not give it an indignant denial.

The mental power to which we do homage in the statesman and lawgiver is essentially different from the mental power of the priest. The one is the efflatus of a god embodied in the sage to bless and elevate his species,—the other the spirit of Belial displayed in fraud and imposture—in false legends and in lying miracles. Under the priestly sway, knowledge was placed in bond for the purposes of deception. The vicerent of Heaven encouraged crime by absolving the criminal, and the moral and mental power which he thus wielded descended unimpaired to his successors, and is potently exercised at this moment over every kingdom in Christian Europe. A purer religion than this—the faith of Luther, or even the faith of Pascal and Arnaud, would doubtless have been a more efficient agent in the civilisation of mankind. But even the audacious autocrat exercised a sway more humane and improving than that of the priest. He laid no embargo upon knowledge—he put forth no claim to divine power, and he transmitted none to his race. If he fell in battle, a son or a chieftain less warlike than himself was not prevented by his caste from acquiring and diffusing a taste for the arts of peace, and from exercising a milder sway over his serfs. If he returned from conquest, he might import some new ideas from his enemies, or bring back some refined or intellectual captive, or introduce into his fastnesses some instrument or process of civilisation.

But if the audacious prince was a less humane and enlightened ruler than the priest,—if the prelate St. Dunstan was a nobler character than the warrior Penda, whence arose the formidable contrast? The priest himself was the cause. He it was that intercepted the rays of civilisation and science, which Heaven was gradually shedding over our race. He it was that selfishly converged them into the gloomy crypt of his sanctuary, and dispensed them at an usurious interest in magic and in jugglery, to deceive and enslave mankind. There was indeed a species of learning which emanated from the hierarchy duty free. They not only tolerated but taught the botany of the holy thorn, the osteology of saintly vertebræ, the odontology of the Virgin, and the physiology of St. Januarius' blood; and every monastery and temple had its museum of crowns and vestments, of ropes and chains, of crucifixes and crosses, of teeth and toes, labelled in duplicates and triplicates to establish their mendacious legends. It was thus that knowledge nestled in the monasteries, and thus that science was contraband in the baronial hall.

Did our narrow space permit us to continue the discussion of this subject, we would present it to our readers under another phase. We would direct their attention to the Chronicles of Arabia, and the noble Institutions which, during the Dark Ages, sprang up under the religion of the Crescent. When a corrupt superstition, as Mr. Macaulay allows it to be, was blighting with its sirocco currents the green buds of secular knowledge, and imprisoning within their fruit-vessel the long ripened seeds of sacred truth, the Caliphs of the East, the depositaries of physical force, and the heroes of many battles, were introducing among the ferocious Saracens the elements of Art and Science, and establishing schools and academies for the instruction of the children of the Prophet. A Christian physician, unfettered by Mohamedan tests, presided over the academy of Khorasan, composed of men of all countries and creeds. The orthodox Mussulmans indeed murmured at the liberality of their princes, but the Arabian youth resorted to the gymnasium, and neither his academies nor his colleges were denounced as godless. Such were the labours of Almamon. With a "vigour of muscle, and an audacity of spirit" not inferior to that of any of the captains of his age, he drew his sword against his enemies, but he returned it to its scabbard, more eager than before for the instruction and civilisation of his subjects.

As if conscious of the weakness of his position, Mr. Macaulay re-states his heresy with modifying expressions, and contents himself with the affirmation, "that that superstition (namely, the Catholic) cannot be regarded as *unmixedly noxious*" which creates an aristocracy altogether independent of race, and

compels the hereditary master to kneel before the spiritual tribunal of the hereditary bondsman." To the proposition in this form we willingly assent. There is no superstition unmixedly noxious,—no institution, either social or political, in which something innocuous may not be found. Even in slavery, the climax of institutional baseness, we may contrast the African in chains braving the horrors of the middle passage, with the slave spending the rest of his life under the roof of a kind and even a Christian master.

Among the causes by which England was, at an early period, advantageously distinguished from most of the neighbouring countries, Mr. Macaulay, in a very interesting passage, mentions the relation in which the nobility stood to the commonalty :—

"There was," he says, "a strong hereditary aristocracy, but it was of all hereditary aristocracies the least insolent and exclusive. It had none of the invidious character of a caste. It was constantly receiving members from the people, and constantly sending down members to mingle with the people. Any gentleman might become a peer. The younger son of a peer was but a gentleman. Grandsons of peers yielded precedence to newly made knights. The dignity of knight-hood was not beyond the reach of any man who could by diligence and thrift realize a good estate, or who could attract notice by his valour in a battle or a siege. It was regarded as no disparagement for the daughter of a duke, nay, of a royal duke, to espouse a distinguished commoner. \* \* \* Good blood, indeed, was held in high respect; but between good blood and the privileges of the peerage, there was most fortunately for our country no necessary connexion. Pedigrees as long, and scutcheons as old, were to be found out of the House of Lords as in it. There were new men who bore the highest titles. There were untitled men well known to have been descended from knights who had broken the Saxon ranks at Hastings, and scaled the walls of Jerusalem. \* \* \* There was, therefore, here no line like that which in some other countries divided the patrician from the plebeian. The yeoman was not inclined to murmur at dignities to which his own children might rise. The grandee was not inclined to insult a class into which his own children must descend. \* \* \* The constitution of the House of Commons tended greatly to promote the salutary intermixture of classes. The knight of the shire was the connecting link between the baron and the shopkeeper. On the same benches on which sat the goldsmiths, the drapers, and grocers who had been returned to Parliament by the commercial towns, sat also members who, in any other country, would have been called noblemen, hereditary lords of manors, entitled to hold courts, and to bear coat armour, and able to trace back an honourable descent through many generations. Some of them were younger sons and brothers of great lords. Others could boast even of royal blood. At length the eldest son of an Earl of Bedford, called, in courtesy, by the second title of his father, offered himself as candidate for a seat in the



House of Commons, and his example was followed by others. Seated in that House, the heirs of the grandees of the realm naturally became as zealous for its privileges as any of the humble burgesses with whom they were mingled. Thus our democracy was, from an early period, the most aristocratic, and our aristocracy the most democratic in the world; a peculiarity which has lasted down to the present day, and which has produced many important moral and political effects."—Vol. i. pp. 38-40.

After briefly referring to the government of the Plantagenets and Tudors, Mr. Macaulay treats of the Reformation and its consequences. He finds it difficult to say whether England owes more to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Reformation, and yet he admits that, "for political and intellectual freedom, and for all the blessings which political and intellectual freedom have brought in their train, *she is chiefly indebted to the great rebellions of the Laity against the Priesthood.*" The origin and peculiar character of the English Church, and the relation in which it stood to the State, next passes under review. He points out the advantages which the Crown derived from an Establishment which inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience, and describes the indignation of the Puritans when they saw "an Institution younger by many years than themselves, and which had under their own eyes, gradually received its form from the passions and interests of a Court, begin to mimic the lofty style of Rome."

"Since these men," (the Puritans,) says Mr. Macaulay, "could not be convinced, it was determined that they should be persecuted. Persecution produced its natural effects upon them. It found them a sect; it made them a faction. To their hatred of the Church was now added hatred of the Crown. The two sentiments were intermingled, and each embittered the other. The opinions of the Puritan concerning the relation of ruler and subject were widely different from those that were inculcated in the homilies. His favourite divines had both by precept and example encouraged resistance to tyrants and persecutors. His fellow Calvinists in France, in Holland, and in Scotland, were in arms against idolatrous and cruel princes. His notions, too, respecting the government of the State, took a tinge from his notions regarding the government of the Church. Some of the sarcasms which were popularly thrown on Episcopacy, might without much difficulty be turned against royalty; and many of the arguments which were used to prove that spiritual power was best lodged in a synod, seemed to lead to the conclusion that temporal power was best lodged in a parliament. Thus, as the priest of the Established Church was from interest, from principle, and from passion, zealous for the royal prerogatives, the Puritan was from interest, from principle, and from passion, hostile to them."—Vol. i. pp. 60, 61.

On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the Crowns of Scotland and England were united in the person of James I., a mean and

pusillanimous prince, a presumptuous pedant, and a stickler for the divine right of kings. His son Charles I., while he surpassed his father in understanding, surpassed him also in bigotry. Adopting the political theories of his sire, he strove to carry them into practice; and in attempting to convert the government of England into a despotism, and to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, he lost at once his life and his Crown.

“It would be unjust,” says Mr. Macaulay, “to deny that Charles had some of the qualities of a good, and even of a great prince. He wrote and spoke, not like his father, with the exactness of a professor, but after the fashion of intelligent and well-educated gentlemen. His taste in literature and art was excellent, his manner dignified though not gracious, his domestic life without blemish. Faithlessness was the chief cause of his disasters, and is the chief stain on his memory. He was, in truth, impelled by an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways. It may seem strange that his conscience, which on occasions of little moment was sufficiently sensitive, should never have reproached him with this great vice. But there is reason to believe that he was perfidious, not only from constitution and from habit, but from principle. He seems to have learned from the theologians whom he most esteemed, that between him and his subjects there could be nothing of the nature of a mutual contract; that he could not, even if he would, divest himself of his despotic authority; and that in every promise which he made there was an implied reservation that such promise might be broken in case of necessity, and that of the necessity he was the sole judge.”—Vol. i. pp. 83, 84.

With a counsellor like the Earl of Strafford, cruel and imperious in his nature, and a spiritual guide like Archbishop Laud, fanatical and malignant, and the unrelenting persecutor of non-conforming piety, it was no wonder that the Sovereign was hated by his people. Tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical, prevailed. Obsequious judges sacrificed law and equity at the will of their monarch, and the Star Chamber and the High Commission, “guided chiefly by the violent spirit of the Primate, and freed from the control of Parliament, (which had not been convoked for eleven years,) displayed a rapacity, a violence, a malignant energy, which had been unknown to any former age.” By such agencies the opponents of the Government were imprisoned, pilloried, and mutilated. The whole nation was agitated and incensed. The persons and liberties of Englishmen were imperilled; and such was the general despair, that men who feared God, and would have obeyed a righteous king, quitted the country which they loved, and sought and found an asylum in the Transatlantic wilds. Amid forests which the hand of man had neither planted nor reared—under the shelter of the oak and the pine, whose pedigree stretched back into primeval times—within the

reach of the Indian's tomahawk, and in the jungle ringing with the cries of the beasts of prey, did the aristocracy of England's faith lay the foundation of the cities of the West, and give birth to a race of freemen, to avenge on a future generation of their oppressors the wrongs of their fathers.

At this emergency the insane bigotry of the King and the Primate took the fatal step which led to their ruin. In the "mere wantonness of tyranny, and with a criminal contempt of public feeling, they resolved to force upon Scotland a liturgy more Popish than that of England, and to this rash attempt," as Mr. Macaulay justly observes, "our country owes her freedom." A riot took place at the first exhibition of the hated ceremonial. The nation rose to arms. The Scots marched into Yorkshire. The English troops "were ready to tear the hated Strafford to pieces," and the hapless King was compelled to abandon his arbitrary purpose, and call to his aid the wisdom of Parliament. The Star Chamber and the High Commission were abolished; the dungeons and prisons were thrown open; the wicked counsellors of the wicked King were impeached. Strafford was imprisoned, and afterwards executed; Laud was sent to the Tower, tried by the Lords, and executed;\* and the Lord Keeper Finch saved himself by flight.

In order to pacify our justly indignant countrymen, Charles visited Scotland in 1641, and put his sign-manual to an act declaring Episcopacy to be contrary to the Word of God! The enemies of Prelacy were thus encouraged to oppose it; and when the Parliament re-assembled in October 1641, it was split into two formidable parties, the Cavaliers and Round-heads—the faction of the King and of the people. In the one were marshalled the Roman Catholics—the frivolous votaries of pleasure, "who affected gallantry, splendour of dress, and a taste in the lighter arts"—together with the poets, the painters, and the stage-players, "down to the rope-dancer and the Merry-Andrew." In the other were combined the members of the English Church who were still Calvinistic, the Protestant non-conformists, the municipal corporations, with their merchants and shopkeepers, the small rural freeholders, headed by a "formidable minority of the aristocracy, including the rich and powerful Earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Warwick, Stamford, and Essex." The rebellion of the Roman Catholics in Ulster gave strength to the popular party. The remonstrance of the Commons against the royal policy, the base impeachment of the five leaders of the House, and the attempt of Charles in person to seize them by armed force within the walls of Parliament, inflamed the zeal of the Whigs, brought

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\* Mr. Macaulay has omitted to mention the trial and execution of Laud.

down upon the perfidious King the execration of his people, and forced him to fly from his stormy capital, to return only to a harsh and terrible doom.

The story of the Civil war, and of the Protectorate of Cromwell—of the trial and execution of Charles I. as “a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy”—of the march of General Monk and the army to London—of the restoration of Charles II., and of his triumphal return to the throne of his fathers, is briefly and eloquently told by Mr. Macaulay.

The reign of the restored monarch had an auspicious commencement. Recalled by the consent of opposing factions, and regarded with a romantic interest from his personal sufferings and adventures, an opportunity was afforded for exhibiting the noblest virtues of a king, and embalming a righteous prerogative in the affections and liberties of his people. But it was otherwise decreed. Charles had neither the head nor the heart of a prince. Without the ambition of fame, he thought as little of making England great, as he did of making its people free. Without the guidance of faith, he cared little about religion; and without the restraints of conscience, he cared less about morality.

“He had,” says Mr. Macaulay, “received from nature excellent parts and a happy temper. His education had been such as might have been expected to develop his understanding, and to form him to the practice of every public and private virtue. He had passed through all varieties of fortune, and had seen both sides of human nature. He had, while very young, been driven forth from a palace to a life of exile, penury, and danger. He had, at the age when the mind and the body are in their highest perfection, and when the first effervescence of boyish passions should have subsided, been recalled from his wanderings to wear a crown. He had been taught by bitter experience how much baseness, perfidy, and ingratitude may lie hid under the obsequious demeanour of courtiers. He had found, on the other hand, in the huts of the poorest true nobility of soul. When wealth was offered to any who would betray him; when death was denounced against all who should shelter him, cottagers and serving men had kept his secret truly, and had kissed his hand under his mean disguises with as much reverence as if he had been seated on his ancestral throne. From such a school it might have been expected that a young man who wanted neither abilities nor amiable qualities would have come forth a great and good king. Charles came forth from that school with social habits, with polite and engaging manners, and with some talent for lively conversation. Addicted beyond measure to sensual indulgence; fond of sauntering and of frivolous amusements, incapable of self-denial and of exertion; without faith in human virtue, or in human attachment; without desire of renown, and without sensibility to reproach. According to him, every

person was to be bought. \* \* \* Thinking thus of mankind, Charles naturally cared very little what they thought of him. Honour and shame were scarcely more to him than light and darkness to the blind. His contempt of flattery has been highly commended, but seems, when viewed in connection with the rest of his character, to deserve no commendation. It is possible to be below flattery as well as above it. One who trusts nobody will not trust sycophants. One who does not value real glory will not value its counterfeit.

“ It is creditable to Charles’s temper that, ill as he thought of his species, he never became a misanthrope. He saw little in man but what was hateful. Yet he did not hate them. Nay, he was so far humane that it was highly disagreeable to him to see their sufferings or to hear their complaints. \* \* \* The facility of Charles was such as has perhaps never been found in any man of equal sense. He was a slave without being a dupe. Worthless men and women to the very bottom of whose hearts he saw, and whom he knew to be destitute of affection for him, and undeserving of his confidence, could easily wheedle him out of titles, places, domains, state secrets, and pardons. He bestowed much ; yet he neither enjoyed the pleasure nor acquired the fame of beneficence. He never gave spontaneously ; but it was painful to him to refuse. The consequence was, that his bounty generally went, not to those who deserved it best, nor even to those whom he liked best, but to the most shameless and importunate suitor who could obtain an audience.”—Vol. i. pp. 167-170.

In his political character Charles had no resemblance either to his father or his brother. The doctrines of divine right and passive obedience made no appeal to his prejudices. Unfit for business, he detested and shunned it in every form ; and such was his ignorance of affairs, that the very clerk of council often sneered at his silly remarks and his childish impatience. In his religious character he stood aloof, not perplexed, but indifferent, between the two bundles of hay—Infidelity and Popery. In his social and moral character he is not easily described. He was as little impressed by kindnesses as he was annoyed by injuries, and hence gratitude was not numbered among his virtues, nor revenge among his faults. His master-passion was to enjoy a life of undisturbed repose, and to riot among the pleasures that make life a paradise, and Eternity a torment.

That the reign of such a prince would be turbulent and disastrous might have been readily anticipated. That it would be disgraceful to the honour of the king and the nation could scarcely have been foreseen. To curb the ambition of the French king and support the Protestant cause in Europe, England had entered into the Triple Alliance with the States General and Sweden. The English Parliament and both sections of the people had loudly applauded this salutary union of Protestant States, but the king viewed it as but a temporary concession to

popular opinion. Anxious to be emancipated from constitutional control, he looked to the power and riches of France for the accomplishment of his views; and, with the approbation of the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, he opened a negotiation with the French king. Through his sister, the beautiful Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, he offered to declare himself a Roman Catholic, to dissolve the Triple Alliance, and to unite in making war against Holland, provided Louis gave him such aid as to make him independent of his Parliament. These welcome propositions were accepted by France, and formed the secret treaty signed at Dover in 1670; and, in order to maintain his ascendancy at the English Court, Louis sent the beautiful Louisa Querouaille, afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth, to direct and control the royal will.

Although this treaty was signed with the concurrence of the *Cabal Ministry*,\* yet Charles himself suggested the most degrading of its articles, and concealed most of them from the majority of a Cabinet whose unprincipled compliance he might readily have obtained. Mr. Macaulay has well described these political miscreants. Clifford, the most respectable of them, was "a man of fiery and impetuous temper," with "a strong though a lamentably perverted sense of duty." Arlington, from his vagrant life abroad, was attached to despotism and Popery. Buckingham, a faithless voluptuary and a traitor, "was eager to win the royal favour by services" from which others "would have recoiled with horror." Ashley, full of levity and selfishness, "had served and betrayed a succession of Governments." "Lauderdale, loud and coarse both in mirth and anger, was perhaps, under the outward show of boisterous frankness, the most dishonest in the Cabal. He had been conspicuous among the Scotch insurgents of 1638, and zealous for the Covenant. \* \*

\* \* He often talked with noisy jocularly of the days when he was a canter and a rebel. He was now the chief instrument employed by the Court in forcing Episcopacy on his reluctant countrymen, nor did he in that cause shrink from the unsparing use of the sword, the halter, and the boot. Yet those who knew him, knew that thirty years had made no change in his real sentiments—that he still hated the memory of Charles I., and that he still preferred the Presbyterian form of Church government to any other." Men of such a character were the fit servants of such a king. They made his Majesty fraudulently profess great zeal for the Triple Alliance. They obtained money from the House of Commons and the Goldsmiths of London on

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\* The Ministry, in 1671, consisted of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, the first letters of whose names made the word CABAL.



false and flagitious pretences, and cowering under the wing of the French monarch, they issued the declaration of indulgence, abrogating by royal authority all the penal laws against the Catholics, including also those against Protestant Dissenters. This nefarious measure was, in terms of the secret treaty, followed by the declaration of war against the Dutch.

At this critical juncture there appeared on the stage of European politics a remarkable individual, who was destined, as Mr. Macaulay observes, "to save the United Provinces from slavery, to curb the power of France, and to establish the English constitution on a lasting foundation." William Henry, the posthumous child of William II. Prince of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of Charles I., was the possessor of a splendid fortune, a sovereign prince of Germany, and a prince of the blood-royal of England. The invasion of Holland, the result of the base treaty of Dover, subverted the existing Government. The Grand Pensionary John de Witt was torn in pieces by the rabble, and the Prince of Orange became the head of the State.

"Young as he was," says Mr. Macaulay, "his ardent and unconquerable spirit, though disguised by a cold and sullen manner, soon roused the courage of his dismayed countrymen. It was in vain that both his uncle and the French king attempted by splendid offers to seduce him from the cause of the Republic. To the States-General he spoke a high and inspiring language. He even ventured to suggest a scheme which has an aspect of antique heroism, and which, if it had been accomplished, would have been the noblest subject for epic song that is to be found in the whole compass of modern history. He told the Deputies that, even if their natal soil and the marvels with which human industry had covered it, were buried under the ocean, all was not lost. The Hollanders might survive Holland. Liberty and pure religion, driven by tyrants and bigots from Europe, might take refuge in the farthest isles of Asia. The shipping in the ports of the Republic would suffice to carry two hundred thousand emigrants to the Indian Archipelago. There the Dutch Commonwealth might commence a new and more glorious existence, and might rear, under the southern cross, amidst the sugar-canes and nutmeg trees, the exchange of a wealthier Amsterdam, and the schools of a more learned Leyden. The national spirit swelled and rose high. The terms offered by the Allies were firmly rejected. The dykes were opened. The whole country was one great lake, from which the cities, with their ramparts and steeples, rose like islands. The invaders were forced to save themselves from destruction by a precipitate retreat. Louis, who, though he sometimes thought it necessary to appear at the head of his troops, greatly preferred a palace to a camp, had already returned to enjoy the adulation of poets and the smiles of ladies in the newly planted alleys of Versailles."—Vol. i. pp. 218, 219.

Thus baffled in his designs, Louis could not supply the means of coercing the English press. Parliament assembled in the spring of 1673, after a recess of two years. The country party attacked with consummate skill the policy of the Cabal, and in a short time the declaration of indulgence was cancelled. The test act, excluding Papists from civil and military office was re-enacted, the Cabal was broken up by intestine quarrels and the treachery of Shaftesbury, and the King was compelled to conclude a peace with the United Provinces, and induced to consent to the marriage of his niece, the Princess Mary, with the Prince of Orange.

The peace of Nimeguen, which in 1678 terminated the seven years' war, was speedily followed by a political crisis in England. The passion for civil liberty was rendered more intense by a prevailing sense of national humiliation. The imbecility of her councils, and the thirst of her sovereign for foreign gold, had brought England into just contempt. The introduction of a foreign army was dreaded. A feeling prevailed that a blow was to be struck at the Protestant faith, and that the cruelties of Bloody Mary would again afflict the land. Under the excitement of these feelings, Titus Oates put in circulation his wild romance of a Papist plot to burn London, and to murder the King, his ministers, and the Protestant clergy. The nation was convulsed. The murder of Sir E. Godfrey gave probability to the rumour, and every precaution was taken against the dreaded calamity. Informers and spies added to the general belief, by swearing away the lives of Roman Catholics. The judges, and even statesmen, encouraged the delusion, and the apostasy of the Duke of York induced even the Episcopal clergy to join in the outcry against the Catholics. In this emergency the King called to his counsels Sir W. Temple, who proposed a Privy Council of thirty individuals as the royal adviser; and among the statesmen who were called to carry this new system into effect, were Viscount Halifax and the Earl of Sunderland, whose characters are finely drawn by Mr. Macaulay.

“ Among the statesmen of that age,” says he, “ Halifax was, in genius, the first. His intellect was fertile, subtle, and capacious. His polished, luminous, and animated eloquence, set off by the silver tones of his voice, was the delight of the House of Lords. His conversation overflowed with thought, fancy, and wit. His political tracts well deserve to be studied for their literary merit, and fully entitle him to a place among the English classics. To the weight derived from talents so great and various, he united all the influence which belongs to rank and ample possessions. Yet he was less successful in politics than many who enjoyed smaller advantages. Indeed, those intellectual peculiarities which make his writings valuable,

frequently impeded him in the contests of active life. For he always saw passing events, not in the point of view in which they commonly appear to one who bears a part in them, but in the point of view in which, after the lapse of many years, they appear to the philosophic historian. With such a turn of mind he could not long continue to act cordially with any body of men. All the prejudices, all the exaggerations of both the great parties in the State, moved his scorn. He despised the mean arts and unreasonable clamours of demagogues. He despised still more the Tory doctrines of divine right and passive obedience. He sneered impartially at the bigotry of the Churchman and at the bigotry of the Puritans. He was equally unable to comprehend how any man should object to saints' days and surplices, and how any man should persecute any other man for objecting to them. In temper he was what, in our time, is called a Conservative. In theory he was a Republican. Even when his dread of anarchy and his disdain for vulgar delusions led him to side for a time with the defenders of arbitrary power, his intellect was always with Locke and Milton. Indeed, his jests upon hereditary monarchy were sometimes such as would have better become a member of the Calf's Head Club than a Privy Councillor of the Stuarts. In religion he was so far from being a zealot, that he was called by the uncharitable an Atheist: but this imputation he vehemently repelled; and, in truth, though he sometimes gave scandal by the way in which he exerted his rare powers both of argumentation and of ridicule on serious subjects, he seems to have been by no means unsusceptible of religious impressions. \* \* \*

“His understanding was keen, sceptical, inexhaustibly fertile in distinctions and objections; his taste refined; his sense of the ludicrous exquisite; his temper placid and forgiving, but fastidious, and by no means prone either to malevolence or to enthusiastic admiration. \* \* \* Such a man could not long be constant to any band of political allies. His place was between the hostile divisions of the community, and he never wandered far beyond the frontier of either.”—Vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

Sunderland did not, like Halifax, belong to the class of politicians called *Trimmers*.\* He was a base intriguer, an accomplished flatterer, and the most servile instrument of arbitrary power. “In this man,” says Mr. Macaulay, “the political immorality of his age was personified in the most lively manner. Nature had given him a keen understanding, a restless and mischievous temper, a cold heart, and an abject spirit. His mind had undergone a training by which all his vices had been nursed up to the rankest maturity.” He had been envoy to the Court of Louis, and from that bad school he came out “cunning,

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\* Halifax gloried in this nickname, and assumed it as a title of honour, on the principle that every thing good *trims* between extremes.

supple, shameless, free from all prejudices, and destitute of all principle.

The changes introduced by Sir W. Temple had calmed for a while the storm of political agitation, but it soon resumed its violence. The Exclusion Bill, by which the Duke of York, an avowed Papist, was excluded from the succession, was the great object at which the Opposition grasped; but the King frustrated their designs by proroguing the Parliament without the advice of his Council, or even their knowledge that he intended to prorogue it. The day on which this unconstitutional act was perpetrated—the 26th May, 1679, was a day glorious for England. On that day the Habeas Corpus Act received the royal assent, and while the King disowned the House of Parliament he emancipated the press. A dissolution and a general election soon followed the prorogation.

These violent measures gave a new impulse to the Opposition. The Exclusion Bill was demanded in a louder voice; and for the first time the rights of Mary and Anne were assailed. When the King was resident at the Hague, Lucy Walters, a beautiful Welsh girl, had become his mistress, and had borne to him a son. James Crofts, the name of the youth, fortunate in having been assigned to a prince, was received at Whitehall with paternal fondness. Honours shared only by princes were heaped upon him. He was married to Miss Scott, the heiress of Buccleuch, and was created Duke of Monmouth in England, and Duke of Buccleuch in Scotland. Distinguished by his personal beauty and affable manners, and celebrated for his gallantry as a soldier, his return to England was hailed with universal acclamation. It had been rumoured in well-informed circles that Charles had married Lucy Walters, and that Monmouth was the lawful heir to the Crown. The Protestant party naturally gave credit to a rumour which excluded their enemy from the throne, and the condescension and popular manners of Monmouth ingratiated him with the people. In this posture of affairs the Privy Council of Sir W. Temple ceased to exist, and Laurence Hyde and Sidney Godolphin became the advisers of the Crown—the one a rancorous partisan, a violent champion of Church and Crown, and the virulent enemy of Republicans and Dissenters—the other a flexible courtier, hating change either for good or evil, and one who, as Charles expressed it, “was never in the way nor out of the way.”

The year which followed the prorogation in 1679 was pregnant with portentous events. The nation was split into angry factions, and counties, towns, families, and even schools, were similarly agitated: The cry on the one side was to exclude a Papist king—the cry on the other was to support the prerogative. The Pope was burned in effigy. The Covenanters in Scotland,

driven mad by persecution, had murdered Archbishop Sharpe, and risen against the Government; and the French king, bribing and flattering both the Court and the Opposition, "exhorted Charles to be firm, and James to raise a civil war in Scotland, while he exhorted the Whigs not to flinch, and to rely with confidence on the protection of France."

In the new Parliament, which met in October 1680, the Exclusion Bill, opposed by Hyde, and defended by Godolphin, was, without difficulty, passed; but though supported by Shaftesbury, Essex, and Sunderland, in the House of Lords, it was, with the aid of the Bishops, rejected by a great majority, chiefly through the commanding eloquence of Halifax. This defeat of the Opposition was followed by the trial and execution of a Roman Catholic peer, Viscount Strafford, who had been accused as a party in the Popish Plot, and found guilty of treason, on the testimony of Titus Oates and of two other false witnesses.

When Parliament assembled at Oxford in March 1681, a reaction was distinctly visible. A majority of the influential classes began to rally round the throne, and the Whigs were doomed to every species of persecution. The Acts against non-conformists, hitherto dormant, were rigorously enforced. Shaftesbury was tried for high treason, but acquitted. The Earl of Argyle was condemned as a traitor, because he refused to take the test; but he fortunately escaped from prison, and found an asylum in Holland. Pilkington, Colt, and Oates were fined £100,000 for speaking disrespectfully of the Duke of York, and Barnardiston £10,000 for having expressed, in a private letter, sentiments that were considered improper, while Sir R. Wood, who was once Lord Mayor of London, was tried for perjury, and condemned to the pillory, simply because he had given evidence in favour of Pilkington. The Whigs, however, were still powerful and bold. Schemes of resistance, and even of rebellion were projected, and two plots were secretly hatched. The object of the one, to which Monmouth, Russell, and Sidney were parties, was to rouse the nation against an arbitrary Government. The other, which was carefully concealed from them, was the Rye-house plot—the scheme of a few desperate spirits, to assassinate the King and his brother.\* The two plots were discovered, and considered as one, and the whole Whig party were involved in the indignation which one of them so justly excited. Shaftesbury had fled to Holland, and died. Monmouth went into voluntary exile. Russell and Sidney, guiltless of the crime for which

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\* Mr. Fox is of opinion that some of those engaged in this plot had merely a notion of assassinating the King, but doubts whether it ever ripened into a design, or was evinced by such an overt act as was necessary for conviction."—*Hist. James II.*, p. 46.

they suffered, perished on the scaffold—the one with the fortitude of a Christian, the other with the philosophy of a Stoic; and other acts, equally cruel and unconstitutional, everywhere marked the temper and conduct of the Government. The marriage of the Lady Anne to the Prince of Denmark—a man of Protestant principles—raised the hopes of the English Church, and led them to new acts of aggression. The pulpits resounded with harangues against rebellion. The doctrine of Divine Right was the text of many a godless homily, and on the day on which Russell became a martyr to liberty, the fanatical University of Oxford decreed, by a public act, that the great doctrines of liberty were impious, seditious, and heretical, and ordered the political works of Buchanan, Milton, and Baxter to be burned in the court of the schools.

At this memorable juncture there was a student at Christ's Church, Oxford, whose genius and virtue were destined to adorn his country and his age, while they were the means of bringing into disgrace the University which dishonoured and disowned him. John Locke—a name which will survive that of the tyrant and the bishop that oppressed him—was intimately acquainted with Lord Shaftesbury, and was unjustly suspected to have been the author of a pamphlet offensive to the Government. At the command of the King, Sunderland informs Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, that there is “one Locke, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury,” and who has “behaved very factiously and undutifully to the Government,” and wishes “to know the method of removing him from being a student.” The Bishop replies, that he “has had an eye upon him for divers years,” but can confidently affirm, after strict inquiries, that those most familiar with him have never heard him *speak a word either against or concerning the Government*. Doctors and graduates, as the Bishop unblushingly confesses, had, in public and private, introduced conversations “to the disparagement of his master, the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party and designs,” but could never discover in the student *a word or a look* as if he took any concern in the matter. His immediate expulsion was demanded, and the Dean and Chapter made haste to obey.\* “In this instance,” says Mr. Fox, “one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the Government of that time, which pointed out to them, even before he had made himself known to the world, the man who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny.”

While the factions who were struggling for power were each

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\* The history of this tyrannical act, fully given by Mr. Fox, with all the documents, took place on the 15th November 1684. It is, we suppose by mistake, placed by Mr. Macaulay in the reign of James II., and without any date.



promised in their turn the support of the Sovereign, an event occurred which produced a mighty change on the political condition of England. The health of Charles had begun to give way, and at the close of 1684, a slight attack of gout was the prelude to a severe illness which had a fatal termination. The circumstances under which this took place, and the event itself, are beautifully related by Mr. Macaulay:—

“ The palace had seldom presented a gayer or more scandalous appearance than on the evening of Sunday the 1st of February 1685. \* \* \* The great gallery of Whitehall, an admirable relic of the magnificence of the Tudors, was crowded with revellers and gamblers. The King sat there chatting and toying with three women, whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of three nations. Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, was there, no longer young, but still retaining some traces of that superb and voluptuous loveliness which, twenty years before, overcame the hearts of all men. There, too, was the Duchess of Portsmouth, whose soft and infantine features were lighted up with the vivacity of France. Hortensia Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin, and niece of the great Cardinal, completed the group. She had been early removed from her native Italy to the Court where her uncle was supreme. His power, and her own attractions, had drawn a crowd of illustrious visitors round her. Charles himself, during his exile, had sought her hand in vain. No gift of nature or of fortune seemed to be wanting to her. Her face was beautiful with the rich beauty of the South, her understanding quick, her manners graceful, her rank exalted, her possessions immense; but her ungovernable passions had turned all these blessings into curses. She had found the misery of an ill-assorted marriage intolerable, and fled from her husband,—had abandoned her vast wealth, and after having astonished Rome and Piedmont by her adventures, had fixed her abode in England. Her house was the favourite resort of men of wit and pleasure, who, for the sake of her smiles and her table, endured her frequent fits of insolence and ill humour. Rochester and Godolphin sometimes forgot the cares of State in her company. Barillon and St. Evremond found in her drawing-room consolation for their long banishment from Paris. The learning of Vossius, the wit of Waller, were daily employed to flatter and amuse her. But her diseased mind required stronger stimulants, and sought them in gallantry, in basset, and in usquebaugh. While Charles flirted with his three sultanas, Hortensia’s French page, a handsome boy, whose vocal performances were the delight of Whitehall, and were rewarded by numerous presents of rich clothes, ponies, and guineas, warbled some amorous verses. A party of twenty courtiers was seated at cards round a large table, on which gold was heaped in mountains. Even then, the King complained that he did not feel quite well. He had no appetite for his supper; his rest that night was broken, but on the following morning he rose, as usual, early. \* \* \*

“ Scarcely had Charles risen from his bed, when his attendants perceived that his utterance was indistinct, and that his thoughts seemed to be wandering. Several men of rank had, as usual, assembled to see their Sovereign shaved and dressed. He made an effort to converse with them in his usual gay style; but his ghastly look surprised and alarmed them. Soon his face grew black; his eyes turned in his head; he uttered a cry, and fell into the arms of Thomas Lord Bruce, eldest son of the Earl of Aylesbury. A physician, who had charge of the royal retorts and crucibles, happened to be present. He had no lancet, but he opened a vein with a penknife. The blood flowed freely, but the king was still insensible. He was laid in his bed, where during a short time the Duchess of Portsmouth hung over him with the familiarity of a wife. But the alarm had been given. The Queen and the Duchess of York were hastening to the room. The favourite concubine was forced to retire to her own apartments.”— Vol. i. pp. 429-432.

Physicians, Whig as well as Catholic, were admitted to the dying king. After a copious bleeding, hot iron was applied to the head, and “ a loathsome volatile salt, extracted from human skulls, was forced into his mouth;” and when he recovered his senses, “ he complained that he felt as if a fire was burning within him.” His medical attendants were replaced by his spiritual advisers. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Bath and Wells offered him the last rites of their Church, but he would not declare that he died in her communion, and he refused the Eucharist from their hands. At the instigation of the Duchess of Portsmouth, through the French Ambassador Barillon, the Queen asked the King if she should bring a Catholic priest. “ For God’s sake do,” replied the dying man, “ and lose no time.” Father Huddleston was introduced to the death-chamber by a private stair, and administered extreme unction and the Lord’s Supper to the King, who thus declared by the last act of his life that he died a Roman Catholic. On the morning of Friday the 6th of February, he apologized to his attendants for the trouble he had caused. “ He had been,” he said, “ a most unconscionable time dying, but he hoped that they would excuse it.” “ This was the last glimpse,” says Mr. Macaulay, “ of that exquisite urbanity so often found potent to charm away the resentment of a justly incensed nation.” His speech soon after failed him, and he died at seven without a struggle.

Before commencing the history of James II., Mr. Macaulay introduces a Chapter of 150 pages on the state of England at the death of Charles II. This chapter evinces great research, and will be perused with a high degree of interest by many classes of readers. But however much we have been gratified with its brilliant pictures and its instructive details, we are of opinion, that a disserta-

tion of this kind is an unnecessary appendage to a work of history, and, if deemed essential by the author, that it should have formed an introductory chapter. In our progress through Mr. Macaulay's fascinating narrative, we have found it an obstruction in our path; and have felt somewhat as a lover of the picturesque would feel, were he taken into a penitentiary and a cotton-mill, in order that he might understand why the peasantry were moral and the villages populous. The object of the chapter is "to correct some false notions which would render the subsequent narrative unintelligible or uninformative;" but we felt no want of the information which it contains, while we perused the chapters which precede it, and have obtained no advantage from it in perusing those which follow. To describe the condition of England as it ought to be described, in all its interesting relations, would require a range of knowledge which the historian cannot be supposed to possess; and we can expect only that department of it to be well executed which is most intimately connected with the author's studies and opportunities of observation. In his lively sketch of the state of Literature and the Fine Arts, Mr. Macaulay has been singularly successful, but he has as singularly failed in his account of the Sciences and Useful Arts. Misapprehending, as all literary men do, the precise value of the labours of Bacon, he has formed a most erroneous estimate of their influence on the progress of the Physical Sciences. His praise of Sir Isaac Newton is exaggerated, indiscriminating, and incorrect. We have striven in vain to understand what Mr. Macaulay means by *the New Philosophy*; and we are equally at a loss to fathom his allusion to "the long series of glorious and salutary reforms" which the Royal Society was destined to effect.

In contrasting the present with the past condition of England, Mr. Macaulay might have spared a passing eulogy to those illustrious philosophers and inventors, to whom alone she owes her present gigantic attitude of civilisation and power. It was not to statesmen and orators, and still less to historians, and poets, and painters, that we owe the mighty change which Mr. Macaulay has described;—it was to the Watts, and Arkwrights, and Brindleys—to the Bradleys and Herschels,—to the Cavendishes, and Davys, and Wollastons, and Youngs, those lofty columns which compose the Portico of the British Temple of Science, and whose proud names are imperishably united with the glory and greatness of their country. Had Mr. Macaulay thus appreciated the services of his countrymen, he would doubtless have viewed with sympathy that large and distinguished class of intellectual labourers who, without national encouragement or support, are striving, as he once strove, to advance the literature and science of England; and having in his eye the constitution of that Royal Society

which is sustained by the annual clarity of philosophers themselves, he would have called the attention of the Government, to which he belongs, to those noble academical associations, patronized by continental Powers, in which all the genius of the nation is generously marshalled for its intellectual service, and to that just appreciation of mental glory under which the savans even of despotic governments are permitted to share in the honours and offices of the State. But on these subjects the voice of eloquence is dumb. Raised to a high niche in the Elysium of the State, Mr. Macaulay looks down from his azure canopy upon the chill and troubled regions, where genius and learning are allowed to vegetate, to wither, and to die.

Notwithstanding our gentle criticism on Mr. Macaulay's statistical chapter, we are sorry that we cannot indulge our readers with some specimens of its excellence. His portraits of the swearing and drinking old country squire, of the domestic chaplain, of the parochial clergy, and of the mounted highwayman of the time, are finely drawn and full of interest. We shall make room for his description of the least and most worthy of these public characters.

“The mounted highwayman, a marauder known to our generation only from books, was to be found on every main road. \* \* \* The Cambridge scholars trembled when they approached Epping-forest even in broad day-light. Seamen who had been just paid off at Chatham, were often compelled to deliver their purses on Gadshill, celebrated, near a hundred years earlier, by the greatest of poets as the scenes of the depredations of Poins and Falstaff. \* \* \* It was necessary to the success, and even to the safety of the highwayman, that he should be a bold and skilful rider, and that his manners and appearance should be such as suited the master of a fine horse. He therefore held an aristocratical position in the community of thieves, appeared at fashionable coffee-houses and gaming-houses, and betted with men of quality on the race-ground. Sometimes, indeed, he was a man of good family and education. A romantic interest therefore attached, and perhaps still attaches, to the names of freebooters of this class. The vulgar eagerly drank in tales of their ferocity and audacity—of their occasional acts of generosity and good nature—of their amours—of their miraculous escapes—of their desperate struggles—and of their manly bearing at the bar, and in the cart. Thus it was related of William Nevison, the great robber of Yorkshire, that he levied a quarterly tribute on all the northern drovers, and in return not only spared them himself, but protected them against all other thieves; that he demanded purses in the most courteous manner—that he gave largely to the poor what he had taken from the rich—that his life was once spared by the royal clemency, but that he again tempted his fate, and at length died, in 1685, on the gallows of York. It was related how Claude Duval, the French page of the Duke of Richmond, took to the road, became captain of a formidable gang,

and had the honour to be named first in a royal proclamation against notorious offenders—how at the head of his troops he stopped a lady's coach in which there was a booty of £400—how he took only £100, and suffered the fair owner to ransom the rest by dancing a coranto with him on the heath—how his vivacious gallantry stole away the hearts of all women—how his dexterity at sword and pistol made him a terror to all men—how at length in 1670 he was seized when overcome by wine—how dames of high rank visited him in prison, and with tears interceded for his life—how the King would have granted a pardon, but for the interference of Judge Morton, the terror of highwaymen, who threatened to resign his office unless the law were carried into full effect—and how, after the execution, the corpse lay in state, with all the pomp of scutcheons, wax lights, black hangings, and mutes, till the same cruel judge, who had intercepted the mercy of the crown, sent officers to disturb the obsequies.”—Vol. i. pp. 381-384.

Although the domestic chaplain was treated with urbanity and kindness in the houses of men of liberal education it was otherwise under the roof of ordinary country gentlemen:—

“The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach-horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots; but as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.”—Vol. i. p. 327.

When the chaplain was promoted to a living it was expected that he should take a wife. A waiting-woman in his patron's service was considered as a suitable match; and the chaplain was fortunate if the services of his helpmate had not been of an equivocal character. Nor was his position much improved by the change.

“Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage, and in his single cassock.

Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading dung-carts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his Concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service. Study he found impossible: for the advowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dog-eared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves."—Vol. i. p. 330.

When James II. quitted the bedside of the departed monarch, he commenced his reign by a speech to his Privy Councillors, then assembled in Whitehall. He expressed his resolution to maintain the established government in Church and State, to defend the Church of England, and support the just liberties of the people. How soon and how completely these pledges were broken, the events of his reign will show. Rochester became premier; and the other ministers of the late King were retained in office, more for the purpose of insulting than of honouring them. Though the Great Seal was left with Guildford, he was dishonoured by having associated with him, in the administration, the notorious Sir George Jeffreys, a man whose depravity has become proverbial.

"He was," says Mr. Macaulay, "a man of quick and vigorous parts, but constitutionally prone to insolence and to the angry passions. When just emerging from boyhood he had risen into practice at the Old Bailey bar, a bar where advocates have always used a license of tongue unknown in Westminster Hall. Here, during many years, his chief business was to examine and cross-examine the most hardened miscreants of a great capital. Daily conflicts with prostitutes and thieves called out and exercised his powers so effectually, that he became the most consummate bully ever known in his profession. All tenderness for the feelings of others, all self-respect, all sense of the becoming, were obliterated from his mind. He acquired a boundless command of the rhetoric in which the vulgar express hatred and contempt. The profusion of maledictions and vituperative epithets which composed his vocabulary, could hardly have been rivalled in the fish-market or the bear-garden. His countenance and his voice must always have been unamiable. But these natural advantages—for such he seems to have thought them—he had improved to such a degree that there were few who, in his paroxysms of rage, could see or hear him without emotion. Impudence and ferocity sate upon his brow. The glare of his eyes had a fascination for the unhappy victim on whom they were fixed. Yet his brow and eye were said to be less terrible than the savage lines of his mouth. His yell of fury, as was said by one who had



often heard it, sounded like the thunder of the judgment-day. \* \* \* There was a fiendish exultation in the way in which he pronounced sentence on offenders. Their weeping and imploring seemed to titillate him voluptuously; and he loved to scare them into fits, by dilating, with luxuriant amplification, on all the details of what they were to suffer. Thus when he had an opportunity of ordering an unlucky adventuress to be whipped at the cart's tail,—‘Hangman,’ he would exclaim, ‘I charge you to pay particular attention to this lady. Scourge her soundly, man. Scourge her till the blood runs down! It is Christmas—a cold time for madam to strip in! See that you warm her shoulders thoroughly!’ \* \* \*

“Even in civil causes his malevolent and despotic temper perpetually disordered his judgment. To enter his court was to enter the den of a wild beast which none could tame, and which was as likely to be roused to rage by caresses as by attacks. He frequently poured forth on plaintiffs and defendants, barristers and attorneys, witnesses and jurymen, torrents of frantic abuse, intermixed with oaths and curses. His looks and tones had inspired terror when he was merely a young advocate struggling into practice. Now that he was at the head of the most formidable tribunal in the realm, there were few indeed who did not tremble before him. Even when he was sober, his violence was sufficiently frightful. But in general his reason was overclouded and his evil passions stimulated by the fumes of intoxication. His evenings were ordinarily given to revelry. People who saw him only over his bottle would have supposed him to be a man gross indeed, sottish, and addicted to low company and low merriment, but social and good-humoured. He was constantly surrounded on such occasions by buffoons selected, for the most part, from among the vilest pettifoggers who practised before him. These men bantered and abused each other for his entertainment. He joined in their ribald talk, sang catches with them, and, when his head grew hot, hugged and kissed them in an ecstasy of drunken fondness. But, though wine at first seemed to soften his heart, the effect a few hours later was very different. He often came to the judgment-seat, having kept the court waiting long, and yet having but half slept off his debauch, his cheeks on fire, his eyes staring like those of a maniac. When he was in this state, his boon companions of the preceding night, if they were wise, kept out of his way; for the recollection of the familiarity to which he had admitted them inflamed his malignity; and he was sure to take every opportunity of overwhelming them with execration and invective. Not the least odious of his many odious peculiarities was the pleasure which he took in publicly browbeating and mortifying those whom, in his fits of maudlin tenderness, he had encouraged to presume on his favour.”—Vol. i. pp. 449-453.

A peerage, and a seat in the cabinet, was the retaining fee by which the King of England secured the services of the basest of his subjects. The advice to break the spirit and the letter of the law, by levying the customs for his own use, was the compensation which James received for the dignities of office. It had

become necessary to summon Parliament, but James knew that the King of France had employed both bribes and threats to prevent Charles from assembling the Houses, and was ready to become, like him, the hireling and the vassal of Louis. He therefore resisted the advice of his Council, but when his dread of the consequences had compelled him to yield, he thus addressed himself privately to the French ambassador:—"Assure your master of my gratitude and attachment; without his protection I can do nothing. If the Houses meddle with foreign affairs, I will send them about their business. He has a right to be consulted, and I wish to consult him about everything, but in this case a week's delay might have produced serious consequences." Next morning Rochester repeated these excuses to Barillon, and even asked for money. "It will be well laid out," he said, "your master cannot employ his revenues better." "The King of England should not be dependent upon his own people, but the friendship of France alone!" Thirty-five thousand five hundred pounds were remitted to Whitehall. The King received it with tears of joy, and the venal minister embraced the ambassador. The return for this bag of gold was the permission to annex Brabant and Hainault to France, and an ambassador extraordinary was selected to assure Louis of the gratitude and affection of the King. To discharge this duty, John Churchill, the germ of the infamous but illustrious Marlborough, was selected.

"Soon after the Restoration," says Mr. Macaulay, "James, young and ardent in the pursuit of pleasure, had been attracted by Arabella Churchill, one of the maids of honour who waited on his first wife. The young lady was not beautiful; but the taste of James was not nice; and she became his avowed mistress. She was the daughter of a poor Cavalier baronet, who haunted Whitehall, and made himself ridiculous by publishing a dull and affected folio, long forgotten, in praise of monarchy and monarchs. The necessities of the Churchills were pressing; their loyalty was ardent; and their only feeling about Arabella's seduction seems to have been joyful surprise that so plain a girl should have attained such high preferment.

"Her interest was indeed of great use to her relations; but none of them was so fortunate as her eldest brother John, a fine youth, who carried a pair of colours in the Foot Guards. He rose fast in the court and in the army, and was early distinguished as a man of fashion and of pleasure. His stature was commanding, his face handsome, his address singularly winning, yet of such dignity, that the most impertinent fops never ventured to take any liberty with him; his temper, even in the most vexatious and irritating circumstances, always under perfect command. His education had been so much neglected, that he could not spell the most common words of his own language; but his acute and vigorous understanding amply supplied the place of book learning. He was not loquacious; but, when he

was forced to speak in public, his natural eloquence moved the envy of practised rhetoricians. His courage was singularly cool and imperturbable. During many years of anxiety and peril, he never in any emergency lost, even for a moment, the perfect use of his admirable judgment.

“ In his twenty-third year he was sent with his regiment to join the French forces, then engaged in operations against Holland. His serene intrepidity distinguished him among thousands of brave soldiers. His professional skill commanded the respect of veteran officers. He was publicly thanked at the head of the army, and received many marks of esteem and confidence from Turenne, who was then at the height of military glory.

“ Unhappily the splendid qualities of John Churchill were mingled with alloy of the most sordid kind. Some propensities, which in youth are singularly ungraceful, began very early to shew themselves in him. He was thrifty in his very vices, and levied ample contributions on ladies enriched by the spoils of more liberal lovers. He was during a short time the object of the violent but fickle fondness of the Duchess of Cleveland. On one occasion he was caught with her by the King, and was forced to leap out of the window. She rewarded this hazardous feat of gallantry with a present of five thousand pounds. With this sum the prudent young hero instantly bought an annuity of four hundred a-year, well secured on landed property. Already his private drawers contained heaps of broad pieces, which, fifty years later, when he was a duke, a prince of the empire, and the richest subject in Europe, remained untouched.

“ After the close of the war he was attached to the household of the Duke of York, accompanied his patron to the Low Countries and to Edinburgh, and was rewarded for his services with a Scotch peerage, and with the command of the only regiment of dragoons which was then on the English establishment. His wife had a post in the family of James's younger daughter, the Princess of Denmark.”  
Vol. i. pp. 459-461.

After the ambassador had been a few weeks at Versailles, Barillon received £112,000, with instructions to furnish £30,000 to the Government, for the purpose of corrupting the members of the new House of Commons, and to “ keep the rest in reserve for some extraordinary emergency, such as a dissolution or an insurrection !”

Thus faithless to the State, James soon became faithless to the Church. Roman Catholic rites were performed at Westminster, with regal splendour, and Protestant ceremonies were studiously omitted at his coronation. Blind to their master's character, the Tories were enthusiastic in his praise. Corporations and companies offered their adulation, and Oxford and Cambridge paraded their offensive loyalty. The electors, too, were so loyal that James did not require to put the French gold in circulation, and thus blessed with an obsequious Parliament, he began to

gloat over the pleasures of revenge. Oates\* and Dangerfield were the first of the just objects of his wrath, and as if he had wished to shew to future ages how his avenging spirit could bestride the gulf which separates the extreme of vice from the extreme of virtue, he summoned Richard Baxter, the celebrated Non-conformist divine, to the court of King's Bench, on the same day on which Oates was pilloried in Palace Yard.

"He belonged," says Mr. Macaulay, "to the mildest and most temperate section of the Puritan body. He was a young man when the Civil War broke out. He thought that the right was on the side of the Houses; and he had no scruple about acting as chaplain to a regiment in the Parliamentary army; but his clear and somewhat sceptical understanding, and his strong sense of justice, preserved him from all excesses. He exerted himself to check the fanatical violence of the soldiery. He condemned the proceedings of the High Court of Justice. In the days of the Commonwealth he had the boldness to express, on many occasions, and once even in Cromwell's presence, love and reverence for the ancient institutions of the country. While the royal family was in exile, Baxter's life was chiefly passed at Kidderminster, in the assiduous discharge of parochial duties. He heartily concurred in the Restoration, and was sincerely desirous to bring about an union between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. For, with a liberality rare in his time, he considered questions of ecclesiastical polity as of small account when compared with the great principles of Christianity, and had never, even when prelacy was most odious to the ruling powers, joined in the outcry against bishops. The attempt to reconcile the contending factions failed. Baxter cast in his lot with his proscribed friends, refused the mitre of Hereford, quitted the parsonage of Kidderminster, and gave himself up almost wholly to study. His theological writings, though too moderate to be pleasing to the bigots of any party, had an immense reputation. Zealous churchmen called him a Roundhead; and many Non-conformists accused him of Erastianism and Arminianism. But the integrity of his heart, the purity of his life, the vigour of his faculties, and the extent of his attainments, were acknowledged by the best and wisest men of every persuasion."—Vol. i. pp. 491, 492.

Lestrangle, the oracle of the clergy, raised the note of war against Baxter. An information was filed against him, and the illustrious chief of the Puritans, oppressed by age and infirmities, came to Westminster Hall to request time to prepare for his defence.

"Jeffreys burst into a storm of rage. 'Not a minute,' he cried, 'to save his life. I can deal with saints as well as with sinners. There stands Oates on one side of the pillory; and if Baxter stood

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\* Mr. Macaulay's description of the punishment and sufferings of Oates is so powerful and horrible, that we dare not transfer it to our pages. It may be read with safety after an inhalation of chloroform.

on the other, the two greatest rogues in the kingdom would stand together.' When the trial came on at Guildhall, Pollexfen and Wallop appeared for the defendant. Pollexfen had scarce begun his address to the jury, when the Chief Justice broke forth: 'Pollexfen, I know you well. I will set a mark on you. You are the patron of the faction. This is an old rogue, a schismatical knave, a hypocritical villain. He hates the Liturgy. He would have nothing but long sounded cant without book,' and then his Lordship turned up his eyes, clasped his hands, and began to sing through his nose, in imitation of what he supposed to be Baxter's style of praying. 'Lord, we are thy people, thy peculiar people, thy dear people.' Pollexfen gently reminded the Court that his late Majesty had thought Baxter deserving of a bishopric. 'And what ailed the old blockhead then,' cried Jeffreys, 'that he did not take it?' His fury now rose almost to madness. He called Baxter a dog, and swore that it would be no more than justice to whip such a villain through the whole city \* \* \* Wallop sate down; and Baxter himself attempted to put in a word. \* \* \* 'My Lord,' said the old man, 'I have been much blamed by dissenters for speaking respectfully of bishops.'—'Baxter for bishops!' cried the judge, 'that's a merry conceit indeed. I know what you mean by bishops, rascals like yourselves, Kidderminster bishops, factious snivelling Presbyterians!' Again Baxter essayed to speak, and again Jeffreys bellowed, 'Richard, Richard, dost thou think we will let thee poison the Court? Richard, thou art an old knave! Thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. By the grace of God I'll look after thee. I see a great many of your brotherhood waiting to know what will befall their mighty Don. And then,' he continued, fixing his savage eyes on Baxter, 'there is a doctor of the party at your elbow. But, by the grace of God Almighty, I will crush you all!'—Vol. i. pp. 492, 493.

A fine of £500, with imprisonment till paid,\* was the lenient punishment which the other three judges are supposed to have wrung from their savage chief, who is said to have proposed that the good man should be whipped through London at the cart's tail. Baxter went to prison, and remained there two years.

While these things were transacting in England, the infamous Claverhouse, with his bloodthirsty dragoons, was oppressing and murdering the Scottish Covenanters.

"The story ran," says Mr. Macaulay, "that these wretched men (the dragoons) used in their revels to play at the torments of hell, and to call each other by the names of devils and damned souls. The chief of this Tophet on earth, a soldier of distinguished courage and professional skill, but rapacious and profane, of violent temper, and of obdurate heart, has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred.

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\* See Nelson's *Puritan Divines*, Life of Baxter, p. xxiii., Lond. 1846, for a full account of this interesting trial.

To recapitulate all the crimes by which this man, and men like him, goaded the peasantry of the Western Lowlands into madness, would be an endless task. A few instances must suffice, and all these instances must be taken from the history of a single fortnight."—Vol. i. p. 498.

After giving an affecting and eloquent account of the sufferings of some of our noble martyrs to civil and religious liberty, Mr. Macaulay indignantly adds:—

"Thus was Scotland governed by that prince, whom ignorant men have represented as a friend of religious liberty, whose misfortune it was to be too wise and too good for the age in which he lived! \* \* \* While his officers were committing the murders which have just been related, he was urging the Scottish Parliament to pass a new Act, compared with which all former Acts might be called merciful."—Vol. i. p. 502.

The affection of the King for William Penn, and his treatment of the Quakers, form a remarkable contrast with his conduct to Dissenters. Mr. Macaulay has given a very interesting account of the singular transactions which took place between Penn and the King, and candidly confesses that it requires some courage to speak the whole truth regarding this "mythical" personage. The Society of Friends, who worship him as an apostle, must either weep over his equivocal character, or fulminate their anathemas against the discriminating, and yet, perhaps, the too flattering delineation of him by Mr. Macaulay.\*

The last chapter of Mr. Macaulay's first volume is occupied with the history of the rebellion in which the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth fell a sacrifice to ill-judged, ill-concerted, and ill-executed schemes. Among the men whom the oppression of the Stuarts had driven from their native land, the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth, who met the other refugees in Holland, were the most active and influential. Actuated by different motives, but impelled by the same hatred of their tyrant King, these bold men resolved to unfurl the standard of rebellion. Argyle was entrusted with the command in Scotland, subject however to the control of a committee, of which Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane were the leaders. Argyle's force of 1800 men assembled in the isthmus of Tarbet; but the Government, who had received early intelligence of his intention, had collected the clans that were hostile to him, and sent ships of war to cruise in the Frith of Clyde. The committee thwarted him in all his plans. The provisions were insufficient for the wants of the troops. The Highlanders

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\* If our author wishes to retain the favour of our good friends, we would commend him to "mend his Penn" for another edition of his work.



deserted in hundreds, and Argyle, in place of taking a position among his native mountains, was compelled, by the rash counsel of his friends, to carry the war into the Lowlands. Disaster followed disaster, till his troops and their leaders were obliged to seek for safety in flight. Argyle himself was made captive in the disguise of a peasant, and was ordered for execution, not on account of his share in the rebellion, but under the sentence which had been previously pronounced against him for refusing to sign the Test Act.

This noble victim of arbitrary power exhibited, in his hour of suffering, that courage and peace of mind which faith and hope could alone inspire. His cause, he said, was that of God, and must be triumphant. "I do not," he added, "take upon myself to be a prophet, but I have a strong impression on my spirit *that deliverance will come very suddenly.*" After his last meal, which he had taken with appetite, he lay down as he was wont to do, in order that he might be in full vigour to mount the scaffold.

"At this time, one of the Lords of the Council, who had probably been bred a Presbyterian, and had been seduced by interest to join in oppressing the Church of which he had once been a member, came to the Castle with a message from his brethren, and demanded admittance to the Earl. It was answered, that the Earl was asleep. The Privy Councillor thought that this was a subterfuge, and insisted on entering. The door of the cell was softly opened, and there lay Argyle on the bed, sleeping in his irons the placid sleep of infancy. The conscience of the *renegade* smote him. He turned away sick at heart, ran out of the Castle, and took refuge in the dwelling of a lady of his family who lived hard by. There he flung himself on a couch, and gave himself up to an agony of remorse and shame. His kinswoman, alarmed by his looks and groans, thought that he had been taken with sudden illness, and begged him to drink a cup of sack. 'No, no,' he said, 'that will do me no good.' She prayed him to tell her what had disturbed him. 'I have been,' he said, 'in Argyle's prison. I have seen him within an hour of eternity, sleeping as sweetly as ever man did. But as for me, ——' When Argyle was brought to the Council-house, he was allowed pen and ink to write thus to his wife:—'Dear heart, God is unchangeable. He hath always been good and gracious to me, and no place alters it. Forgive me all my faults, and now comfort thyself in Him in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless and comfort thee, my dearest. Adieu.' When mounted on the scaffold, one of the Episcopal clergymen in attendance called out loudly—'My Lord dies a Protestant.' 'Yes,' added the Earl, stepping forward, 'and not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, of Prelacy, and of all superstition.' Having embraced his friends, he knelt down, laid his head on the block of the *Maiden*, and gave the signal to the executioner."—Vol. i. pp. 563, 565.

Before the termination of this unfortunate rebellion, Monmouth, with a stronger force, landed in the port of Lynn in 1680, having escaped the vessels of the enemy that were lying in wait for him, as well as the disasters that threatened him at sea. No sooner had he landed than he issued a manifesto full of falsehood and violence, denouncing James as a murderer and usurper, and declaring that he himself was legitimate, and King of England by right of blood. Recruits flocked to his standard, and after some skirmishes with the Royal troops under the Duke of Albemarle, he entered Taunton, where he foolishly allowed himself to be proclaimed king on the 20th of June. On the 5th of July the Royal army pitched their tents on the plain of Sedgemoor, about three miles from Bridgewater. After surveying their position from the lofty steeple of Bridgewater Church, Monmouth resolved upon a night attack, but upon bringing his forces up to their position, he was startled at the discovery that a deep trench lay between him and the camp which he expected to surprise. He halted, and fired on the Royal infantry on the opposite bank. The battle raged for three quarters of an hour, but the other divisions of the Royal army having come up, the cavalry of the insurgents under Grey were panic-struck, and the advantage which darkness and surprise had given to the assailants was soon lost, and Monmouth himself retreated and rode from the field, leaving more than a thousand of his men lying dead on the moor. The loss of the King's army was only 300 in killed and wounded. Monmouth was taken prisoner in the New Forest, and was conveyed to Ringwood under a strong guard.

Though brave in the field the courage of Monmouth failed him in the solitude of a prison. He begged his life from the King, with a craven spirit unworthy of his name and his lineage. He implored and obtained an interview with the King. He crawled to his uncle's feet, embraced his knees with his pinioned arms, and with tears in his eyes he confessed his crime, and endeavoured to find some apology for it by throwing the blame on the noble Argyle. He would have renounced his religion for his life, but James was inexorable, and the day of his execution was fixed. The Duchess of Monmouth, with her children, visited him in prison, but he received them and parted with them without emotion. His heart had strayed from its first love, and had squandered its deepest affections upon Lady Wentworth, by means of whose wealth he had been enabled to fit out his hapless expedition. The circumstances connected with his execution are too painful to be minutely detailed. The fatal axe placed in a faltering hand refused to do its work, and Monmouth perished with difficulty amid the suppressed sympathies of

thousands, and the deepest execrations of the mob against the unskilful executioner. The head and body, placed in a coffin, were buried privately under the communion-table of St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower. Beneath the same pavement, and beside Monmouth's remains, were laid within four years the remains of Jeffreys.

“In truth,” says Mr. Macaulay, “there is no sadder spot on the earth than that little cemetery. Death is not there consecrated as in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, with genius and virtue, with public veneration, and with imperishable renown, not as in our humblest churches and church-yards, with everything that is most endearing in social and domestic charities; but with whatever is darkest in human nature and in human destiny, with the savage triumph of implacable enemies, with the inconstancy, the ingratitude, the cowardice of friends, with all the miseries of fallen greatness and of blighted fame. Thither have been carried through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of Courts. Thither was borne before the window where Jane Grey was praying, the mangled corpse of Guulford Dudley. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector of the Realm, reposes there beside the brother whom he murdered. There has mouldered away the headless trunk of John Fisher Bishop of Rochester and Cardinal of St. Vitalis, a man worthy to have lived in a better age and to have died in a better cause. There are laid John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, and Thomas Cromwell Earl of Essex, Lord High Treasurer. There, too, is another Essex, on whom nature and fortune had lavished all their bounties in vain, and whom valour, grace, genius, Royal favour and popular applause, conducted to an early and ignominious doom. Not far off sleep two chiefs of the great house of Howard, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and Philip, eleventh Earl of Arundel. Here and there among the thick graves of unquiet and aspiring statesmen, lie more delicate sufferers; Margaret of Salisbury, the last of the proud name of Plantagenet, and those two fair Queens, who perished by the jealous rage of Henry. Such was the dust with which the dust of Monmouth mingled.”—Vol. i. pp. 628, 629.

The week which followed the battle of Sedgemoor was marked in the annals of the West with cruelties that disgrace the reign and the age in which they were committed. A ferocious colonel of the name of Kirke, butchered an hundred captives, without even the form of trial. The rich purchased their lives for thirty or forty pounds, while the poor captives were executed amid the mockery and carousals of a brutal soldiery. The sign-post of the White Hart Inn of Taunton served for a gallows, and on the spot where the bodies were quartered,

“the executioner stood ankle deep in blood.” Military execution was speedily followed by civil murder, wearing the mask of law. A ferocious judge, more brutal still than the brutal soldier, stimulated by a King as brutal as himself, stalked in ermine through the West, with the stake and the gallows in his train, to complete the desolation of an already desolate land. Jeffreys presided at the bloody assize, and reaped his harvest of seventy-four lives in Dorsetshire, and two hundred and thirty-three in Somersetshire. The history and fate of the most interesting of the unhappy victims has been beautifully related by Mr. Macaulay. We can only notice the story of Lady Alice Lisle, the widow of John Lisle, who had been raised to the peerage by Cromwell, and who was assassinated by three Irish ruffians at Lausanne. She had given food and a resting-place to two outlaws, John Hicke, a non-conformist divine, and Richard Nelthorpe, a lawyer, who had been concerned in the Rye-house Plot. By browbeating the witnesses, and threatening the jury, the judicial hyæna obtained a verdict against female humanity, that noble quality which even uncivilized woman has a prescriptive right to exercise. Her sentence, to be burnt alive on the same day, was commuted to beheading, and she met her fate heroically in the market-place of Winchester.

But neither the Hyæna Judge, nor his congener the Royal Tiger, were satisfied with blood. Even the carnivorous appetite delights in a change of food. The goblet of red wine may derive some zest even from the cup of fetid water; and when the axe is too sharp to give pain, and the hempen coil too quick to kill, torture may be prolonged by the scourge, and agony made ductile by imprisonment and exile. In these varieties of revenge the bloodthirsty Court wantonly indulged. Several of the rebels were sentenced to scourging not less terrible than that which Oates had undergone, and women who had merely spoken some idle words, were condemned to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire. A youth, named Tulchen, was condemned to be imprisoned for seven years, and to be flogged every year through every town in the county. Upwards of 840 prisoners were ordered to be transported as slaves for ten years to some West India Island. One-fifth of these wretched exiles perished on the voyage, and so narrow was the space in which the living were confined, that there was not space for them to lie down. The men who survived these calamities were reduced by starvation to the state of skeletons, and the persons to whom they were consigned were obliged to fatten them previous to their sale. In many cases life was spared not from mercy but from avarice. Jeffreys accumulated a fortune from the ransom money for which he bartered the lives of the higher class of

Whigs;\* and the parasites who assisted him were allowed to appropriate to themselves the price of pardons. Nor was this variety of life insurance confined to Jeffreys and his minions. The name of the Queen, of Mary of Modena, however honoured it may be by fortitude in adversity, has received a stain which no stoical virtues can efface. The ladies of her household, encouraged not only by her approbation but by her example, did not scruple to wring money out of the parents of the young women who had walked in the procession which presented the standard to Monmouth at Taunton. When Sir F. Warre refused to assist in this ignoble extortion, William Penn accepted and executed the commission! The Queen had never saved or tried to save the life of a single victim of her husband's cruelty. "The only request," says Mr. Macaulay, "which she is known to have preferred, touching the rebels, was that 100 of those who were sentenced to transportation might be given to her! The profit which she cleared on the cargo, after making large allowance for those who died of hunger and fever during the passage, cannot be estimated at less than a thousand guineas."

When Jeffreys returned from his Western campaign, as the King styled it, leaving the country strewed with the heads and limbs of the rebels, a peerage and the Great Seal of England were his rewards. Another campaign in the city of London was arranged and carried out. The rich Whig merchants proved a noble quarry for the Royal Sportsman and his Gamekeeper. To them the gold in their purse was of more value than the flesh on their bones, and it was possible, too, that the double prey might be secured. The aggressions against the wealthy traders, however, were not equal in atrocity to the execution of Elizabeth Gaunt, an old Anabaptist lady, who was distinguished by her acts of benevolence to the needy of all denominations. A wretch of the name of Burton, one of the Rye-house plotters, had received money and assistance from this lady, to enable him to save his life by escaping to Holland. He returned with Monmouth, and fought at Sedgemoor, and when pursued by the Government, who had offered £100 for his apprehension, he obtained shelter in the house of one John Fernley, a barber. This honest man, though besieged by creditors, was faithful to the stranger under his roof. Burton, however, surrendered himself, and saved his life by giving information, and appearing as the principal witness, against his two benefactors. They were both tried and both convicted. Fernley perished by the gallows, and Elizabeth Gaunt was burned alive at Tyburn. At her dying hour she forgave her enemies,

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\* Edmund Prideaux paid the Chief Justice £15,000 for his liberation.

leaving them "to the judgment of the King of kings." During this the foulest of judicial murders, an awful tempest broke forth—destroying ships and dwellings, as if Heaven were lifting its voice and its arm against the workers of iniquity.\*

Towards the close of 1685, James had reached the climax of his prosperity and power, that giddy height to which Providence raises tyrants in order to magnify their fall. It is when the meteor shoots from the zenith that we can best contrast the brightness of its flash with the rapidity of its descent, and the extinction of its splendour. The Whigs were shorn of their power. The clergy were the King's worshippers—the corporations his creatures, and the judges his tools. He meditated the repeal of the Habeas Corpus and Test Acts, and the formation of a standing army; and forgetting that he had been the pensioner and vassal of Louis, he was willing to place himself at the head of a confederacy which should limit the too formidable power of France. In all these schemes James was doomed to disappointment. The Habeas Corpus Act was as dear to the Tories as to the Whigs who passed it. A standing army, associated with the events of the Protectorship, and incompatible with the militia force, which was officered by the gentry, was highly unpopular, and the admission of Catholics to civil and military office was equally adverse to the feelings and the principles of the whole Protestant community. Roman Catholic divines had argued in their writings in favour of equivocation, mental reservation, perjury, and even assassination; and Catholics of acknowledged piety did not scruple to defend the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Gunpowder Plot. Popery was therefore justly dreaded by every friend of Protestantism. Nor was this dread confined to the populace and to the intolerant among the clergy. Tillotson warned the House of Commons "against the propagation of a religion more mischievous than irreligion itself;" and declared that the idolatrous Pagans were better members of civil society than men who had imbibed the principles of the Popish casuists; while Locke contended that the Church which taught that faith should not be kept with heretics, had no claim to toleration. In place of removing these feelings by moderate and constitutional proceedings, James gave them a new and irresistible force by the most illegal exertions of his power. In opposition to law, many Roman Catholics held commissions in the army, and he was determined to increase their number. Halifax, though unsupported by his colleagues, was bold enough to express in the Cabinet his disgust and alarm; and the King, after trying in vain to corrupt him,

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\* "Since that terrible day," says Mr. Macaulay, "no woman has suffered death in England for any political offence."



dismissed him from his service. A section of the Tories was animated with the same feelings as the Whigs. Even the Bishops expressed the sentiment, that there were principles higher than loyalty; and the very chiefs of the army gave utterance to their dissatisfaction. The obsequious Churchill ventured to insinuate that the King was going too far, and the bloodthirsty Kirke, who had pledged his word to the Emperor of Morocco that if he changed his religion at all he would become a Mussulman, swore that he would stand by the Protestant faith.

These feelings were greatly strengthened by the persecution of the Huguenots in France, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Massacres and executions had preceded this arbitrary act, and cruelties unheard of followed in its train. Fifty thousand of the best French families quitted the kingdom for ever, carrying with them to foreign lands their skill in science and literature, in arts, and in arms. These events, which became known immediately before the meeting of Parliament in November 1685, foreshadowed to the English mind the consequences of a standing army officered by Roman Catholics. James applied to the Commons for a large supply to increase the regular army; and he intimated to them his resolution not to part with the Roman Catholic officers whom he had illegally employed. The House voted the Supply for making the militia more efficient, which was equivalent to a declaration against a standing army; and they agreed to an Address reminding the King that he could not legally employ officers who had not taken the statutory test. To this Address the King returned a cold and sullen reprimand; and when it was proposed that his Majesty's answer should be taken into consideration by the House, John Coke in seconding the motion said, "I hope that we are all Englishmen, and shall not be frightened by a few high words." The words were taken down, and Coke was sent to the Tower. The spirit of opposition spread to the Lords, and even to the Episcopal bench. The Earl of Devonshire and Viscount Halifax boldly took the lead, and Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, a prelate of noble blood, declared in the name of his brethren, that the Constitution of the realm, civil and ecclesiastical, was in danger. An early day was fixed for considering the King's speech, but James dreading the result, came down next morning and prorogued the Parliament, dismissing from office all who had voted against the Court.

These violent proceedings created alarm even in the minds of his Ministers. They had seen how highly the gentry of England valued the Established religion, and were anxious that discreet and moderate counsels should prevail. A knot of Roman Catholics of broken fortune and licentious character, however, headed by the Earls of Castlemaine and Tyrconnel, opposed

themselves to the Protestant policy of England, and were impatient to fill the highest offices of the State. The Court was thus divided into two hostile factions—the Protestant Ministers supported by the most respectable Catholic nobles and gentlemen, the ambassadors of Spain, Austria, and the States General, and even by the Pontiff himself; and the violent Catholics, supported by the French King and the whole influence of the mighty order of Jesus.

Mr. Macaulay has drawn a powerful picture of the virtues and vices of the Jesuits. We enumerate their merits when we mention their eloquence in the pulpit, their genius in science, their acquirements in literature, and their powers of instruction. We enumerate their virtues when we admit their heroism in deeds of mercy, and their self-devotion in missionary labour. Their vices are thus embalmed in Mr. Macaulay's eloquence.\*

“ But with the admirable energy, disinterestedness, and self-devotion, which were characteristic of the society, great vices were mingled. It was alleged, and not without foundation, that the ardent public spirit which made the Jesuit regardless of his ease, of his liberty, and of his life, made him also regardless of truth and of mercy; that no means which could promote the interest of his religion seemed to him unlawful; and that by the interest of his religion he too often meant the interest of his society. It was alleged that, in the most atrocious plots recorded in history, his agency could be distinctly traced; that, constant only in attachment to the fraternity to which he belonged, he was in some countries the most dangerous enemy of freedom, and in others the most dangerous enemy of order. The mighty victories which he boasted that he had achieved in the cause of the Church were, in the judgment of many illustrious members of that Church, rather apparent than real. He had, indeed, laboured with a wonderful show of success to reduce the world under her laws; but he had done so by relaxing her laws to suit the temper of the world. Instead of toiling to elevate human nature to the noble standard fixed by divine precept and example, he had lowered the standard till it was beneath the average level of human nature. He gloried in multitudes of converts who had been baptized in the remote regions of the East; but it was reported that from some of those converts the facts on which the whole theology of the Gospel depends had been cunningly concealed, and that others were permitted to avoid persecution, by bowing down before the images of false gods, while internally repeating Paters and Aves. Nor was it only in heathen countries that such arts were said to be practised. It was not strange that people of all ranks, and especially of the highest ranks, crowded to the Confessionals in the Jesuit temples; for from those Confessionals none went discontented away. There the priest

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\* See our review of Pascal's Writings, vol. i. pp. 313-316, for an earlier account of the Jesuits, by a Roman Catholic.

was all things to all men. He showed just so much rigour as might not drive those who knelt at his spiritual tribunal to the Dominican or the Franciscan church. If he had to deal with a mind truly devout, he spoke in the saintly tones of the primitive fathers; but with that very large part of mankind who have religion enough to make them uneasy when they do wrong, and not religion enough to keep them from doing wrong, he followed a very different system. Since he could not reclaim them from guilt, it was his business to save them from remorse. He had at his command an immense dispensary of anodynes for wounded consciences. In the books of casuistry which had been written by his brethren, and printed with the approbation of his superiors, were to be found doctrines consolatory to transgressors of every class. There the bankrupt was taught how he might without sin secrete his goods from his creditors. The servant was taught how he might, without sin, run off with his master's plate. The pander was assured that a Christian man might innocently earn his living by carrying letters and messages between married women and their gallants. The high-spirited and punctilious gentlemen of France were gratified by a decision in favour of duelling. The Italians, accustomed to darker and baser modes of vengeance, were glad to learn that they might, without any crime, shoot at their enemies from behind hedges. To deceit was given a license sufficient to destroy the whole value of human contracts and of human testimony. In truth, if society continued to hold together, if life and property enjoyed any security, it was because common sense and common humanity restrained man from doing what the Society of Jesus assured them that they might with a safe conscience do."—Vol. ii. pp. 56-58.

That James would yield to the counsels of the Jesuitical cabal must have been foreseen even by their enemies. He laboured under two delusions, the one that he should make no concessions, because his father who made concessions was beheaded; and the other, that the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance should be the practice, because it was the theory, of the Anglican Church and its lay supporters. The Protestant members of the Cabinet, with the exception of Sunderland, who had been converted to Popery, and joined the Jesuits, made the dangerous attempt to govern James by means of a concubine. The lady who was supposed to possess so potent an influence over the King, and whom he created Duchess of Dorset, was Catherine Sedley; but though she exercised a complete control over the royal will, she failed in the object which she was expected to accomplish.

The King had now determined upon a line of policy which he knew would be opposed by his Parliament. He resolved to have his dispensing power conjoined with his ecclesiastical supremacy, that he might by the one admit Catholics to civil, military, and even spiritual offices, and by the other make the English clergy the instruments for destroying their own religion.

The Court of King's Bench decided in favour of the dispensing power, and four Roman Catholics were speedily sworn of the Privy Council. Protestant clergymen, who had become Catholics, were allowed to retain their livings, and a Papist was made Dean of Christchurch College, Oxford, within whose walls mass was daily celebrated. Not content with these violations of law, the King placed the whole government of the Church in the hands of six commissioners, viz., three prelates and three laymen, and having the same seal as the Old High Commission. Convents sprung up in the city; cowls appeared in the streets; and in order to keep down the general discontent, and overawe the metropolis, a camp of 13,000 was formed on Hounslow Heath.

Similar attempts were made in Scotland in favour of the Roman Catholics, but, after a noble struggle, the Lords of Articles, the tools of the King, were contented with the proposal that Roman Catholics should not incur any penalty by worshipping God in private houses, and even this the Scottish Estates would only pass with great restrictions and modifications. Ireland was governed on the same tyrannical principles. Roman Catholics were admitted to office, and the object of the King, and of his infamous deputy Tyrconnel, was to destroy or drive from the island the whole English population. These violent measures were crowned by the dismissal of the two Hydes, the brothers-in-law of the King, his steady adherents in adversity, and his obsequious servants in power. Their sole crime was their religion. "The cry now was," says Mr. Macaulay, "that a general proscription was at hand, and that every public functionary must make up his mind to lose his soul or to lose his place." Men looked round for help, and a deliverer was at hand. William Henry Prince of Orange was destined to vindicate the liberties and wield the sceptre of England. The merit of this great man has never been appreciated as it ought by the people whom he delivered. It has fallen to the lot of Mr. Macaulay to do justice to his memory, by a minute and powerful delineation of his character. Occupying very many pages, and incapable of abridgment, we must refer our readers to the work itself, and content ourselves with the following fragment:—

"He was born with violent passions and quick sensibilities; but the strength of his conviction was not suspected by the world. From the multitude his joy and his grief, his affection and his resentment, were hidden by a phlegmatic serenity, which made him pass for the most cold-blooded of mankind. Those who brought him good news could seldom detect any sign of pleasure. Those who saw him after a defeat looked in vain for any trace of vexation. He praised and reprimanded, rewarded and punished, with the stern tranquillity of a Mohawk chief: But those who knew him well, and saw him near, were

aware that under all this ice a fierce fire was constantly burning. It was seldom that anger deprived him of power over himself. But when he was really enraged, the first outbreak of his passion was terrible. It was indeed scarcely safe to approach him. On these rare occasions, however, as soon as he regained his self-command, he made such ample reparation to those whom he had wronged, as tempted them to wish that he would go into a fury again. His affection was as impetuous as his wrath. Where he loved, he loved with the whole energy of his strong mind. When death separated him from what he loved, the few who witnessed his agonies trembled for his reason and his life. To a very small circle of intimate friends, on whose fidelity and secrecy he could absolutely depend, he was a different man from the reserved and stoical William, whom the multitude supposed to be destitute of human feelings. He was kind, candid, open, even convivial and jocose, would sit at table many hours, and would bear his full share in festive conversation.”—Vol. ii. p. 170.

In his political character William was neither a Whig nor a Tory. “He wanted,” says Mr. Macaulay, “that which is the common groundwork of both characters; for he never became an Englishman. He saved England, it is true, but he never loved her, and he never obtained her love. To him she was always a land of exile, visited with reluctance, and quitted with delight.” It was not for her welfare that he fought. Whatever patriotic feeling he possessed was for Holland, and the moving spring of all his actions was his attachment to the Protestant faith, and the deepest hostility to France and her ambitious and persecuting king. Under the influence of these views, William was the prime though concealed mover in those arrangements for mutual defence, which were embodied in the treaty of Augsburg.\* The power of England was alone wanting to give energy to this powerful confederacy; and to obtain her concurrence, he placed himself at the head of the Protestant opposition, which, after the fall of the Hydes, had increased in numbers and in strength. At this time apostasy was the road to power. The Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury were converted to Popery, and John Dryden, the poet who “had led a life of mendicancy and adulation,” bartered his conscience for a pension of £100 a-year, and prostituted his already licentious pen in defending both in prose and in verse the new faith which he embraced. Mr. Macaulay notices the remarkable fact, that in Dryden’s political poem of the Hind and Panther, the Church of England, at first mentioned with respect, is exhorted to ally itself with the Papists against the Puritans, but at the close of the poem, and in the

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\* Signed in July 1686, by the Princes of the Empire and the Kings of Spain and Sweden.

preface written after the poem was finished, the Protestant dissenters are invited to make common cause with the Papists against the Church of England. This was the foreshadow of James's policy. His enmity to the Puritans disappeared in his hatred of the English Church, and on the 4th April 1687, appeared the unconstitutional Declaration of Indulgence, which gave entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects. He abrogated a long series of oppressive statutes, and authorized Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters to celebrate their religious rites in public. The hitherto persecuted Puritan could not but rejoice in the repeal of acts under which he had been so long oppressed, while the Anglican Church stood petrified with terror. "Her chastisement was just, she reaped that which she had sown." She had ever urged the Stuarts against the Presbyterians. In her distress she now sought their friendship, and thus did the Protestant dissenters hold the balance of power between the King and the Church, who were bidding eagerly for their favour. James declared that he had persecuted the Dissenters in order to please the Church, and the Church retorted that they had aided in the persecution in order to please the King. Those who were lately schismatics and fanatics, were now "dear fellow Protestants," and it was even held out to them by Churchmen, that they might sit on the Episcopal bench.

At this singular crisis, "The Letter of a Dissenter," a masterly tract, believed to be written by Halifax, was circulated in thousands throughout the kingdom. It urged the Non-conformists to prefer an alliance with the Church to an alliance with the King; and such was its force of argument, that the great body of Dissenters, including Baxter, and Howe, and Bunyan, declared themselves hostile to the dispensing power, and took part with the Established Church. William of Orange and the Princess Mary entertained the same views, and conveyed them respectfully to the King. Under such a leader the opposition waxed daily in power. Dykevelt, the Dutch ambassador in name, was in reality an envoy to the opposition. The Earls of Danby and Nottingham, and Halifax, the chief of the Trimmers, were in constant communication with Dykevelt. Through Bishop Compton he looked for the support of the clergy, through Admiral Herbert for that of the navy, and Churchill, foreseeing that nobody would be safe who would not become a Roman Catholic, was the instrument by which the army was to be secured. This aid was in another respect most desirable. It was important that the Princess Anne should act in union with her sister, and this could only be brought about by the agency of Churchill's wife, who absolutely governed her, and



who, as the Duchess of Marlborough, played such an important part in the future history of Europe.

“The name of this celebrated favourite was Sarah Jennings. Her elder sister, Frances, had been distinguished by beauty and levity even among the crowd of beautiful faces and light characters which adorned and disgraced Whitehall during the wild carnival of the Restoration. On one occasion, Frances dressed herself like an orange girl, and cried fruit about the streets. Sober people predicted that a girl of so little discretion and delicacy would not easily find a husband. She was however twice married, and was now the wife of Tyrconnel. Sarah, less regularly beautiful, was perhaps more attractive. Her face was expressive; her form wanted no feminine charm; and the profusion of her fine hair, not yet disguised by powder according to that barbarous fashion which she lived to see introduced, was the delight of numerous admirers. Among the gallants who sued for her favour, Colonel Churchill, young, handsome, graceful, insinuating, eloquent and brave, obtained the preference. He must have been enamoured indeed. For he had little property except the annuity which he had bought with the infamous wages bestowed on him by the Duchess of Cleveland; he was insatiable of riches. Sarah was poor; and a plain girl with a large fortune was proposed to him. His love, after a struggle, prevailed over his avarice; marriage only strengthened his passion; and, to the last hour of his life, Sarah enjoyed the pleasure and distinction of being the one human being who was able to mislead that far-sighted and sure-footed judgment, who was fervently loved by that cold heart, and who was servilely feared by that intrepid spirit.

“In a worldly sense the fidelity of Churchill’s love was amply rewarded. His bride, though slenderly portioned, brought with her a dowry which, judiciously employed, made him at length a Duke of England, a sovereign prince of the empire, the captain-general of a great coalition, the arbiter between mighty princes, and what he valued more, the wealthiest subject in Europe. She had been brought up from childhood with the Princess Anne; and a close friendship had arisen between the girls. In character they resembled each other very little. Anne was slow and taciturn. To those whom she loved she was meek. The form which her anger assumed was sullenness. She had a strong sense of religion, and was attached even with bigotry to the rites and government of the Church of England. Sarah was lively and voluble, domineered over those whom she regarded with most kindness, and when she was offended, vented her rage in tears and tempestuous reproaches. To sanctity she made no pretence, and, indeed, narrowly escaped the imputation of irreligion. She was not yet what she became when one class of vices had been fully developed in her by prosperity, and another by adversity, when her brain had been turned by success and flattery, when her heart had been ulcerated by disasters and mortifications. She lived to be that most odious and miserable of human beings, an ancient crone at war with her whole kind, at war with her own children and grandchildren, great

indeed and rich, but valuing greatness and riches chiefly because they enabled her to brave public opinion and to indulge without restraint her hatred to the living and the dead. In the reign of James she was regarded as nothing worse than a fine high-spirited young woman, who could now and then be cross and arbitrary, but whose flaws of temper might well be pardoned in consideration of her charms."—Vol. ii. pp. 256-258.

Notwithstanding these differences in disposition and temper, Lady Churchill was loved and even worshipped by Anne, who could not live apart from the object of her affection. If filial duty had disposed the Princess to take part with her father, her regard for the Protestant faith, and the influence of the Churchills, could not fail to decide the question, and she accordingly joined the party which was destined to drive her father from his throne.

Early in the year 1687, the infatuation of the King was singularly displayed in his mad attempt to insult and plunder the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—corporations which had ever been distinguished by their loyalty as well as by their liberality to the Crown. In February 1687, the King sent a royal letter to Cambridge, directing the University to admit to the degree of Master of Arts an ignorant Benedictine monk of the name of Alban Francis. This degree had been conferred as an *honorary* one on ambassadors of foreign princes, and even on the secretary of the ambassador from Morocco, but never on persons in the situation of Francis. It was offered, however, to Francis provided he took the necessary oaths, but he refused; and having carried his complaint to Whitehall, the vice-chancellor and the Senate were summoned before the new High Commission. The vice-chancellor, Dr. John Peachell, accompanied by Sir Isaac Newton and other seven deputies, appeared before the Commission. Though the case was clear, it was ill pleaded by the weak and timid vice-chancellor, and when any of the deputies, perhaps Newton himself, attempted to supply the defect of their chief, Jeffreys, who occupied the chair, ordered them to hold their peace, and "thrust them out of the Court without a hearing." Upon being called in again, Jeffreys announced that Peachell was deprived of his vice-chancellorship, and suspended from all his emoluments as Master of a College. "As to you," said Jeffreys to Sir Isaac Newton and the other delegates, "most of you are divines. I will therefore send you home with a text of Scripture,—‘Go your way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing befall you.’" The University chose another vice-chancellor, who pledged himself that neither religion nor the rights of the body should suffer by his means; and the King, awed no doubt by this pledge, was obliged to abandon his designs.

The attack upon the privileges of Oxford was more serious still. The stubborn tyrant had resolved to transfer to Papists the wealthiest and noblest foundations, and he began with the presidency of Magdalen College which had just become vacant. A royal letter was despatched, recommending one Anthony Farmer, once a dissenter, now a papist,—a wretch whose scandalous and profligate life unfitted him for any situation, and whose youth, had he been spotless, disqualified him for the charge of a college. Hoping that the King would be moved by the remonstrances addressed to him, the College delayed the election till the very latest hour. When the day arrived, the electors took the sacrament, and elected John Hough, chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, then Chancellor of the University, and a man of eminent virtue and prudence. The Commission, headed by Jeffreys, summoned the refractory Fellows to Whitehall, loaded them with abuse, and pronounced Hough's election void. Another royal letter arrived, recommending Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who was not a papist. The College refused to comply, and peace for a while reigned within its walls.

In the autumn of 1687, James set out upon a long progress to the south and west of his kingdom. When he reached Oxford, he summoned the Fellows of Magdalen to his presence. They tendered a petition on their knees. He refused to look at it, exclaiming, "Get you gone. I am King. I will be obeyed. Go to your chapel this instant, and admit the Bishop of Oxford." Mortified by their refusal, he tried the agency of Penn, the ever ready tool of the tyrant; but the Quaker failed in his attempts to intimidate or cajole them. A visitatorial Commission was then appointed, headed by Cartwright Bishop of Chester, and flanked by three troops of dragoons with drawn swords. They entered the hall of Magdalen, ejected Hough, inducted Parker, and expelled the recreant Fellows, pronouncing them incapable of holding church preferment, or of receiving holy orders. Thus did this noble institution become a Popish seminary, presided over by a Roman Catholic bishop after Parker's death, and harbouring a brood of Roman Catholic Fellows in its sacred cloisters, and among its verdant bowers.

A scheme was about this time in agitation to set aside the Princess Mary as successor to the Crown, and prefer the Princess Anne, provided she turned Catholic; and James had even begun to listen to suggestions for excluding both from the succession. An event, however, occurred, which put an end to these speculations. The Queen was reported to be with child. The Virgin of Loretto was supposed to have granted this boon to the supplications of the Duchess of Modena, and St. Winifred to James himself, when he implored it during his visit to the Holy Well.

The Popish zealots predicted that the unborn child would be a boy, and one fanatic foresaw a couple of them, one of whom was to be King of England, and the other Pope of Rome ! One party rejoiced, and the other sneered. The poets hailed the new marvel in rhymes, and the country squires with roars of laughter. A suitable thanksgiving was offered from the pulpit, but the people were not thankful, and the congregations made no reverential responses.

Determined to obtain for his contemplated measures the sanction of Parliament, James proceeded with energy and method to obtain one to his mind. The Lords Lieutenants of counties were ordered to their posts to take steps for influencing the elections ; but half of them refused, and were dismissed from their office, and among these were the Earls of Oxford, of Shrewsbury, and of Dorset. Mr. Macaulay has drawn with a fine pencil the characters of these three noblemen. We cannot resist the temptation to give that of Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset :—

“ In his youth he had been one of the most notorious libertines of the wild time which followed the Restoration. He had been the terror of the city watch, had passed many nights in the round house, and had at least once occupied a cell in Newgate. His passion for Betty Morrice and for Nell Gwynn, who always called him her Charles the First, had given no small amusement and scandal to the town. Yet, in the midst of follies and vices, his courageous spirit, his fine understanding, and his natural goodness of heart, had been conspicuous. Men said that the excesses in which he indulged were common between him and the whole race of gay young Cavaliers, but that his sympathy with human suffering and the generosity with which he made reparation to those whom his freaks had injured were all his own. His associates were astonished by the distinction which the public made between him and them. ‘ He may do what he chooses,’ said Wilmot ; ‘ he is never in the wrong.’ The judgment of the world became still more favourable to Dorset when he had been sobered by time and marriage. His graceful manners, his brilliant conversation, his soft heart, his open hand, were universally praised. No day passed, it was said, in which some distressed family had not reason to bless his name. And yet, with all his good-nature, such was the keenness of his wit, that scoffers whose sarcasms all the town feared stood in craven fear of the sarcasm of Dorset. All political parties esteemed and caressed him ; but politics were not much to his taste. Had he been driven by necessity to exert himself, he would probably have risen to the highest posts in the state : but he was born to rank so high and wealth so ample that many of the motives which impel men to engage in public life were wanting to him. He took just so much part in parliamentary and diplomatic business as to suffice to show that he wanted nothing but inclination to rival Danby and Sunderland,

and turned away to pursuits which pleased him better. Like many other men who, with great natural abilities, are constitutionally and habitually indolent, he became an intellectual voluptuary, and a master of all those pleasing branches of knowledge that can be acquired without severe application. He was allowed to be the best judge of painting, of sculpture, of architecture, of acting, that the Court could show. On questions of polite learning his decisions were regarded at all the coffeehouses as without appeal. More than one clever play which had failed on the first representation was supported by his single authority against the whole clamour of the pit, and came forth successful from the second trial. The delicacy of his taste in French composition was extolled by Saint Evremond and La Fontaine. Such a patron of letters England had never seen. His bounty was bestowed with equal judgment and liberality, and was confined to no sect or faction. Men of genius, estranged from each other by literary jealousy or by difference of political opinion, joined in acknowledging his impartial kindness. Dryden owned that he was saved from ruin by Dorset's princely generosity. Yet Montague and Prior, who had keenly satirised Dryden, were introduced by Dorset into public life; and the best comedy of Dryden's mortal enemy, Shadwell, was written at Dorset's country seat. The munificent earl might, if such had been his wish, have been the rival of those of whom he was content to be the benefactor. \* \* \* In the small volume of his works may be found songs which have the easy vigour of Suckling, and little satires which sparkle with wit as splendid as that of Butler."—Vol. ii. pp. 223, 224.

The Royal plan of obtaining submissive Parliaments was a signal failure. The obsequious Lord Lieutenants returned from their counties with the most mortifying refusals, and even the Roman Catholic Sheriffs refused to give false returns. The Corporations, too, were refractory, and when the King could not intimidate them into compliance by the dismissal of aldermen, he resolved to revoke their charters, when the right to do it belonged to him, and to obtain the rest either by a voluntary surrender, or a decision of the King's Bench. The great majority of the burghs, however, refused to abandon their privileges, and the King was driven to new measures of coercion. A second declaration of indulgence was issued on the 27th April 1688, and on the 4th May it was ordered in Council that the declaration was to be read in all the churches. Before the mind of the Anglican Church could be known, the Protestant Dissenters, with Baxter, Bates, and Howe at their head, resolved to take part with the members of the Church in supporting the Constitution, and at a meeting of the Primate and several of the bishops, it was resolved that the declaration ought not to be read. In order to carry these views into effect, a meeting of prelates and deans, headed by Tillotson, Stillingfleet,

Patrick, and Sherlock, agreed to a petition, in which they pronounced the declaration to be illegal, and declared that they could not be parties to its solemn publication in the house of God. This paper, written in the Archbishop's own hand, was signed on Friday evening by himself and six of his suffragans. As the Primate had been long ago forbidden the Court, the six bishops set off for Whitehall, and Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, placed the petition in the hands of the King.

“James read the petition,” says Mr. Macaulay, “he folded it up, and his countenance grew dark. ‘This,’ he said, ‘is a great surprise to me. I did not expect this from your Church, especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion.’ The bishops broke out into passionate professions of loyalty; but the King, as usual, repeated the same words over and over. ‘I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion.’ ‘Rebellion!’ cried Trelawney, falling on his knees, ‘For God’s sake, sir, do not say so hard a thing of us. No Trelawney can be a rebel. Remember that my family has fought for the Crown. Remember how I served your Majesty when Monmouth was in the West.’ ‘We put down the last rebellion,’ said Lake, ‘we shall not raise another.’ ‘We rebel!’ exclaimed Turner; ‘we are ready to die at your Majesty’s feet.’ ‘Sir,’ said Ken, in a more manly tone, ‘I hope that you will grant to us that liberty of conscience which you grant to all mankind.’ Still James went on. ‘This is rebellion. This is a standard of rebellion. Did ever a good Churchman question the dispensing power before? Have not some of you preached for it and written for it? It is a standard of rebellion. I will have my declaration published.’ ‘We have two duties to perform,’ answered Ken, ‘our duty to God and our duty to your Majesty. We honour you; but we fear God.’ ‘Have I deserved this?’ said the King, more and more angry; ‘I who have been such a friend to your Church! I did not expect this from some of you. I will be obeyed. My declaration shall be published. You are trumpeters of sedition. What do you do here? Go to your dioceses and see that I am obeyed. I will keep this paper. I will not part with it. I will remember you that have signed it.’ ‘God’s will be done,’ said Ken. ‘God has given me the dispensing power,’ said the King, ‘and I will maintain it. I tell you that there are still seven thousand of your Church who have not bowed the knee to Baal.’ The bishops respectfully retired.”—Vol. ii. p. 352.

By means which have not been discovered, the petition was printed that very night and circulated in thousands, and a short letter, believed to be by Halifax, and sent to every clergyman, warned him in eloquent language of the danger of submission. The declaration was read only in four out of one hundred places of worship in London, and the Church, as if with one heart, refused to obey the despotic mandate. The Dissenting body ap-



plauded the bishops and the clergy, and the people joined in the triumph of faith over power.

James stood awe-struck amid the storm which he had evoked. The seven prelates were summoned before the King and Council, and armed with the best legal advice, they repaired to the palace on the 8th of June. The tyrant browbeat them with his usual coarseness, and the Chancellor called upon them to enter into recognisances to appear to take their trial for libel. The bishops refused, and were ordered to the Tower: No sooner had the holy men come forth under a guard, to be conveyed by water to their prison, than the feelings of the people burst forth in one simultaneous expression of admiration. Thousands prayed aloud for them, and blessed them, and dashing into the stream, asked their blessing. The sentinels at the Traitor's Gate asked the prisoners to bless them. The soldiery drank the healths of the bishops, and a deputation of ten non-conformist divines visited them in the Tower.

On the morning of Sunday the 10th of June, two days after the imprisonment of the bishops, the Queen bore a son, "the most unfortunate of princes, destined to 77 years of exile and wandering, of vain projects, of honours more galling than insults, and of hopes such as make the heart sick." The nation believed that the young prince was a supposititious child; and though the suspicion is now considered unjust, yet it naturally arose from the absence at his birth of every person who had the smallest interest in detecting the fraud.

After remaining a week in custody the bishops were brought before the Court of King's Bench, pleaded *not guilty*, and were allowed to be at large upon their own recognisances. The trial took place on the 29th June in Westminster Hall. The contest between the Crown lawyers and the counsel for the bishops was long and fierce, and from the sudden changes that took place in the hopes and fears of the parties the trial excited the most dramatic interest. The judges were divided on the question of libel; but the jury, with the exception of the brewer to the palace, who at last gave way, were unanimous, and no sooner had the foreman pronounced the bishops NOT GUILTY, than Halifax sprang up and waved his hat. "At that signal," says Mr. Macaulay, "benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons who crowded the great hall replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack, and in another moment the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar." The note of triumph passed along the river, and along the streets and highways, with electric speed. Tears were mingled with acclamations. The acquitted prelates took shelter in a chapel from the

tumultuous gratulations of thousands, and the jury, as they retired, received the blessings of the people. Bonfires, rockets, illuminations, and the burning of the Pope, everywhere expressed the popular joy. Whitehall was the only locality where no thrill of gladness was felt, and James, who received the dread news when in his camp at Hounslow, had their impression deepened on his guilty heart by the shouts and cheers of his soldiers.

It was now time that Liberty endangered, and Faith oppressed, should put forth their avenging arm. The flower of the English nobility determined on resistance, and William of Orange appreciating the magnitude of the crisis, resolved to obey the call. Difficulties, however, of no ordinary kind beset his path. He could not trust to a general rising of the people. An armed force was required, and that force must consist of foreign mercenaries, even if he could obtain it. The state of parties in Holland might prevent him from receiving military aid, and as the object of his expedition was to establish a Protestant government in England, how could he enlist in his cause princes attached to the Church of Rome. All these difficulties were gradually overruled by the folly of his enemies and the wisdom of his friends. James threatened to punish for disobedience the whole body of the priesthood, but even the High Commission quailed, and it received its death-blow by the resignation of Bishop Sprat. A royal mandate was dispatched to Oxford, requiring the University to choose Jeffreys as their chancellor, but they had previously elected the young Duke of Ormond. Discontent reigned among all classes, and the clergy, the gentry, and the army, were ready to welcome their noble deliverer.

Animated by these favourable incidents, William was preparing ships and troops for his expedition. Louis withdrew his army from Flanders into Germany, and the United Provinces being thus free from alarm, gave its formal sanction to the expedition of their chief. On the 17th October, 1688, the armament set sail from Helvoetsluys, and the manifesto of William was dispatched to England. Driven back by a storm, the fleet again sailed on the 1st, and the army was landed in Torbay on the 5th November. Under the command of Count Schomberg, it marched into the interior. William reached Exeter on the 9th, and on the 11th, Burnet preached before him in the cathedral. Men of all ranks flocked to the Protestant standard. William's quarters had the aspect of a court, and at a public reception of the nobility and gentry, he said to them, "Gentlemen, friends, and fellow Protestants, we bid you and all your followers most heartily welcome to our court and camp."

James had gone to Salisbury on the 17th. He had been im-

patient for a battle, but now desired a retreat. On the following day Churchill and Grafton fled to the Prince's quarters. Kirke refused to obey the royal commands. The camp at Salisbury broke up. Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Drumlanrig, deserted to the Prince, and with the aid of Lady Churchill, the Princess Anne made her escape from Whitehall, and took refuge in the country house of the noble-minded Duke of Dorset, in Epping Forest.

After receiving intelligence of these events, James summoned the Lords spiritual and temporal to the palace. He yielded to their advice to call a Parliament. He sent Halifax and other commissioners to Hungerford to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, who generously agreed to propositions which were acceptable to the partisans of the King. The negotiation, however, was on James's part a feint. His object was to gain time. The Queen and the Prince of Wales, whom the King entrusted to the charge of M. Lauzun, a French nobleman, made their escape to France. James assured the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who had been summoned to his presence, that though he had sent his wife and his child out of England he would himself remain at his post, and with this "unkingly and unmanly" falsehood on his lips, he had resolved in his heart to fly, and he fled at daybreak on the 11th December, 1688, tossing the Great Seal into the Thames as he crossed it in a wherry, and taking the road to Sheerness.

The news of this event spread like wildfire through the city. At the advice of Rochester, the Earl of Northumberland, with his guards, declared for the Prince of Orange, and strove to prevent any breach of the peace. The attempt, however, was to a certain extent fruitless. The cry of No Popery rung through the city. Convents and Catholic churches were demolished. Piles of Popish trumpery—images and crucifixes, were carried about in triumph. The house and library of the Spanish ambassador was consigned to the flames, and it was only by the aid of the military that the hotel of the French ambassador was saved.

While the city was thus heaving beneath this moral earthquake, there was one fiend whose guilty soul quailed under every shock, and started at every sound. With the instinct of carnivorous life, the Judicial Tiger rushed into the thicket;—but an unsuspected Eye detected him in his lair, and, saved with difficulty from the whips and halters of his pursuers, he was conducted to his cage in the Tower. That fiend was Jeffreys—and that Eye was the Eye of an insulted litigant, on whose visual memory the hideous physiognomy had been indelibly impressed. Our readers will doubtless partake in the vindictive pleasure with

which Oldmixon viewed, and with which Mr. Macaulay has painted this remarkable scene.

“ A scrivener, who lived at Wapping, and whose trade was to furnish the sea-faring men there with money at high interest, had some time before lost a sum on bottomry. The debtor applied to equity for relief against his own bond ; and the case came before Jeffreys. The counsel for the borrower, having little else to say, said that the lender was a Trimmer. The Chancellor instantly fired. ‘ A Trimmer ! where is he ? Let me see him. I have heard of that kind of monster—what is it made like ? ’ The unfortunate creditor was forced to stand forth. The Chancellor glared fiercely on him, stormed at him, and sent him away half-dead with fright. ‘ While I live,’ the poor man said, as he tottered out of the court, ‘ I shall never forget that terrible countenance.’ And now the day of retribution had arrived. The Trimmer was walking through Wapping, when he saw a well-known face looking out of the window of an ale-house. He could not be deceived. The eyebrows indeed had been shaved away. The dress was that of a common sailor from Newcastle, and was black with coal-dust ; but there was no mistaking the savage eye and mouth of Jeffreys. The alarm was given. In a moment the house was surrounded by hundreds of people shaking bludgeons and bellowing curses. The fugitive’s life was saved by a company of the trainbands ; and he was carried before the Lord Mayor (Sir John Chapman.) \* \* \* When the great man, at whose frown, a few days before, the whole kingdom had trembled, was dragged into the justice-room begrimed with ashes, half-dead with fright, and followed by a raging multitude, the agitations of the unfortunate Mayor rose to a height. He fell into fits, and was carried to his bed, whence he never rose. Meanwhile the throng without was constantly becoming more numerous and more savage. Jeffreys begged to be sent to prison. An order to that effect was procured from the Lords who were sitting at Whitehall ; and he was conveyed in a carriage to the Tower. Two regiments of militia were drawn out to escort him, and found this duty a difficult one. It was repeatedly necessary for them to form, as if for the purpose of repelling a charge of cavalry, and to present a forest of pikes to the mob. The thousands who were disappointed of their revenge pursued the coach, with howls of rage, to the gate of the Tower, brandishing cudgels, and holding up halters full in the prisoner’s view. The wretched man meantime was in convulsions of terror. He wrung his hands ; he looked wildly out, sometimes at one window, sometimes at the other, and was heard even above the tumult, crying, ‘ Keep them off, gentlemen ! For God’s sake keep them off ! ’ At length, having suffered far more than the bitterness of death, he was safely lodged in the fortress, where some of his most illustrious victims had passed their best days, and where his own life was destined to close in unspeakable ignominy and horror.”—Vol. ii. pp. 561-563.

The return of James to London,—his subsequent flight to

Rochester, and escape to France,—the summary dismissal of the French ambassador,—the meeting of the Convention of the States of the Realm,—and the plans of various parties for the future government of England,—form the remaining topics of the last chapter of Mr. Macaulay's work. After the most anxious discussion of these plans of government, the House of Commons resolved, "that King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and People, and, by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the Throne had thereby become vacant." The House of Lords experienced great difficulty in acceding to this resolution. They refused, by a small majority, to consider the Throne vacant; but a letter from James to the Convention, as usual, assisted his enemies and disconcerted his friends. When the question was again submitted to them, the House of Peers resolved, almost unanimously, that James had abdicated the government, and, by a majority of 62 to 47, it was decided that the Throne was vacant. It was then proposed, and carried without a division, "*that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England.*"

On the 13th of February 1689, both Houses met in the magnificent Banqueting House of Whitehall. The Prince and Princess of Orange took their places under the canopy of State. The resolution of Parliament was read; and after it, the Declaration of Right, embodying the principles of the constitution. In the name of all the Estates of the realm, Halifax requested William and Mary to accept the Crown. William tendered his own gratitude and that of his Queen, and assured the assembled legislators that the laws of England would be the rule of his conduct. Such was the termination of the English Revolution, and such its triumph—Liberty achieved—Law inviolate—Property secured—and Protestant truth established.

Such is a very imperfect analysis of Mr. Macaulay's immortal work. Enriched with the wisdom of a profound philosophy, and laden with legal and constitutional knowledge, these volumes will be read and prized by Englishmen while civil and religious liberty endures. In Mr. Macaulay's historical narratives the events pass before us in simple yet stately succession. In his delineations of character we recognise the skill of a master whose scrutiny reaches the heart even through its darkest coverings. His figures stand out before us in three dimensions, in all their loveliness, or in all their deformity, living and breathing, and

acting. The scenes of listening senates—of jarring councils—and of legal and judicial strife—are depicted in vivid outline and in glowing colours; and with a magic wand he conjures up before us the gorgeous pageantries of state—the ephemeral gaiety of courts—and those frivolous amusements by which time's ebbing sands are hurried through the hour-glass of life. May we not hope that such a work will find its way into the continents of the Old and New World, and reach even the insular communities of the ocean, to teach the governors and the governed how liberty may be secured without bloodshed,—popular rights maintained without popular violence,—and a constitutional monarchy embalmed amid the affections of a contented and a happy people.

We are unwilling to mingle criticism with praise like this; but, occupying the censorial chair, we must not shrink from at least the show of its duties. Mr. Macaulay's volumes exhibit not a few marks that they have been composed with a running pen; and we have no doubt that, in subsequent editions, he will prune some of their redundancies, and supply some of their defects. There is occasionally a diffuseness both of description and discussion. The same ideas occur under a slight disguise, while dates are omitted, and events are wanting to unite different portions of the narrative, and to gratify the curiosity of the reader. The work is obviously defective in the proportion and symmetry of its parts. Historical sketches, sometimes of men beneath any peculiar notice, and literary, ecclesiastical, and political disquisitions often break the continuity and mar the interest of the story: And we occasionally recognise, in argumentative discussions, the copiousness of the writer in search of converts, when we might expect the rigour of the logician in quest of truth. In the early part of Mr. Macaulay's first volume, he frequently illustrates his narrative by analogous or parallel facts drawn from ancient and modern history. These illustrations, however agreeable to the classical scholar, or the learned historian, startle the general reader without instructing him. The feelings "of the Ionians of the age of Homer," for example,—the comparison of "Rome and her Bishops" to the "Olympian chariot-course of the Pythian oracle,"—the relation "between a white planter and a Quadroon girl,"—and the robberies "of Mathias and Kniperdoling,"—are not happy illustrations of other relations and events.

The very brilliancy and purity of Mr. Macaulay's style tend, by the mere effect of contrast, to display the most trivial blemishes. We are startled, for example, at the passages in which we are charged "with pleasuring our friends"—with "the accomplishing a design"—with "committing a baseness"—with "the tincture of soldiery"—with giving "allowance" to do any thing—



with “swearing like a porter,”—and with “spelling like a washer-woman.” These and similar phrases have doubtless escaped from Mr. Macaulay’s pen when the intellectual locomotive was at its highest speed.

We cannot close these volumes without giving expression to the deep and painful feelings which the events they record have left upon our mind. While we rejoice at the triumph of Divine truth over Human error, and of constitutional government over a licentious despotism, we blush at the thought that religion, and the forms and rites of religion, should have been the mainspring of those bloody revolutions which have desolated England. The domestic history of Britain during the seventeenth century is but a succession of plots, and seditions, and rebellions, prompted by religious fanaticism, or springing from religious persecution. The struggle between the popular and the monarchical element was but the result of that fiercer conflict which the Rights of Conscience had to wage against an intolerant priesthood and a bigoted royalty. Opposed by the Church and the Aristocracy, the popular will possessed neither the moral nor the physical strength that was required to change a constitution and dethrone a Sovereign. The Revolution of 1688 would never have been effected had not persecution driven the Anglican Church into rebellion; and the civil liberties of England would never have been secured had not religious liberty been previously achieved by the broadsword of the Covenant. It is the religious principle alone—strong and deep in the soul—pointing to the sure though distant crown,—nerving the weak man’s heart, and bracing the strong man’s arm, that can subvert dynasties and unsettle thrones; and there is no Government, however stable, and no Constitution, however free, that is safe against the energy of religious truth, or the bitterness of religious error. The Revolutions which are now shaking society to its centre, have been neither prompted nor sustained by religious zeal. Like the hurricane they will but leave a purer atmosphere and a more azure sky. Subverted institutions will reappear purified by fire, and expatriated Princes will return improved by adversity.

With these views we cannot congratulate ourselves as Mr. Macaulay does, that the great English Revolution will be our last. Our beloved country is doubtless safe from popular assault. The democratic arm will never again be lifted up against the monarchy; but a gigantic and insidious foe is now preparing the engines of war, and, inflamed by religious zeal, is now girding himself for a bloody combat. Prophecy—events passed—events passing, and events lowering in our horizon, foreshadow the great

struggle which is to decide between religious truth and religious error. Misled by wicked counsellors, statesmen have combined to break down the great bulwark of Protestantism which Scotland had so long presented to the enemy in one undivided and massive breastwork. The Protestant strength of our sister land, too, has been paralyzed by her recreant priests; and a bigoted king, devoted to the Popery of rubrics and liturgies, is alone wanting to convert the most powerful Church of the Reformation into a fief of the Holy See. The wild population of a neighbouring island are "biding their time," and watching the issue with a lynx's eye. Continental States, anxious to bring bigotry and priestcraft into reaction against popular turbulence, are conspiring to restore a spiritual supremacy in Christendom; and in an atmosphere thus constituted, an electric spark is alone wanting to combine these antagonist elements into one tremendous storm, in which secular religions must either triumph or fall.

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ART. VI.—"*Presbytery Examined:*" *An Essay, Critical and Historical, on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation.* By the DUKE of ARGYLL.

THE Author of this work is a very young man, and occupies the highest rank in the Peerage. He is the descendant and representative of men whose memory is held in veneration by the people of Scotland, on account of their labours and sufferings in behalf of Protestantism and Presbyterianism—in the cause of civil and religious liberty. He himself, at a very early period of his life, before, we believe, he had entered upon his twentieth year, defended from the press, with an ability and a boldness that excited the highest admiration, principles which nothing could have led him to espouse but an honest and ardent love of truth and righteousness. The book treats of topics which, though well worthy of the attention of statesmen, and intimately affecting the welfare of nations, have not usually, of late, been much discussed by laymen, but have been left in a great measure to the ministers of religion. On all these grounds the work is one which is fitted to call forth no ordinary measure of interest, and, independently of all adventitious considerations, it has many strong claims to respect and commendation. It manifests ability and eloquence of a high order, and a very considerable acquaintance with some of the subjects of which it treats. It is characterized in general by gravity and seriousness,

and appears plainly to be the production of one who understands what religion is, and who appreciates its value and importance. We do not know that there is any other of our hereditary legislators who has given to the public evidence of possessing at once the talent and the knowledge which would have enabled him to produce such a work; and of all our eminent public men, probably not more than two, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Macaulay, possess in combination so much ability and so much information upon ecclesiastical subjects as this work exhibits; while its Author, though much younger than these distinguished men, has attained to sounder and more accurate views than either of them upon some of the politico-religious questions which are attracting so much attention in the present day.

This Essay was originally intended as a contribution to a periodical work, in the shape of a review of some of the publications of the Spottiswoode Society. The "Spottiswoode" was a society formed a few years ago in Edinburgh, and now, we believe, extinct, for republishing the works of Scottish Prelatists in defence of their peculiar principles and polity. These publications are specimens of prelatie controversial discussion in its worst form and in its most offensive spirit; and are accompanied with notes, which prove that Scottish prelacy retains, in our own day, the principles and the temper which made it so odious to former generations, and which have secured for it the deep and lasting disapprobation and dislike of the Scottish people. The work, however, begun with this view, gradually extended, and it now appears in the shape of a goodly volume, divided into two parts, the first, which occupies about two-thirds of the book, presenting a pretty full and elaborate survey of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland from the Reformation till the Revolution, and the second, giving an exposition and illustration of the leading principles which the Noble Author regards this historical survey as suggesting. To this there is added an Appendix of Notes, chiefly directed against the principles and reasonings of the Free Church, and pervaded by a considerable amount of severity and bitterness.

It is greatly to be regretted, for the Noble Duke's own sake, that the work should have been an occasional one—should have been, in some measure, the result of circumstances, and not of a deliberately-formed and well-digested plan. With all the ability which the Essay manifests, it displays likewise a good deal of confusion—a want of distinct and definite principles; and it contains some indications that its Noble Author is not altogether unconscious that he has not attained himself, and presented to others, a clear, consistent, well-digested system of doctrines, as to the relations of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. It was

highly honourable to the Duke of Argyll that he should have thought of writing a review of the Spottiswoode publications, and exposing the true character and tendency of Scottish prelacy and of Church principles :—for this he was well qualified, and this part of his task he has executed most successfully. But it would, we think, have been better if, for the present, he had confined himself to this topic, and given a little more time to reading and reflection, so as at least to have formed a definite and consistent scheme of opinions for himself, before he ventured to pronounce, and to pronounce so dogmatically, upon all the great questions involved in the controversy *inter imperium et sacerdotium*. The old Scottish Presbyterians, whom his Grace so freely charges with extravagance and fanaticism, had read much more extensively, and had reflected much more profoundly, upon these subjects than he has yet done; and we have no doubt that their views, as to their substance, are quite able to stand, without injury, a much more careful and elaborate investigation than that to which he has subjected them. His Grace's present position, ecclesiastically, is not favourable to a deliberate and impartial investigation of these questions; and we fear that he has allowed the position which he has chosen to occupy to affect his opinions, instead of letting his opinions, fairly and freely followed out to their legitimate consequences, determine his position—his ecclesiastical relations. In the early part of the year 1842, his Grace, then Marquis of Lorn, published a "Letter to the Peers, from a Peer's Son," on the constitutional principles which were involved in the Auchterarder Case, and which soon after led to the disruption of the Church of Scotland. In this pamphlet, which exhibited a very remarkable specimen of precocious talent, and an intrepidity and elevation of tone which reminded men of his heroic and martyred forefathers, he proved, most ably and conclusively, 1st, that by the existing laws and constitution of Scotland, the Church was legally entitled to do what she did in the case of Auchterarder, viz., reject the presentee of the patron upon the ground of the opposition of the congregation; and, 2d, that even conceding, for the sake of argument, that this proceeding of the Church was, under the statutes, illegal and *ultra vires*, the utmost extent of interference legally competent to the Civil Court in the matter, was to find that the patron, in consequence, was entitled to retain the fruits of the benefice; and that the control or jurisdiction over the proceedings of the Church Courts which the Civil Courts assumed, was thoroughly precluded by the fundamental principles of the constitution of Scotland, by the powers which the statutes, did not indeed confer upon the Church, but sanctioned or ratified as vested in the Church *jure divino*. His Grace then conclusively

and unanswerably established these important positions; and he still holds them to be true, having unequivocally declared his adherence to them in the Essay which we are now considering. It might have been expected that, when the Legislature sanctioned the violation of the constitution which the proceedings of the civil courts involved, every one who held these positions would have felt himself called upon, in consistency, to cast in his lot with the Free Church. The Duke of Argyll, however, took a different course, and continued a member of the Scottish Establishment; and we fear that, in doing so, he was somewhat influenced, though no doubt unconsciously, rather by some of the accidents and accompaniments of the subject, than by a deliberate and impartial investigation of its intrinsic merits. This position and procedure were certainly not favourable to progress in the clearness and soundness of his conceptions with regard to the principles that ought to regulate the relations of Church and State, or of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities; and it is an easy matter to shew, by a comparison of his *Letter to the Peers* with his *Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, that his views upon this subject are more indefinite and erroneous in 1848 than they were in 1842. If the Duke of Argyll had seen it to be his duty to join the Free Church in 1843, instead of adhering to the Scottish Establishment, we have no doubt that he would now have possessed a much better-defined and more accurate knowledge of the relations of the civil and the ecclesiastical than his *Essay* exhibits; and that he would also have enjoyed a more assured conviction of the firmness and consistency of his position, than, notwithstanding the dogmatism and severity with which he frequently assails the Free Church principles, we feel called upon at present to concede to him.

We mean to devote the remainder of this article chiefly to a brief notice of what we reckon erroneous in the Duke of Argyll's *Essay*; but it is fair, in the first place, to give our readers one or two specimens of the work; and in doing so, we shall select some passages presenting views in which we cordially concur, and which we regard as of no small practical importance.

The following passage contains some striking and important thoughts, most creditable to the talents and character of their author, with respect to the bearing and tendency of "*Church Principles*:"—

"Admit the sacerdotal theory of the nature and authority of 'The Church,' and we admit that from which the whole system of Romanism has been a gradual and natural development. It is possible, certainly, to maintain a successful defence against many of the specific forms of error which have belonged to the Papacy. But even this defence we have to maintain with arms, on the efficiency of which it is not safe

to risk the high interests involved. Brought into ground where reason has no room to work, the fight becomes one of subtilty, doubtful in its progress, and at best but unsatisfactory in its issue. Obscure facts of history—still more obscure memories of tradition—and doubtful passages of possibly misreported Fathers, such are the ruinous positions for which we have to keep up the most laborious contention. But are these fit defences for the citadels of doctrinal Truth? Even if some, by dint of great tenacity of purpose, succeed in maintaining them, do we not feel that others, less skilful or less determined, must infallibly be driven out? This then is one grand objection against the principles of Priesthood—that though despite of them the learned and the acute may possibly maintain themselves in purity of faith, they rob the great mass of mankind of all security against the gradual but steady growth of error and corruption. If the voice of a visible government of Priests be invested with the authority of ‘The Church,’ men will accept, and ought logically to accept, that voice as it comes to them *in their own days*. They have no time, no opportunity, and on those principles, no right, to appeal from its present teaching to its teaching fifteen or sixteen centuries ago. Divines living in the quiet courts of Oxford may defend their Orthodoxy against ‘The Church’ of the sixteenth, by quoting ‘The Church’ of the third or fourth century. But granting that on their own theory this appeal is open to ‘Churchmen,’ it is clear that it is one which the great majority of the human race neither can nor will make; and therefore that if the Truth is to be maintained at all, its interests must be trusted to some more open and more sufficient plea.

“But this is not the only radical objection to the sacerdotal theory of the nature and authority of ‘The Church.’ Not only is it one which removes all security against corruption, but it is one which positively induces and involves it. The grossest practical idolatry which we may see in every Oratory and Chapel and Church in Italy, is but the last development of the subtle spirit which animates the sacerdotal idea of ‘The Church.’ The poor ignorant peasant who there falls down before a waxen doll, dressed in frocks of tinsel, is but the coarse representative of the more refined idolater who bows to the mystic authority of an immemorial priesthood, calling it ‘The Church’ of God. Such principles we willingly admit do not interfere with earnest personal piety, nor discourage a solemn and devotional spirit. They did not do so when their power was greatest—in the darkest time of the ‘dark ages’—and they do not do so now. But the capital charge against the whole system on which those principles are founded is, not that it checks, but that it misdirects devotion. Its mystic symbolism and its Levitical Priesthood seem rather to add intensity to its religious feelings, in proportion as it gives visible embodiment to the objects of worship. But in the same proportion, likewise, it introduces into the services of Christianity a foreign element of such corrosive power, that purity of faith, and with it, purity of practice, surely, though insensibly decline.

“Against this power the mere restraint of Creeds and Articles are,



as we have lately seen, of little value. Such barriers cannot dam up the subtleties of mind. Nor is there anything mysterious in the influence we ascribe to the 'Church Principles' of Priesthood. The mind which is imbued with them is already entered on the course which has led, and must lead, to grosser degrees of error. Forms and symbols have already caught the mental eye, and rivetted its attention. The outward and the nominal is taking the place of the inward and the real. Symbolism is growing into Idolatry. The transition is easy and often imperceptible. We have only to cherish the natural emotions of reverence, without a corresponding exercise of the reasoning power in choosing the objects of their worship, and by the most natural and certain process, our Faith is converted into Superstition. The laws of our material nature have, naturally, power enough over the conceptions of our spirits. We need not help them to be more material than they incline to be. Idolatry, strange to say, was the besetting sin even of that peculiar people who heard the voice of the Living God.

"It has been necessary to convey spiritual truth to man in language which his human nature could read and understand; and two great methods have been adopted to convey it to him. Under the Old Dispensation there was the language of symbols; under the New there is the language of facts, which at once interpret the symbols, fulfil, and end them. The services of the one were typical and prophetic—typical of spiritual meanings—prophetic of events to come. The services of the other are only suggestive and commemorative—commemorative of events which have come to pass—suggestive of all that those events procured and did. The First Dispensation required a Priesthood, not merely as the mechanical performer of its rites, but as itself one of its most important symbols. But in the Second Dispensation this symbolism has been done away, because it has been fulfilled. And the Priesthood, among the rest, has been summed up and ended. There is no more need of sacrifice; the work and the office of those who were wont to offer it are no more. Christianity is not a Parable; it is a History. There is a corresponding difference, therefore, in the object of its rites. It is their purpose to remind us of facts, and by so doing to keep alive that frame of mind which God requires of us, when we do remember them. We are not called to exercise faith in them; but they call us to exercise faith in things which they bring to mind, not so much symbolically as commemoratively. There is danger enough surely that the mere performance of rites should occupy that place in our religion which is due only to the use we make of them. But how much is that danger increased when we systematically exaggerate the importance, not merely of the rites, but of what may be called the accidents of their administration! To expect spiritual blessings from the efficacy of a rite is perilous enough. It *must* take us very near the edge of our Christian faith,—it may take us into that ritual idolatry which lies wholly outside the boundary. But if, advancing still farther in this direction, in which we are naturally inclined to go, we interpose between ourselves and

the efficacy of the rite, the efficacy of a ceremonial Priesthood, we indeed give ourselves a tremendous impetus down the steep descent which has led, and must lead, to the coarsest idolatry of Rome.

“ For two reasons, therefore, the Sacerdotal theory of the nature of ‘ The Church ’ tends to corrupt the Faith. First, because it commits its purity to a power which controls the exercise of reason, and is not worthy of the trust. Secondly, because in so committing it we allow a principle essentially at variance with Christian truth, and having an inevitable tendency to obscure it more and more.”—Pp. 271-276.

The next quotation is also somewhat long, but we consider it a very interesting and valuable summary of the view that ought to be taken of the present character and past history of the genuine native Scottish Prelacy :—

“ We premise one thing, however, in respect to the Episcopal Church in Scotland. That communion, considered as—what it is—a transplant from the Church of England, which gradually, and by legitimate means, has successfully struck root in another country, is thoroughly entitled to sincere respect. But, in so far as it represents, and professes to do so, the spirit and temper of that party with which its name is historically connected, it is to be held, we think, in not much higher estimation than in former times. External circumstances have indeed greatly tended to improve its character ; and so far as the influence of these has been inevitable, its character is accordingly improved. But, judging from the publications of the Spottiswoode Society, and such other evidences as have come before us, it continues to retain only too much of its ancient temper. Its clergy are not perhaps now incited by the desire of possessing the revenues of St. Andrew’s or of Glasgow ; but they take part with those who were. They would not, probably, urge the persecution of those who attend Presbyterian ‘ Conventicles ; ’ but they identify their party-history, and associate their sympathies, with those who did. They cannot grasp the place, or the power, which their predecessors succeeded in usurping ; but they indulge the same spirit of violence and injustice in dealing with the facts and with the characters of history which the elder Scottish Prelacy evinced in dealing with the people and with the laws of Scotland. They twist, and misrepresent, and conceal, and special-plead, in order to secure for themselves that national rank in the history of Scotland which never did belong to them, except by usurpation.

“ Whoever doubts this description, or thinks it unwarrantably harsh, let him read the publications of the ‘ Spottiswoode ’ and other productions of the same school. There is evident throughout, the same bad effects which have ever flowed from the sanctification of human passions by religious parties,—the same contempt of *Jus Humanum* in following self-grateful notions of *Jus Divinum*. And all this, at least in a great degree, is the result of that one passion which has been always the curse of Scottish Prelacy, and the incentive to all its crimes—the ambition of nationality. At this moment, the con-

sequences of this passion threaten the Episcopal Church in Scotland with deserved division. Although owing all it has, and all it had, to the support of English Bishops and English power, Scottish Prelacy roused the indignation of Laud by a display of pettish independence. They wished for a Liturgy; but it must be a Liturgy of their own. Accordingly, the Service Book appeared, with some few Romanist alterations from the English form. But Laud had a principal hand in framing this. It was known all over the world as Laud's Liturgy. The pride of nationality, therefore, has not been entirely satisfied; and more recent patchings have vindicated the right of Scottish Prelacy to a theology more Romanist than that of England. It can boast that, unlike the English Church, it has needed no revival from the school of Oxford—no teaching of Anti-Protestant opinions, for it has held them long ago.

“ This boast has much foundation. From its birth to the Revolution—the period during which its character was formed—Scottish Prelacy has been more or less connected, directly or indirectly, with the ‘Popish party,’ and as constantly opposed to the whole genius and tendency of the Scottish Reformation. It is quite natural that its opinions should have a corresponding tendency. It is not our intention, however, in these pages to enter into the merits of any tenet purely theological. It is enough that we point out the opposite tendencies which divide so naturally and so widely the two schools of opinion which are represented by Presbytery and Prelacy in Scotland. But the historical pretensions of the latter, as an existing development of its ancient spirit, and as having an intimate bearing on its ecclesiastical principles, is a matter specially connected with our present purpose. We cannot suffer any concealment or misrepresentation of that stubborn array of facts which stamp Episcopacy in Scotland, from the day when it first appeared in the Reformed Church to the Revolution, as a system destitute of every element of national life—hostile to the rights, to the institutions, to the opinions, and to the prejudices of the people.

“ A desperate and fruitless struggle is maintained by the zealous ‘Churchmen’ of Scotland to represent it otherwise. They would actually have us to believe that we entirely mistake the meaning of all those sounds of struggle, of remonstrance, of battle, and of execration, which assail us at every step as we follow the march of Scottish Prelacy. We can understand the feelings which prompt to this attempt, though we are astonished at the rashness of the attempt itself. It would be very desirable, no doubt, if it were possible for them, to throw some better light on the life and course of Scottish Prelacy. But we would seriously warn the Episcopal Church in Scotland from endeavouring the task. We do so for several reasons. In the first place, no religious party can associate its sympathies with such a course, without serious injury to its own character and its own reputation. By doing so, it deliberately places itself under the strongest temptation to indulge in the worst vices of religious animosity—to be violent—unjust—untruthful. In the next place, there is a better way

of removing this scandal upon their name and principles. They can repudiate the connexion. They gain much, and can lose nothing, by so doing. They can retain all their distinctive, and, as we think, their vicious principles unimpaired. They may say—‘It is true that the Reformation in Scotland did not retain Episcopacy; that when its name was introduced, it appeared under circumstances of corruption, and in a false and counterfeited form; that when it became genuine, by being possessed of Apostolical Succession, it was associated with the irregularities of political despotism—then with violence—then with cruel persecution. It is true, therefore, that it was never fairly represented to Scotchmen, and we are not surprised at their fanaticism having been roused against it. Nevertheless, we deem it the foundation-stone of the Christian temple. We cannot recognise as a Church any communion which refuses to build upon it—and we therefore consider ourselves the only representative of “The Church” in Scotland.’ This would be a straightforward, open, intelligible, reputable statement of their views—views which, with all respect to the many excellent men who hold them, we regard as the emptiest superstition.

“But for Scottish ‘Churchmen’ to cling to the desperate ambition of nationality at the expense of identifying themselves with the history of the most corrupt and mischievous religious party which ever has existed in any country—to quibble and misrepresent as to the Episcopal character of ‘Superintendents,’ or of the Prelacy of the Regents,—or to palliate or defend the monstrous course of Scottish Episcopacy under Charles and James II.—this is neither straightforward, nor rational, nor reputable. It must tend, too, to cast some suspicion on their confidence in those far higher claims on which they rest the exclusive ‘Churchism’ of their Church. If those higher claims be just, they had better not be associated with other claims which are so clearly false. On all these grounds, then, the affectation of nationality had better be given up. Let them fall back upon their own independent claims. Considering the position of Episcopacy in Scotland, the principles of Priesthood, in their most stringent and repulsive form, are its natural resource. It is natural that its clergy and more zealous members—placed as they are in a country where every parish church reminds them of the final triumph of its opponent in the great struggle of the Civil Wars—should be deeply imbued with those doctrines in regard to their peculiar spiritual privileges, which, even under less provoking circumstances, must be so grateful to spiritual pride. But for the credit of these opinions, and for its own internal peace, let it not identify itself with the elder Prelacy of Scotland. Let it confess itself a branch of the Church of England. More than once has the spiritual chain, which connects it through the dark vistas of the middle age with the Twelve Apostles, had its failing links welded at the forge of Lambeth. This connexion had better be remembered and cherished—other less honourable connexions had better be relinquished and forgotten. It is better surely for the credit of the Divine right of Bishops, and of Apostolical Succession,

to be connected with a Church which—whatever be the blemishes in its history—has often acted a very honourable part, and now possesses a firm foundation on truth, and a firm hold on national opinion, than with one which, if it deserves the name of Church at all, stands out among all the parties of our history, as the great enemy of civil and religious liberty—as the unscrupulous advocate and employer of oppression—as one of the principal causes of the Civil Wars of Britain, and as the grievous aggravator of the miseries they occasioned.”—Pp. 231-237.

It is but an act of justice to the Duke of Argyll to quote a brief passage, in which he declares his present adherence to those great constitutional principles which he advocated with such singular ability when Marquis of Lorn :—

“ The struggle which has ended in the formation of the Free Church, originated very much in the same cause from which all the former struggles of Presbytery began. It arose from the principles of Presbytery being infringed—in violation of natural right, and of positive institution—by an unconstitutional statute. It became more determined from a still more unconstitutional use being made of that statute’s provisions ; and its fatal result was precipitated by the most blind and prejudiced obstinacy on the part of the civil government. The Government of 1637 were hardly more ignorant of the elements they had to deal with than the Government of 1842. The former believed that very few would ultimately resist the Liturgy, until they heard of the aspect and of the arms of the thousand ‘ Supplicants ’ who crowded the streets of Edinburgh. The latter believed that only some five—or ten—or twenty ministers would maintain their principles at the expense of their livings, until they heard of the number of that resolved procession which, on the 18th of May 1843, tramped with psalm-singing from the Assembly Hall to the Canonmills.\* There is this difference to be marked, indeed, between the two governments : That of 1637 had the excuse of bigotry—that of 1842 had not. And it will be recorded in history, not certainly to the honour of those who were responsible, that the institutions of Scottish Presbytery received their most fatal blow under a ‘ Conservative ’ government, and for the sake of a statute manifestly—undeniably—unconstitutional : because passed manifestly—undeniably—in violation of the Revolution Settlement.”—Pp. 230, 231.

We cordially approve of the Duke of Argyll’s views upon the subject of Scottish Prelacy and the subject of Church Principles, and we believe that he has rendered important service to the cause of true religion by what he has said upon these points ; but we do not concur with him in the opinion “ that Scottish Presbytery has left her house of worship needlessly bare of furniture,” (p. 299), though we fear that the chief ground on which we rest our disapprobation of his Grace’s views upon the subject, will be regarded by him as affording another specimen of that tendency

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\* This “ psalm-singing ” is a pure fiction.

of Scottish Presbyterians, which he so frequently and so earnestly deprecates, to exalt their notions into religious dogmas resting upon Scriptural authority. We believe that this position can be established upon Scriptural grounds, viz., that it is unwarrantable and unlawful for men to introduce into the worship and government of the Christian Church any rites or arrangements which have not the positive sanction of the Word of God. We take this position, of course, with the necessary and reasonable limitation expressed in the first chapter of the Westminster Confession, "that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God, and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word." Thus understood, we believe the position can be shown to rest upon scriptural authority, and to constitute a law binding upon the Church of Christ in all ages. And if so, it fully warrants all that the most rigid Presbyterians have ever maintained and practised. It is true that the considerations urged by the Duke of Argyll, and by prelatists in general, in favour of a more complete and ornate furnishing of the "house of worship," derived from certain features and tendencies in man's constitution, have some measure of plausibility, and can be made to wear a sort of philosophical aspect; but we think it no difficult matter to show, that it is a much sunder and deeper philosophy which demonstrates, both from an examination of man's constitution and a survey of the testimony of experience, the consummate wisdom of the scriptural prohibition—of the "bareness" which it demands.

But the main object of this Essay, in addition to that of exposing the true character and tendency of Scottish prelacy and of Church principles, is to refute the doctrines and reasonings of the Free Church in regard to the distinctness and mutual independence of the Church and the State, and the unlawfulness of the authoritative interference of the civil power in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs; and the work may thus be fairly regarded as an exposition of the grounds and reasons why his Grace—though persuaded that those proceedings of the Civil Courts which produced the Disruption of the Church of Scotland were violations of the constitution of the kingdom—did not consider himself called upon to join the Free Church, but continued in communion with the Scottish Establishment. Our space of course forbids our attempting to follow his Grace through the details of his historical and critical investigations, but his leading arguments may, we think, be fairly embodied in the following positions; and we propose making a few remarks upon each of them in succession.



1st, That the doctrine of the Free Church about the incompetency and unlawfulness of the interference of civil rulers in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs was not held by John Knox and the original Reformers of Scotland, who had the same views in regard to the relation of the Church and State as Dr. Arnold of Rugby!

2d, That the doctrine upon this subject held by the subsequent generations of the Scottish Presbyterians, and now maintained by the Free Church, is one "of mere local origin, and of mere local meaning," the result mainly of circumstances, and of the exaggeration and extravagance which these circumstances produced.

3d, That this doctrine, though plainly taught in the Westminster Confession, has no scriptural authority to rest upon.

4th, That many formidable objections can be adduced against it, especially that it is based upon the ascription of the office and functions of priesthood to ecclesiastical office-bearers, and that it implies that church courts are the representatives of Christ in such a sense as to be entitled on that ground to implicit submission.

And 5th, That the Free Church stands out pre-eminently distinguished even among Scottish Presbyterians for its irrelevant and illogical application of scriptural statements to the defence of its peculiar principles.

1. The Duke is at some pains to establish that John Knox did not teach the doctrine held by the Free Church, and indeed by all Scottish Presbyterians except those now connected with the Establishment, concerning the separation between temporal and spiritual things, and the incompetency and unlawfulness of civil interference in the regulation of the affairs of the Church; but he has produced no evidence that really bears upon the point which he undertakes to prove. The quotations he has given from Knox, and from the Confession of 1560, prove that our Reformers held that the word of God imposed upon civil rulers certain duties and obligations in regard to the prosperity and welfare of the Church and the interests of true religion, requiring them to aim at these objects, exempting them in the discharge of these duties from implicit submission to the judgment of any other party, and authorizing them to regulate their conduct in aiming at these objects by a sense of their own direct responsibility to God and His word. The Reformers likewise held that the Church of Rome had made unwarrantable encroachments upon the province of the civil magistrate, in assuming jurisdiction in temporal matters, and in exempting the clergy in civil and criminal questions from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals; and they had no hesitation in calling upon the civil authorities to resist these encroachments, and keep the Church

within its own proper province. It is quite manifest that the statements of John Knox and our first Reformers, when examined deliberately, and viewed in connexion with the occasions which produced them and the immediate purposes to which they were directed, prove nothing more than this, and afford no ground for the allegation that they confounded the provinces of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, or that they ascribed to the civil magistrate any jurisdiction or right of authoritative control over others in ecclesiastical affairs. In short, the power which John Knox and the old confession ascribed to the civil magistrate, is also ascribed to him by the authors of our second Reformation and by the Westminster Confession. No one can deny that the Westminster Confession ascribes to the civil magistrate a right to a large measure of interference in regard to religious affairs, and imposes upon him obligations with reference to all the matters which are comprehended within the ecclesiastical province; and every one acquainted with the writings of Gillespie and Rutherford must know that it is quite easy to produce from them statements about the power of the civil magistrate in regard to religion, as strong as any that ever proceeded from John Knox. The truth is, that at the period of the second Reformation and the Westminster Assembly, Presbyterian writers, being generally accused by their Erastian opponents of denying the just rights of the civil magistrate, because they maintained strictly and resolutely the line of demarcation between things civil or temporal, and things ecclesiastical or spiritual, and denied to him all jurisdiction or right of authoritative control within the Church's province, were particularly careful to bring out prominently and to express strongly, the whole power which they could honestly and consistently ascribe to the civil magistrate in regard to religion, and this was quite as much as John Knox ever conceded to him. The only difference is, that Knox has not laid down the distinction between the provinces and functions of the Church and the State, and the unlawfulness of mutual encroachments, so fully and distinctly as Melville and Henderson and their associates have done, just because the circumstances in which he was placed, the struggles and controversies in which he was engaged, did not lead him to do so. But there is no ground whatever for maintaining that he denied or rejected any of the principles which they, or the Free Church, have held upon these subjects. It is well known that Calvin, who died in 1564, had asserted all the fundamental principles which have since been generally held by Presbyterians, and are now held by Free Churchmen, on this point. The account given in the old Confession of the nature and definition, the functions and objects, of the Church of Christ—and these are the points on

which this whole controversy really turns, make it perfectly palpable that our Reformers never could have concurred, as the Duke alleges they did, in the views of Dr. Arnold. And lastly, the famous letter of Erskine of Dun to the Regent Mar, written in 1571, a year before Knox's death, contains abundant evidence, that they held the same views about the distinction between temporal and spiritual powers and functions as their successors, and were quite prepared to act upon them, whenever, in providence, they might be called upon to do so. His Grace is acquainted with this letter, and it is rather a curious circumstance, that, in 1842, he prefixed as a motto to his Letter to the Peers an extract from it, which asserts the substance of all that Scottish Presbyterians and Free Churchmen have ever contended for. His Grace may have since that time seen reason to change his mind, and to adopt the Erastian, Antipresbyterian views of Dr. Arnold, but he ought not to have ascribed these views to John Knox and the Scottish Reformers.

We must also take the liberty of telling his Grace, that it is utterly inexcusable in any man, after all the discussion which these topics have recently undergone, to imagine, as he does, that he gains anything by proving that John Knox held the right of the civil magistrate to "interfere" in religious matters. It will not do now to run off with the vague and ambiguous idea of "interference." A right of interference in religious matters the Westminster Confession unquestionably ascribes to him, and this right no Free Churchman has ever disputed; but the question, and *the only question*, is, whether he has *such* a right of interference as warrants him to exercise jurisdiction or authoritative control in the regulation of the affairs of the Church, such a right or jurisdiction as entitles him to issue direct formal deliverances upon ecclesiastical questions, *and imposes upon other parties a valid obligation to obedience*. We are not aware that any Scottish Presbyterian has ever ventured formally and explicitly to ascribe to the civil magistrate such a right of interference, although it is quite plain, that every defender of the existing Scottish Establishment is bound, in consistency, either to ascribe to him this right, or to abandon his present position. We doubt much whether the Duke of Argyll, notwithstanding his having adopted Dr. Arnold's views, and notwithstanding his having been able to discover the identity of the views of Arnold and John Knox, would venture to ascribe such a right of interference to the civil magistrate, and yet he ought to have known that nothing, whether in the way of argument or authority, that did not tend to establish *this* right, could afford him any assistance in his assault upon the principles of the Free Church.

2. One great object of the Duke's elaborate survey of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, is to establish the position, that the views with regard to the distinctness of the provinces, and the independence of the jurisdictions, of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, which were maintained by Melville and Henderson, and which his Grace admits to be the same as those held by the Free Church, were merely of local origin and of local meaning, resulting chiefly from the circumstances in which they were placed, and characterized by exaggeration and extravagance. We cannot enter into the details by which his Grace labours to give plausibility to this piece of Quixotism. But we are confident that he has proved nothing under this head which could not be shewn to apply, more or less, to every arduous and protracted struggle for truth that has occurred in the history of the Church. In every such case, there has been some ground, more or less, for charging even those who were honoured to defend the truth with something like exaggeration and extravagance, with a tendency to over-estimate and overstate the importance of the doctrines for which they were called upon specially to contend and to suffer, and with the use of language with which the calmer judgment of a subsequent generation might not fully sympathize. We believe that it has never been given to any body of uninspired men to rise wholly, in their precise mode of stating and defending their opinions, even when they were true and sound, above the influence of their position and circumstances, to avoid exhibiting some traces of the weakness and imperfection of the human faculties. It is well to notice these indications of human infirmity as affording useful lessons, but it is unreasonable to dwell upon them, as if they afforded any presumption against the substantial truth and soundness of the opinions in connexion with which they may have been exhibited. We are satisfied that the doctrines of the Scottish Presbyterians of the 16th and 17th centuries, on the subject of the relation of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities can, as to their substance, be successfully defended against all opponents, except in the one point of their not admitting the views then almost universally rejected, and now almost as universally adopted, upon the subject of toleration and the rights of conscience, and what naturally resulted from this. We are persuaded that as to their mode of stating and defending them, they need as little the allowance that ought to be made for the common infirmities of human nature, as any body of men who have ever been called upon in providence to carry on a protracted struggle, and to endure much suffering, for great principles, and the Duke of Argyll has produced nothing at all fitted to shake these convictions in the mind of

any one adequately acquainted with the subject. The only thing brought forward by his Grace upon this point, which is at once tangible and plausible, is a statement to this effect, that the fact, that our views about the independent jurisdiction of the Church, and the unlawfulness of the exercise of civil authority in ecclesiastical affairs, were not brought out prominently by the first Reformers, but were developed gradually by the struggles with the civil power in which the Church became afterwards involved, affords a proof, or at least a strong presumption, that these views were not really derived from Scripture or sanctioned by its statements. But this notion has no solid foundation to rest upon, and is indeed contradicted by the whole history of the Church. A very large experience has fully proved, that doctrines which can be shewn to be taught in Scripture have been overlooked or disregarded by the Church in general, until events in providence brought them out, pressed them upon men's attention, and led to a more careful examination and a more accurate apprehension of the Scriptural statements which relate to them. Indeed, it might almost be said that scarcely any of the doctrines of Scripture has ever been brought into due prominence, has been fully explained and illustrated, and has been stated and defended with perfect precision and accuracy, until events occurred which made it the subject of controversial discussion, until contradictory opinions concerning it were propounded, and were discussed between men of learning and ability taking opposite sides. No one acquainted with the history of the Church can regard it as affording even the slightest presumption against the Scriptural truth of Free Church principles, that they were first fully and explicitly developed in Scotland by Andrew Melville, in his noble struggle against the unlawful interference of the civil authorities in ecclesiastical affairs.

3. The Duke strenuously contends that Free Church principles about the authoritative interference of the civil power in ecclesiastical matters, though held, as he admits, by Scottish Presbyterians in general since the time of Andrew Melville, and taught in the Westminster Confession, have no foundation in Scripture. His Grace, we have seen, admits that the claims of the Free Church are founded upon the constitution of Scotland, and that the rejection of these claims by the Legislature was a violation of the Constitution. The main grounds on which he and others have rested this conviction, are, that these claims are clearly sanctioned by the great charter of 1592, and by the Act of 1690, c. 5, which embodies and ratifies the Confession of Faith. The whole of the Westminster Confession is at once the standard of the Church and a portion of the civil

law of the land. The Confession professes to be a summary of what is taught in Scripture on the various topics which it embraces, and to contain nothing which does not rest upon Scriptural authority. As such it is received by the Church and by all her office-bearers, and as such it is recognised by the Legislature; so that, if the view taken of the meaning of the 30th chapter of the Confession by the Duke of Argyll and the Free Church be correct, we have the united testimony of the Church and the State, that the principles and claims of the Free Church are not only just and sound in themselves, and fully sanctioned by the constitution of Scotland, but also, moreover, that they are warranted by the authority of the Word of God. In his "Letter to the Peers," he referred to the 30th chapter of the Confession as clearly establishing the principles and claims of Free Churchmen, without any intimation that he did not believe its statements to be in accordance with Scripture, but rather in such a way as seemed to imply that he regarded them as having the sanction of the Word of God, as well as of the law of the land. He then said—

"The Church has declared, *and the constitution has adopted the opinion*, (the italics are the Duke's,) that her government resides exclusively in the hands of her spiritual office-bearers; and farther, that this separation of jurisdictions is not a mere result of human expediency, created and liable to be cancelled by human laws, but is one of Divine appointment, and essential to the wellbeing of both."—*Letter to the Peers*, p. 29.

It is true that there is nothing in his Grace's present opinions to preclude him from adopting this statement as it stands, but it is more than probable that if he had believed then as he does now, that both the Church and the Constitution were wrong in holding this great principle to rest upon Divine appointment, he would have given some indication of this opinion. We fear, then, his Grace's opinions upon this subject have undergone a change, and it is one which we do not regard as an improvement. We cannot but suspect that it is to be ascribed not to a more deliberate and impartial examination of the subject on its merits, but to the influence of the writings of Dr. Arnold, and of the unfortunate position which he has chosen to occupy as an adherent of the Scottish Establishment. His Grace may, perhaps, think that he can consistently remain in the Established Church while maintaining, as he does, that an important article in its creed is inconsistent with Scripture, but he could scarcely have adhered to it, if he had felt himself compelled to admit, that on the precise question which produced the Disruption, the principles of the Free Church had the express sanction of the Word of God.

It will be proper to quote his Grace's deliverance upon the



important doctrine which is taught in the 30th chapter of the Confession, and which may be said to be the basis and foundation of the controversies which have attracted so much attention, and led to such important consequences. The doctrine is this:—“The Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of the Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hands of Church-officers distinct from the civil magistrate.” And his Grace’s commentary upon it is as follows:—

“When analyzed it is simply an assertion: 1st, Of the fact that Christ is King and Head of His Church; 2d, That He has appointed a government in the hands of Church-officers; 3d, That He has ordained that this government should never, under any circumstances, be interfered with by, or merged in, the civil government of society. The first assertion is an indisputable truth, although a truth of so indisputable and so abstract a nature that we must watch, with jealous care, the use which controversialists, and priests especially, may make of it. The second assertion is one which has a certain degree of truth in it—enough to make it very easily received and very incautiously handled—so that suddenly we may find ourselves committed to assertions which are not true—but false. The third is an assertion which I unhesitatingly declare my belief to be utterly groundless and untenable, unsupported by the shadow of proof from any relevant part of Scripture—unnatural, and at variance with the spirit of the Christian scheme, and so repugnant to the true instincts of all men that Presbytery itself has repeatedly and perpetually been flying in the face of its own dogma, whenever that dogma ceased to be serviceable as an entrenchment against assaults upon itself.—*Essay, Note H.*, p. 317.

We must call the attention of our readers to the importance of the admission here made, viz., that the fundamental principle of the Free Church is clearly sanctioned by this statement of the Confession. Before the Disruption the controversy was carried on chiefly between two bodies of men in the same Church, who had both equally subscribed the Confession, and who professed to regard all its statements as sanctioned by Scripture. The one of them, those who now form the Free Church, were in the habit of appealing to this doctrine of the Confession as affording a complete sanction to the leading principles which they professed, and to the general course of conduct which they pursued. Those with whom they then argued could not dispute the authority of this statement which they themselves professed to receive as a doctrine of Scripture. They were unable to distort or pervert its meaning so as to show that it did not sanction Free Church principles and practice, and, accordingly, judging discretion to be the better part of valour, they carefully abstained from considering it. During the whole controversy that preceded the Disruption, not one of those who now constitute the Establishment ever ventured to grapple with this statement of the Con-

fession, though often challenged to do so. But now that the Duke of Argyll, a member of their own communion, has publicly maintained, 1st, that this doctrine of the Confession is untrue, and, 2d, that it fully sanctions Free Church principles, we hope that some of the ministers or professors of the Establishment will be constrained to come forward in defence of their standards and their position; and we trust, that when thus called upon to defend the Scriptural truth of one of the doctrines of their standards, they will at the same time embrace the opportunity of supplying the strange omission of which they have hitherto been guilty, by trying to explain how it is that, in consistency with this doctrine, they can oppose Free Church principles and defend their own.

The Duke has made what we must take the liberty of calling an unworthy attempt to throw discredit upon this statement of the Confession, by perverting a passage from Baillie, describing the circumstances in which the Westminster Assembly adopted it. Baillie's statement is this:—"Coming on the article of the Church and Church notes, to oppose the Erastian heresy, which in this land is very strong, we find it necessary to say, that;"\* and then follows the passage substantially as we now have it in the Confession. This passage of Baillie has been often quoted by Free Churchmen for the purpose of showing that the statement in the Confession was intended, as it is certainly fitted, to exclude all Erastianism, *i.e.*, the ascription of *any* jurisdiction or authoritative control to the civil magistrate in the affairs of the Church. The Duke's commentary upon it is this:—

" 'We find it necessary to say!'—This is a full and accurate explanation of the origin of that passage of the Confession which, in the form I have above examined, reasserts that which Scottish Presbytery had very often 'found it necessary' to assert before.—What we find it 'necessary to say' we are very easily persuaded to be true."—P. 319.

This seems intended to insinuate that the *necessity* under which they acted did not arise from a conviction of truth and a sense of duty, but from some inferior or unworthy consideration, or at best from some temporary controversial emergency. Now, this insinuation is wholly unwarranted by anything said by Baillie, or by anything in the known character or situation of the men. The necessity under which they acted was only that of stating plainly and fully what they believed to be the truth of God upon the point, and of stating it in such a way as to exclude the opposite error, even in the subtlest form into which it might be cast

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\* This is evidently the right punctuation, although Laing's admirable edition of Baillie follows the old one, which is full of such blunders, in not putting a period before "Coming," and in putting one after "strong."

by the able and learned Erastians with whom they had to contend. It was their duty to do this, and it was necessary just because it was their duty. They discharged it well and wisely, and the history of the Church proves that in laying down this position they rendered a permanent service to the cause of truth. The English Parliament, under Erastian influence, excepted the 30th and 31st chapters from their ratification of the Confession.\* No such exception, however, was made by the Scottish Parliament in 1690, and the consequence has been, that those who, in the recent controversies, were manifestly acting under Erastian influences and pursuing an Erastian course of conduct, did not venture openly to avow Erastian principles, and that when the Duke of Argyll fell into the "Erastian heresy," he was compelled openly to renounce this portion of the standards of his own Church. All honour to the far-sighted men who saw the *necessity* which a regard to the permanent interests of truth imposed on them, and acted on it.

We do not mean to enter into any exposition of the Scriptural evidence for the doctrine of the Confession, or into any refutation of the Duke's attempt to shew that it has none, because this is not a very suitable occasion for such a work, because his Grace has really done little more than assert, in very strong and dogmatic terms, the irrelevancy of some of the Scriptural statements commonly adduced in support of it, and because we would not like to anticipate the champions of the Establishment, who are no doubt preparing to come forward to defend their standards against his Grace's attack upon them. We think it more important, and more appropriate at present, to give a compendious connected statement of what the Scriptural principles are which the Free Church maintains, and which she admits to be necessary, but at the same time holds to be amply sufficient, for the defence of her position, so far as concerns the general subject of the relation between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. We have no material objection to make to the Duke's statement formerly quoted, of what is contained in the extract from the Confession so often referred to; but we think that the principles of the Free Church may be stated in such a way as

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\* Neal's History of the Puritans: Part III. c. viii., and Part IV. c. iii., vol. ii. pp. 429 and 691, of edition of 1837, in 3 vols.

It is a curious and interesting circumstance, that among the instructions sent by the leading Presbyterian divines of Scotland to Sharpe, while their agent in London, at the time of the Restoration, one was that he should labour to procure the civil sanction for these portions of the Confession. Wodrow has preserved a paper, sent to him from Scotland, and drawn up by Robert Douglas, which contains the following passage:—"For England, it is expected from the Parliament thereof, that is shortly to sit, that they will ratify the 30th and 31st chapters of the Confession of Faith, as well as the late Parliament (the Long Parliament) hath ratified all the rest of it."—*Wodrow's History. Introduction*, vol. i. p. 15.

to make more palpable, both their true import and their relevancy to the practical questions on which they have been brought to bear, and in such a way likewise as to include some points not perhaps actually contained in the statement of the Confession, but fairly deducible from it, or intimately connected with it.

Her principles then upon this subject are these:—

1st, That the visible Church of Christ, and every branch or section of it, is an independent society, distinct from the kingdoms of this world, and differing from them in many essential particulars—its origin, nature, constitution, government, subjects, objects, &c.

2d, That Christ is its only King and Head, and that He alone can settle its constitution and laws, and determine how its affairs are to be regulated.

3d, That the Sacred Scripture is the only rule or standard for regulating its constitution and laws, and the ordinary practical administration of its affairs.

4th, That the only parties authorized to administer the ordinary affairs of this society, according to the constitution and laws which Christ has prescribed, are ecclesiastical office-bearers, appointed and qualified according to the Word of God.

5th, That the civil magistrate, though bound to aim in the exercise of his lawful jurisdiction in civil or temporal things, at the prosperity of the Church of Christ, does not as such possess any jurisdiction or right of authoritative control in ecclesiastical or spiritual matters, and of course cannot, by any laws he may pass, or by any decisions he may pronounce, impose a valid obligation to obedience upon the Church in general, or upon her office-bearers, in the execution of their respective functions.

6th, That the distinct government which Christ has appointed in his Church—the spiritual or ecclesiastical province—the sphere within which ecclesiastical office-bearers possess jurisdiction, or are entitled to exercise a certain ministerial (not lordly) authority, comprehends not only the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments, but also the whole of the ordinary necessary business of the Church as a visible society,—the whole of these processes which must be going on wherever the Church is fully executing its functions; in short, the exercise of discipline, including of course the admission and exclusion of members, and the ordination and deposition of office-bearers.

And 7th, That Christ having established all these arrangements as King and Head of the Church, the maintenance of them on the one hand, and the infringement of them on the other, specially concern His honour and dignity as the Church's only head and ruler.

All these positions, we are persuaded, can be fully established upon Scriptural authority, not indeed by express texts which assert them *in terminis*, but by fair and legitimate deduction from Scriptural statements and principles; and being sanctioned not only by the Word of God, but also by the law of the land, they form, in their practical application, a conclusive vindication of the course pursued by those who now constitute the Free Church in the struggle which led to the Disruption. There is nothing in them that has any appearance of extravagance, or that seems to go beyond the general scope and strain of scriptural language. They have been held in substance by almost all Christian Churches, except those which having basely yielded to the usurped authority of the civil powers, were constrained to beat about for something to excuse or palliate their unworthy submission, and with this view were tempted to labour at the degrading task, in which the Duke of Argyll has done his best to aid them, of involving the doctrine of Scripture upon the subject in obscurity and uncertainty. There have, no doubt, been cases in which men have shown an undue tendency to claim Scriptural authority for their peculiar notions, and to represent points as settled by Scripture, on which it cannot be proved to have given any deliverance. But the tendency has been far more common, and quite as injurious, to contract unduly the circle of topics, in regard to which Scripture gives us sufficient materials for determining our opinions and our conduct, and to represent as open and unsettled—as affording fair scope for the exercise of human wisdom, the operation of worldly motives, and the influence of temporary circumstances, subjects, which it can be satisfactorily proved, that the Word of God has irreversibly determined. The allegation of either of these errors in any particular case cannot be established by general presumptions, or by adventitious considerations, but only by an investigation of the precise grounds in which, in each case, Scriptural warrant is either asserted or denied. Even if the Duke of Argyll had proved his position, that Scottish Presbyterians have in some instances shown an undue tendency to exalt their peculiar opinions into religious dogmas resting upon Scriptural authority, we would still insist that their views upon the distinctness and mutual independence of the civil and the ecclesiastical powers should be tried upon their own merits, and it would then be no difficult matter to shew that their principles upon this subject, in the form in which we have stated them, can be proved to have the sanction of the Sacred Scriptures, and to constitute the general directory by which the Church of Christ, and all its branches—every society, great or small, calling itself a Church of Christ, ought to be regulated in every age and country.

The Duke admits that there is a good deal of truth and soundness in these general principles, and intimates that he would not object much to receive them, if their supporters would abandon all claim on their behalf to a *jus divinum*, and be contented with a mere *jus humanum*, so as to leave room for the authoritative interference of the civil power in the government of the Church, and for some measure of accommodation to the devices of human wisdom and the influence of external circumstances. He admits that the Church is entitled to the privilege of self-government, but he regards this privilege as resting only upon a natural right, such as is common to it with other societies. The whole controversy may be said to turn upon the Church's right to the power of self-government, and much may be adduced in confirmation of the views of Scottish Presbyterians upon this subject, from the principles of natural right as applicable to societies in general. But the application of the general principles of natural right to particular cases must be regulated by correct views of the origin, nature, and constitution of each society. If the Church is a mere corporation, created by the State, and receiving from the State a delegated power of self-government, then of course the State may withdraw or modify this power. But if the Church be, by its institution, a distinct and independent society, subject to Christ as its only sovereign, and to his word as its only law, then the principles of natural right as well as a regard to Christ's authority, reclaim against any other society assuming any jurisdiction over it, and against any party, whether within or without the Church, deviating in any respect from the arrangements which he has sanctioned as to its constitution and government. The Church has not a right to self-government even upon natural principles, unless it be a distinct and independent society; and if it be a distinct and independent society, then the principles of natural right are sufficient to establish the inviolability of its title to the power of self-government.\* But it is only from Scripture that it can be proved to be in its nature and constitution a distinct and independent society, and the same Scripture that establishes this fundamental position, lays down certain general principles as to

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\* If his Grace had been acquainted with the writings of the eminent men who have defended Erastianism in former times, he would probably have admitted that a *jus naturale* might be sufficient to exclude interference and change in the regulation of the affairs of the Church, as well as a *jus divinum*. Grotius, a very high authority on such a subject, and the more so, in some respects, because of his Erastianism, while conceding it to be naturally just and right that Christian congregations should choose their own office-bearers, denies that this arrangement is so fixed and determined as not to admit of being altered by the interference of the civil power; but in labouring to support this position, he distinctly admits that a *jus naturale* might establish immutability and exclude interference, as well as a *jus divinum positivum*.—*De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, c. x., s. 3.



its constitution and government, its relation to Christ and his Word, which, when fairly and honestly applied, exclude the civil power from all right of authoritative interference in the regulation of its affairs, and make it unlawful, as being a violation of duties which Christ has imposed, for the Church to be a consenting party to any such interference.

4. We must now hasten to advert briefly to the principal objections which the Duke has adduced against the doctrine that has been generally held by Scottish Presbyterians, in regard to the exclusive jurisdiction of "Church officers" in ecclesiastical matters, and the unlawfulness of the authoritative interference of the civil power in the regulation of the affairs of the Church. His first and principal objection is, that this doctrine can consistently rest only upon an ascription of the office and functions of priesthood to the office-bearers of the Christian Church. But this is a pure misconception, having no solid or even plausible ground to rest upon. We, of course, in common with all Scottish Presbyterians, disclaim the idea of the existence of any priesthood in the Christian Church, except the priesthood of Christ. We abjure all intention of ascribing any priestly power to Christian ministers or to Church Courts; and we maintain, that neither the principles which we hold, nor the arguments by which we defend them, afford any appearance of ground for the allegation on which this objection is based. All that the Duke has adduced in support of this objection is mere vagueness and confusion; and he has made no attempt to apply it, specifically and in detail, either to the statement of our principles, or to the course of argument by which they are commonly defended. His Grace has neither attempted to show that Scottish Presbyterians have ever ascribed any priestly power to Church Courts, nor to prove distinctly and in detail, that any of the arguments they have used require them in logical consistency to do so. He has done little more than repeat the assertion, that our principles imply, or lead to, the ascription of a priestly power to ecclesiastical office-bearers. But this matter cannot be allowed to rest upon a mere assertion, or a vague impression of resemblance. We ask his Grace to survey in detail the statement we have given of our principles, and the course of argument by which they are usually defended, and to point out distinctly, where and how it is, that the idea of priestly power and function does come in, or, in logical consistency, should come in, and we are very sure that if he attempt this he will be utterly unsuccessful.

Our principles, indeed, necessarily imply that it is Christ's will that there should be office-bearers in his Church, as distinguished from ordinary members; and that these office-bearers should perform certain duties and execute certain functions.

We presume that his Grace, being a Presbyterian, will not formally dispute this position, and yet he has made a sort of attempt to evade it or set it aside, by representing the authority and functions of office-bearers as resting solely upon natural principles, and by describing them as merely the representatives of the people. Presbyterian, in common with almost all other Churches, reject this notion, and maintain upon Scriptural grounds, that it is a part of the constitution which Christ has prescribed to his Church, that it should have certain office-bearers, qualified and appointed according to his directions, and that these office-bearers, when so qualified and appointed, have authority from him, and not merely from those who elected and ordained them, to execute certain functions, and to do so in accordance with his word, without regard to any other rule or standard. It thus appears, that while his Grace unwarrantably charges us with elevating, in opposition to Presbyterian principles, ecclesiastical office-bearers to the position of priests, he has been tempted to fall into the opposite extreme, and to violate Presbyterian principles, by sinking them to the position of mere representatives of the people. Upon Scriptural and Presbyterian principles, ecclesiastical office-bearers are neither priests on the one hand, nor mere representatives of the people on the other. They are functionaries, for whose appointment Christ has made provision, whose position and duties he has settled, and who, when once appointed in accordance with his directions, are both entitled and bound to look to him as their only master, and to his word as their only rule. So much for the general position and standing of office-bearers in the Christian Church, and their general right to execute certain functions.\* With regard to the precise nature and extent of these functions, our principles do not attach to them anything priestly, and we are not required in consistency to do so by any of the arguments we ever employ. The function of ecclesiastical office-bearers consists in the administration of the ordinary necessary business of the Church as a visible society; and no priestly power is involved in, or necessary to, the execution of this function. Indeed the whole of what we ascribe to them may be defended upon natural principles, as justly and rightfully belonging to the legitimate office-bearers of a society.

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\* A good deal of prominence has been given of late, in opposition to Popish and High Church claims, to the non-priesthood of ministers and ecclesiastical office-bearers, and to the universal priesthood of believers. These are Scriptural and important principles. But it requires some knowledge and discrimination to apply them aright, and to guard them against perversion and abuse. The Duke of Argyll does not understand them, and he has, in consequence, been led into a denial of some important principles with regard to the constitution of the Church of Christ, which have always been strenuously maintained by Presbyterians, though not by them exclusively.

But we do not rest it solely upon this ground. We think we can prove from Scripture that Christ has attached this function to their office, and that therefore neither the people nor the civil magistrate is entitled to take it from them, or to interfere authoritatively in regulating the mode of its execution. But there is nothing priestly in the nature or constituents of the function, and the unlawfulness of authoritative interference from any quarter is based *solely* upon this consideration, that it is an interference with the provision which Christ has made as to the way and manner in which the administration of the ordinary necessary business of his Church as a visible society, is to be conducted. There is no dispute at present about the preaching of the word or the administration of sacraments. The recent controversy turned only upon the administration of discipline, that is, in substance, admission to and exclusion from ordinances, and ordination to and deposition from office. And there is certainly no assumption of priestly power necessarily involved in the execution of this function. If there are to be ordinances administered and office-bearers appointed, then this function must necessarily be executed by some party; and the only question is, to what party Christ has committed it. The party to whom he has committed it, is entitled and bound to execute it, in subjection to him, and in accordance with his word; and no other party is warranted to assume jurisdiction or authoritative control in the matter.

Let it be observed, that in the statement of our principles, we have said nothing whatever about the bearing of admission to and exclusion from the communion of the visible Church, or of ordination and deposition, upon men's relation to God, and their eternal destinies; and that there is nothing in any part of the argument by which we defend our principles, requiring us to assume any definite position, or to indicate any opinion whatever, upon this point. Views have indeed been propounded upon this subject which would fully warrant the charge against their supporters, of claiming for ecclesiastical office-bearers a priestly domination. But these views have never been professed by Scottish Presbyterians. Any deliverance upon this subject is unnecessary either to the statement or the probation of our case, and belongs to a wholly distinct and ulterior question.

The Duke imagines that he makes a very strong point against us when he shews that our Presbyterian principles prevent us from ascribing to Church communion and sacraments, to ordination, and to the exercise of the power of the keys, the important results or consequences which Papists and High Churchmen ascribe to them. But this is trifling. We have never put forth any claims to priestly domination, and we have never made any

attempt to establish such claims. His Grace seems first to assume that we put forth claims to priestly domination, and then he holds us up to ridicule, because we do not follow out these claims to their legitimate consequences. But the truth is, that we claim nothing more for the Church than the right of self-government as a distinct independent visible society. We claim nothing more for ecclesiastical office-bearers than the right of administering, in subjection to Christ, the ordinary necessary business of this society, or of deciding, according to the word of God and their own conscientious convictions, without being subject to any civil or foreign authority, those questions concerning the admission of particular men to office and ordinances, which must be continually arising wherever a Church exists. We claim this, and nothing more; but we claim it not merely on natural but on Scriptural principles. We claim it on the ground of an arrangement which Christ has made, and has indicated with sufficient plainness in his word, and which therefore we are not at liberty either to disregard or to infringe. It is true, indeed, and this seems to have confused and misled his Grace, who can scarcely be supposed to be very intimately conversant with these subjects, and ought not therefore to have written so dogmatically about them, that, not Presbyterians only, but Protestants in general, have regarded some of the Scripture texts which the Church of Rome is accustomed to quote in support of the priestly domination which she claims, as applicable in some sense to the ordinary powers of Ecclesiastical office-bearers in the administration of the ordinary affairs of the visible Church. But he ought to have known, that Protestants have always been careful to point out the distinction between their sense of these passages, and that which Papists attach to them; and he might have admitted the possibility at least, that the Protestant interpretation of them might be true, while the Popish one is false, and that Protestants might be warranted in deriving from them some countenance for their moderate and reasonable claims, without being suspected of participating in the extravagant pretensions to priestly domination which are put forth by the Church of Rome. Enough, we hope, has been said to shew the baselessness of his Grace's allegation, that the principles of the Free Church imply an ascription of priestly powers and functions to ecclesiastical office-bearers. It has been shewn, that neither in the nature of the function assigned to them, nor in the *only* principle on which there is claimed for them exemption from all authoritative civil control in the execution of this function, is there any ground for this allegation.

We would now advert to the Duke's second leading objection to the principles of the Free Church, viz., that they imply a vir-

tual identification of Church Courts with Christ, in whose name they act, and on this ground claim for these Courts infallibility, and demand implicit submission to their decisions. This is a vulgar misrepresentation, and it is easy to shew of it, as of the former objection, that it has no solid foundation either in the statement of Free Church principles, or in any of the arguments by which they are commonly defended. We have never claimed infallibility, or demanded implicit submission for Church Courts; and we have never propounded any principles that required us in consistency to do so. We have always professed to produce from the Word of God the grounds and reasons of the principles we have advocated, and of the course we have pursued. We have always admitted that we were bound to produce Scriptural authority for our opinions and practices, and that unless we succeeded in doing this, we had no right to claim assent or approbation. We have professed to produce Scriptural warrant for all we have said or done, both about the election of ministers, and about the relation, generally, between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. We have never claimed for Church Courts an *exclusive* right to interpret Scripture, or expected that any man was to receive our opinion or practice as Scriptural *because* Church Courts had asserted it to be so. We have uniformly, not admitted merely, but contended, that the civil magistrate is entitled and bound to judge for himself, on his own responsibility, of the meaning of the Word of God, and of the Scriptural warrant for the decisions and proceedings of Church Courts, with a view to the discharge of his own duty, whatever that may be, and the regulation of his own conduct, in the exercise of his lawful jurisdiction in civil or temporal matters. We have uniformly asserted the same right for every individual—the right of judging upon his own responsibility, whether the decisions of Church Courts are accordant with Scripture, with a view to the regulation of his own conduct, in so far as he may be affected by them. We have simply contended that Church Courts, being the parties who are alone authorized to administer the ordinary necessary business of the Church as a visible society, should also be left at liberty to act according to their own conscientious convictions of the meaning of God's word, *without being subject to the authoritative control of a party not vested with jurisdiction in that province*. We claim this for them and nothing more, and we claim it both on the general ground of liberty of conscience, and on the more special ground that Christ has invested them and no other party with this function, and that he has not only not authorized, but has virtually forbidden them to be guided by any other rule than his own will, as revealed in his word. We can

honestly and consistently adopt the words of Richard Baxter, when answering similar misrepresentations adduced against the Nonconformists by prelatic Erastians, “it would satisfy us had we but freedom in our ministerial action, *not to go against our conscience*, however blind malice would make the world believe that it is some papal empire even over princes that we desire.”\*

That this is really the whole extent of the claim which has been put forth in behalf of Church Courts, and that they have not pretended, while contending for the headship of Christ, to identify themselves with him, and upon this ground to demand implicit submission, will be evident from considering the way and manner in which the subjects of the exclusive supremacy of the Bible, the exclusive jurisdiction of Church Courts in ecclesiastical matters, and the exclusive headship of Christ over his Church, were brought into the controversy which led to the Disruption, and from adverting to the real application that has been made of them in defence of the conduct of the Free Church. The Church resolved in 1834, that she would never again intrude ministers upon reclaiming congregations. She did not expect that men were to approve of this principle of non-intrusion, merely because she had adopted it and resolved to act upon it. She professed to prove that this was a true and sound principle, and obligatory upon the Church of Christ. She proved this from Scripture, reason, experience, and her own constitutional standards, not to mention the united testimony of the primitive Church, and the great body of the Reformers. The civil power interfered, and virtually required the Church to abandon this principle, and to resume the old practice of intrusion. The Church answered, that she had not changed her mind, and therefore could not change her practice, that she still believed, and undertook to prove, that the principle of non-intrusion was sound and obligatory, and that therefore she could not abandon or violate it. And when further urged to abandon or violate this principle, upon the ground that the civil power required her to do so, her answer was in substance this—that as a Church of Christ, (for we leave out of view the legal or constitutional aspect of the question,) she was not only not bound, but not at liberty, to defer to this requisition of the civil power, *for that* the word of God was the only rule by which the affairs of the Church ought to be regulated, and ecclesiastical office-bearers were the only parties authorized by Christ in his word to manage these affairs according to this rule. Of these positions, too, she professed to produce proof from Scripture, and she claimed assent to them only upon the ground that this proof was satisfactory. She drew

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\* True and only way of Concord, Part III., p. 126.



from them this important practical conclusion, that the civil magistrate has no jurisdiction or right of authoritative control in ecclesiastical matters, and that therefore no enactment or decision of his can cancel the obligation of the Church to be guided by the word of God and her own conscientious convictions, and far less can impose upon her an obligation to act in opposition to them. And the practical result of the whole was, that, upon the grounds which have now been stated, the Church considered herself warranted simply *to disregard or set aside the adverse interference of the civil power*, to treat it as a non-entity, as affording no warrant, and imposing no obligation, to change her conduct and to abandon the principle of non-intrusion, which she still believed and proved to be sound and obligatory. These are all the principles, and this is the whole process of argument, that are necessary for the full and conclusive vindication of the conduct of those who now form the Free Church, in their struggle with the civil authorities.

These statements embody the substance of the whole of the strict and proper dialectics of the controversy that led to the Disruption, viewed in its higher aspects, in its bearing upon the duty and conduct of the Church as a Church of Christ. Nothing more is necessary for the formal logical vindication of the whole principles asserted, and of the whole course pursued. And we challenge the Duke of Argyll to shew that there is anything in the argument that is unsound and sophistical in itself, or that affords any appearance of foundation for the objection which we are considering. He will say, no doubt, that it is on the views held by the Free Church in regard to the sole headship of Christ, that the objection is based. But this is really nothing better than an evasion. We have taught no doctrine upon the subject of the headship of Christ but what we profess to prove from Scripture, we have claimed assent to our views upon no other ground than the Scriptural evidence we could adduce in support of them, *and we have not brought forward the doctrine of Christ's headship as furnishing directly and immediately the proper ground or reason of anything we have done ourselves, or called upon others to do.* We admit that the only inference directly and immediately deducible from the doctrine of Christ's sole headship is, that every intimation which he has given of his will as to the constitution and government of his Church, and the manner in which the administration of its affairs should be conducted, ought to be implicitly obeyed. We admit, farther, that this general inference does not, directly and of itself, afford a full vindication of the proceedings which led to the Disruption, and that with that view, it is needful, in addition, to establish from Scripture the doctrines of the exclusive supremacy of the Bible, and the exclu-

sive jurisdiction of ecclesiastical office-bearers, as involved in or flowing from the doctrine of Christ's sole headship. It is with these two doctrines of the exclusive supremacy of the Bible, and the exclusive jurisdiction of ecclesiastical office-bearers, that we directly and immediately connect the formal defence of our cause as a question of dialectics. We do not introduce the doctrine of Christ's headship as affording a distinct and independent argument on which to rest our vindication, but rather as the basis and foundation of these two subordinate, but still important truths, the application of which to the practical matter in hand, constitutes the direct and proper argument on which we rest our case, and with which we call upon our opponents to deal. The headship of Christ then is not to be regarded in this matter as a distinct and separate doctrine from the exclusive supremacy of the Bible and the exclusive jurisdiction of ecclesiastical office-bearers, or as introducing any new and independent element immediately into the strict and proper argumentation of the question, but as a great general Scriptural principle, including or comprehending these two doctrines, furnishing the basis on which they rest, the source from which they spring, the point to which they are attached. The right use and application of the doctrine of Christ's headship in the present question, is not that it should be held forth as the direct and immediate ground of the precise argument by which the course pursued by the Free Church is to be defended against opponents, but rather, that it should be employed to enforce the importance of the doctrines comprehended under it and flowing from it, on which the strict argument more immediately depends, to impress the deep responsibility connected with the faithful maintenance and the full and honest application of these doctrines, and to animate and encourage to an uncompromising discharge of the Church's duty with respect to everything involved in, or flowing from, or in any way connected with, "the crown rights of the Redeemer," to whatever dangers she may in consequence be exposed. This was the use and application made of the doctrine of Christ's headship, by the Scottish Presbyterians of the 16th and 17th centuries, and this is the use and application made of it by Free Churchmen. No other use or application of it is required by any of the principles they have ever professed, or by any of the arguments they have ever employed in defence of them, and no other is needed for the full vindication of the course they have pursued. Now, this use or application of it manifestly does not afford a shadow of ground for the allegation that our Church Courts in contending for the Scriptural doctrine of Christ's headship, and for their own right and duty to follow out all that is involved in it, and all that either directly or by consequence re-

sults from it, are identifying themselves with Christ, and are upon this ground virtually claiming infallibility, and demanding implicit submission.

Let the Duke of Argyll contemplate the Free Church case as bearing upon the duty of a Church of Christ, not in detached portions, but in its amplitude and totality,—let him attend to the true logical relations of the different parts of which the argument consists,—let him distinguish between what is strictly and properly argumentative, and what is fitted to illustrate the importance and solemnity of the points involved in the argument, and to enforce the discharge of practical duty in regard to them, and then we think he will be satisfied that this objection is utterly groundless.

5. The Duke, while charging Scottish Presbyterians in general with an irrelevant and illogical application of Scripture in defending their peculiar opinions, tries to show that Free Churchmen have surpassed all their predecessors in the extravagance and fanaticism which they have manifested in this respect. Nothing but the most extraordinary ignorance or inconsideration could have led his Grace to make such a charge. This has been conclusively established in a very able and effective pamphlet by the Rev. Mr. Gray, entitled, “Correspondence between the Duke of Argyll and the Rev. A. Gray, Perth,” in reference to his Grace’s Essay, entitled “Presbytery Examined.” We shall not dwell upon this topic, but refer our readers to Mr. Gray’s pamphlet, where they will find also some very valuable materials for assisting them in forming a right estimate of his Grace’s work, and of the merits of the controversy to which it chiefly relates.

The Duke of Argyll, notwithstanding the ability which he has brought to the task, has, we think, utterly failed in obscuring the import, or in depreciating the value, of the testimony of the Church of Scotland to the independence of the Church of Christ and its exemption from civil control, as connected with the doctrine of His sole headship over it, or in producing anything fitted to shake the confidence of intelligent Free Churchmen in the Scriptural truth and practical importance of the principles which they have been called upon to maintain. It is easy enough, in surveying the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, to point out traces of human imperfection and infirmity, but it is not easy to show that Scottish Presbyterians did not thoroughly understand the great principles for which they were so signally honoured to contend, or that they were not able to defend them from Scripture and reason against all who might assail them. It is easy enough to excite a prejudice in the minds of English readers against the principles of the Free Church, and against the men who have advocated and applied them, but

it is not easy to show that these principles involve anything inconsistent either with the particular statements or the general doctrines of the Word of God, or that, in their substance, they have not the countenance and support of almost all the Churches of Christ, and of the great body of those whose testimony is entitled to the highest respect. The Duke seems to affect the character of an Eclectic in his ecclesiastical views, but we doubt much whether he is yet altogether qualified to sustain this position with credit and advantage. He can scarcely be said to have any definite well-digested system of opinions on the subjects which he discusses. He rather criticises all other systems, and selects from them what suits his taste, without much regard to the unity or harmony of the combination. He can scarcely remain long in his present position, or continue to adhere to all the views which he now supports on ecclesiastical questions, and we greatly fear that the probability is in favour of his changing for the worse, of his deviating still farther than he now does from the paths of truth and sound doctrine. He still professes himself a Presbyterian, but we fear that he will land at length, like the great body of our Scottish aristocracy, in the Church of England. He is evidently prepared for at least tolerating almost any amount of Erastian interference by the civil power in the regulation of the Church's affairs. He sees nothing objectionable, but, on the contrary, evidence of enlarged wisdom, in the introduction of the inventions of men into the worship of God; and he has already become familiar with the dangerous and delusive process of explaining away or evading the testimony of Scripture on all subjects on which its decisions are not direct, formal, and explicit. In these circumstances we see little or nothing to protect his Grace from the influence of those outward and inferior considerations which have led so many of the Scottish nobility to adhere to the English Establishment. He seems at present to be much in the same undecided and perilous position which his illustrious ancestor occupied during the earlier sittings of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, but we scarcely venture to expect in this case an equally noble and magnanimous decision. And yet we would very willingly cherish the hope that one who is the descendant and representative of the illustrious men that did and suffered so much for the cause of civil and religious liberty in Scotland, and contended so nobly for those great principles, the maintenance of which forms the distinguishing glory of Scottish Presbyterians, and who himself possesses no ordinary personal claims to the admiration and respect of his countrymen, may yet attain to more clear and Scriptural views of the relations and duties of Churches and nations, and be honoured to contribute largely by his talents and influence to diffuse these views

in the community, and to promote their practical application. May the Lord give him understanding in all things.

His Grace seems to have adopted to a large extent the views of Dr. Arnold in regard to the Church and its relation to the civil power, though we doubt much whether he fully understands them, and are pretty sure that he is not yet prepared to follow them out fully to their legitimate consequences. Dr. Arnold's favourite principle upon this point, was the identification of the Church and the Christian State, or in other words, a virtual denial that the Church is, by its institution, and according to Christ's appointment, a distinct and independent society, with a fixed and unchangeable constitution and government, and with settled laws for the regulation of its affairs. This is the notion which was devised by Hooker, and expounded by him in the Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, for the purpose of sanctioning authoritative interference on the part of the State in the government of the Church, and warranting the civil power to regulate and control ecclesiastical matters, just as it does military or financial matters, or any other department of the ordinary national business. We do not suppose that the ingenious and benevolent mind of Dr. Arnold was influenced by any such motive or object in advocating that notion, but it fairly admits of being applied, and will of course be generally applied by politicians, to sanction a system of low and degrading Erastianism. The notion is so palpably inconsistent with the plainest Scriptural principles, that, notwithstanding the high authority of the "venerable" Hooker, it has never found much countenance among the clerical defenders of the Erastianism of the Church of England, who have preferred to try other shifts and expedients, in order to palliate their position, but has been taken up chiefly by worldly politicians. The only plausibility of the notion is derived from imagining what might, and probably would be the state of matters, if true Christianity pervaded the whole community, and affected the proceedings of the civil rulers and the general regulation of national affairs; and the essential fallacy of it lies in this, that it implies a total disregard and a virtual denial of all that the Scripture teaches us concerning the Church of Christ, its fixed and unalterable relation to Him and to his Word, and the perpetuity and unchangeableness of its constitution, government, and laws. Dr. Arnold defines the Church to be an association for the moral reformation of the community, and this might without impropriety enter as one feature into a detailed description that might be given of the Church, but it is not the *definition* of it furnished by Scripture. It omits everything essential and fundamental which Scripture teaches concerning the Church. It leaves out all the leading

ideas which Scripture requires us to introduce into our conception and definition of the visible Church Catholic, and all the main principles which it obliges every particular society calling itself a Church of Christ, to act upon, in the discharge of its duties, and in the regulation of its conduct. And of course it is evident that we ought to regulate our definition of the Church, and our views of its nature, constitution, government, functions, and objects, by the statements of the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever, and not by our own imaginings of what is possible or probable, nor even by any actual realities in the state of society that might be presented before us. Even if Dr. Arnold's idea of a Christian community and a Christian State were to be fully realized in fact, this should not in the least affect the Scriptural doctrine concerning the Church and its constitution and government, and it would afford no warrant whatever to civil rulers *as such*, to interfere authoritatively in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs.

There seems to be a strong desire in the present day on the part of politicians to acquire for the civil power a larger measure of control over Churches, not only over those which are Established, but over those also which are unconnected with the State, in order to employ ecclesiastical influence for political purposes. And it is melancholy that such men as Dr. Arnold, the Duke of Argyll, and in some degree also the Chevalier Bunsen, should have propounded views which are fitted to encourage them in the prosecution of this object, by encouraging Churches to accept of and submit to their interference and control. The general current of opinion, however, among thinking and earnest men of all denominations, is, happily, running in the opposite direction. There is now, perhaps, more generally diffused in society than ever before, an intelligent appreciation of the true character of the Church of Christ as a distinct independent society, and of the obligation that attaches to every society calling itself a Church of Christ, to maintain its true position and character as such, to the exclusion of all civil control over its affairs, and with the forfeiture, when necessary for this end, (as it certainly is in the case of all existing ecclesiastical Establishments,) of civil advantages and emoluments. The Disruption of the Established Church of Scotland, with the prominence thereby given to the principles of Scottish Presbyterians, may be fairly regarded as one of the influences which have contributed to produce this desirable result, and we trust that this and other concordant influences, will continue to operate with increasing power, until all the Churches of Christ are wholly emancipated from civil control, and are walking "in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free."



ART. VII.—*Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell.* Edited by WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D., one of his Executors. London, 1849.

FOR something more than half a century the custom has been gradually increasing, of publishing with but little reserve, such letters of eminent men as have been written in the ordinary management of the affairs of life, or the careless confidence of domestic intimacy. In Johnson's "*Lives of the Poets*," we scarcely remember a single private letter being printed as illustrating any one statement in the work, or as affording an exhibition of the character of any one of the writers, whose lives he relates. A short time before the publication of "*The Lives of the Poets*," Mason had, in his *Memoirs of Gray*, introduced a new style of biography which has affected, more or less, every work of the kind since written. The journals of Gray, a retired scholar, who took accurate notes of whatever he read, supplied much that was instructive and interesting to the earnest student; and Mason had the opportunity of selecting, from a correspondence conducted through the whole of Gray's life with one friend or another, a vast body of information, on a great variety of subjects. There were few personal details; and though Mason made great use of Gray's letters, yet there was scarcely a single letter published without omissions. The example given by Mason, was followed in two remarkable instances by a writer whose poetry was once popular, and whose prose works, in spite of great affectation, which deforms everything he has written, are still very pleasing. Hayley, in his *Life of Milton*, has woven together passages from Milton's letters, calculated to make his readers sympathize with the great poet, and which give a wholly different aspect to his life from that which the readers of Johnson had received. Milton's minor poems had been published by Thomas Warton, with notes, curiously illustrative of the mental process by which Milton's poetical language was elaborated; but in those notes, and through the whole book, Milton's controversial writings were assailed in a temper of bigotry scarcely intelligible in our days, and which Hayley's "*Life*" did much to counteract. To an extent which is quite surprising, he was enabled to effect what Michelet and others have done in the case of Luther, and thus Milton became his own biographer.

Some years after, in his *Life of Cowper*, Hayley gave to the public the very most interesting volumes of biography that have perhaps ever been published. The state of health which sepa-

rated Cowper from the active business of life, was consistent with systematic study, and with the exertion of the poetical faculty. Cowper's residence at a distance from his relatives—the peculiar tenderness with which he was regarded—and some circumstances connected with his pecuniary affairs, created a correspondence which was the amusement, and, in some sort, the business of his life. These letters, above all comparison the most charming that have ever been published, and from which, as we best remember, every passage that it could be thought unreasonable to living persons to bring before the public, had been first removed, rendered this style of biography popular. In formal autobiography there can seldom be absent some appearance of vanity. In passages selected from letters in which the author is unconsciously writing his life, this fault is at least absent, and for the last half century rarely any eminent man has died, whose friends have not been solicited for copies of such letters as accident has left undestroyed.

It was scarce possible that the great poet, Campbell, should have escaped the common lot; and a considerable mass of his letters are now given to the public by his friend and executor Dr. Beattie. The volumes also contain some biographical notes drawn up by the poet at the request of Dr. Beattie, and though we can imagine this voluminous work improved both by compression and by omission, and though we think a more diligent inquirer, without taking very much trouble on the subject, might have given us more scenes from the London life of a man who lived so much in the eye of the public—we yet think some gratitude is due to Dr. Beattie for many of the letters in these volumes. The book will aid us in appreciating the character of a man whose works will probably for many generations continue to give delight.

Campbell was a true and a great poet; he was, what is better, a true-hearted generous-minded and honourable man.

With all men life is a struggle. With such a man as Campbell—peculiarly sensitive—the struggle was from adverse circumstances more than ordinarily severe. He was the youngest of ten children. The father of the poet, Alexander Campbell, had for many years been a prosperous merchant in the Virginia trade. During the earlier part of his life he had lived at Falmouth in Virginia. He had come to the sober age of forty-five when he married Margaret Campbell, the sister of his partner in business. We will not follow Dr. Beattie in disentangling the intricate pedigree of the Campbells. Margaret was, it seems, of the same clan, but not a blood-relation, of “the Campbells of Kirnan,” to which family her husband belonged. “The Campbells of Kirnan,” a locality with which the poet's people

were connected by their traditions, and not by the fact of having ever resided there, was a sound that had its magic; and the mother of the poet would, late in life, when sending home an article from a shop, describe herself as Mrs. "Campbell of Kirnan," mother "of the author of the Pleasures of Hope." The Union with England had opened the American trade to Scotland. Previously to that, Scotland could only deal with the colonies of England on the footing of a foreign nation. When the trade was once opened, the industry and intelligence of the Glasgow merchants gave them almost a monopoly of the business. The war with America drove trade into other channels; and among the houses ruined by the change was that of which the poet's father was the senior partner. The savings of forty years of industry, amounting to about twenty thousand pounds, were swept away in an hour. The old man was sixty-five, too old to commence a new score with the world. His eldest child was a daughter of nineteen. The poet, if we read dates aright, was not born for two years after his father's business had been broken up.

It would appear that the debts of the firm were paid, and that a small surplus remained. In addition to this, Mr. Campbell received a small annual sum from the Merchants' Society, and from a provident institution, of which he had long been a member. This was no doubt a very different amount of income from what he had enjoyed. His wife was a sensible woman, who instantly acted on the changed state of circumstances—lived with the most severe economy, and did what she could to educate her family. The floating traditions which Dr. Beattie has collected, describe her as "of slight but shapely figure, with piercing black eyes, dark hair, and well chiselled features,"—"a shrewd observer of character—warm-hearted, strongly attached to her friends, and always ready to sympathize in their misfortunes. She was often the author of substantial but unostentatious charity." One gentleman recollects being taken to see her in his boyhood when she was very old. She bought a cane for him, and amused him by her good nature in walking up and down the room, twirling it, to shew him how the young gentlemen in Edinburgh managed their canes. She had a natural taste for music; and in her old age she would to the last sing snatches of old songs—"My poor dog Tray," and "The Blind Boy," were her favourites. It was to the former air that Campbell wrote "The Harper." "It is," says Dr. Beattie, "one of the few I heard him sing in the evening of life, when for an instant the morning sun seemed again to rest on it; and it was probably the first that soothed the infant poet in his cradle, long before he attempted to lisp in rhyme."

Alexander Campbell, the poet's father, lived in social intimacy with several of the University professors. Adam Smith was his friend, and Reid baptized the poet—hence his name Thomas. When Reid sent a copy of his “Inquiry into the Human Mind” to Alexander Campbell, and heard from him the pleasure with which he read it, he said there are two men in Glasgow who understand my work—Campbell and myself.

The elder Campbell is said to have been liberal in politics. We shall not seek to determine the precise meaning in which the word is used. He was religious. The traditions of his family told of chiefs of the clan that had suffered martyrdom for the doctrines of the Church of Scotland, and his pride as well as his better feelings were interested in the cause. Family worship was then almost the universal habit of Scottish families—and the fervour of the old man's extempore prayers was such that the very expressions which he used never passed away from the minds of his children. The poet, a short time before his death, said that he “had never heard language—the English liturgy excepted—more sublime than that in which his devotional feelings at such moments found utterance.”

Poetry was not among the old merchant's studies, but he loved music, and could sing a good naval song—he loved better a metaphysical wrangle or a theological dispute—and when the young poet was caught verse-making, the father was perhaps happiest, for then most did the spirit of contradiction awake, and then only was he quite sure of being right. Whatever he might think of Reid's principle of Common Sense, he could not but feel that there was something to be said for Berkeley and Locke, and in his most vehement theological discussions he would sometimes feel that the subject had slipped through his fingers, and that while the sense of positiveness remained, the very topic of the disputation had altogether vanished from his memory. Not so when young Tom's scribbled manuscript was before him. There it was—nonsense—absolute nonsense. The poor boy had to retire crest-fallen and ashamed—the father did not perhaps know that all early poetry is imitative—he thought little (and who could think much?) of the poetry of the day, the cadences of which were echoed in every line of the boy's verses—

“His soul's proud instinct sought not to enjoy  
Romantic fictions, like a minstrel boy;  
Truth, standing on her solid square, from youth  
He worshipped—stern uncompromising truth.”

The old man lived, however, to be gratified by the reception of “The Pleasures of Hope.” Had Mr. Campbell been able to get rid of the anxieties of property, when he was compelled to

retire from business, he would have been comparatively a happy man ; but the restless ghost of his former prosperity haunted him for the rest of life in a series of never ending lawsuits. A correspondent of Dr. Beattie's tells us, that in the year 1790 he passed an evening at Mr. Campbell's.

“ The old gentleman, who had been a great foreign merchant, was seated in his arm-chair, and dressed in a suit of the same snuff-brown cloth, all from the same web. There were present besides Thomas, his brother Daniel, and two sisters, Elizabeth and Isabella. The father then at the age of eighty, spoke only once to us. It was when one of his sons, Thomas I think, who was then about thirteen, and of my own age, was speaking of getting new clothes, and descanting in grave earnest as to the most fashionable colours. Tom was partial to green, I preferred blue. ‘ Lads,’ said the senior, in a voice that fixed our attention, ‘ if you wish to have a lasting suit, get one like mine.’ We thought he meant one of a snuff-brown colour ; but he added, ‘ I have a *suit* in the Court of Chancery, which has lasted thirty years ; and I think it will never wear out.’ ”

Situations were found for the elder sons in the colonies. They ended in forming respectable mercantile establishments in Virginia and Demerara. The daughters engaged in the education of children—two as governesses in families—the third in the management of a school. Daniel was placed in a Glasgow manufactory, where weaving and cotton-spinning were conducted on a large scale. He was a politician, and the days in which he lived were less prosperous times for a radical reformer than our own. He found Scotland too hot for him, and went to Rouen, where the poet found him conducting a large manufactory. He ceased to correspond with his family, and became a naturalized Frenchman. It is not impossible that he may be still living. Of this large family, one died in early life ; he was drowned while bathing in the Clyde, when he was but thirteen years old, and his brother Thomas six. He is alluded to in an affecting passage towards the close of “ The Pleasures of Hope ”—

“ Weep not—at Nature's transient pain,  
Congenial spirits part to meet again.

\* \* \* \*

Inspiring thought of rapture yet to be,  
The tears of love were hopeless but for thee.  
If in that frame no deathless spirit dwell,  
If that faint murmur be the last farewell,  
If Fate unite the faithful but to part,  
Why is their memory sacred to the heart ?  
Why does the brother of my childhood seem  
Restored awhile in every pleasing dream ?

Why do I joy the lonely spot to view  
By artless friendship bless'd, when life was new?"

The elder part of the family had been dispersed during the early infancy of the poet, or before his birth. The father's temper was indulgent to everything but poetry, and his affections were centred on the child of his old age. The mother's temper was severe, and her notions of a parent's rights were almost as high as a Stuart's fancies of the royal prerogative, yet it was observed that her natural asperity relaxed in the management of her youngest son. Mary, the eldest sister, had already left her father's house; Isabella still remained to assist her mother in domestic details, and with her the playful child was a delightful plaything. The poet has in his letters called Isabella his poetical sister, and from her or from his mother his ear had become familiar with the ballad poetry of Scotland long before he could understand its meaning.

At eight years old he was sent to the school of Mr. Alison: his triumphs are solemnly recorded—he was always at the head of his class; his father assisted him in preparing his lessons—a fact commemorated by his classical biographer in language that swells into dignity suitable to the subject. "It must have been," says he, "a picture in itself of no little beauty and interest, to see the venerable Nestor stooping over the versions and directing the studies of the future Tyrtæus."

The boy was overworked, and was obliged to be sent to the country. In about six weeks his health was restored, but to the effect of running wild about the fields his biographer refers his love of the country, and much of the imagery of his poems. About this time his first verses were written. Of these and of his school exercises, Dr. Beattie gives us far too many. Translations of Anacreon, and thefts of strawberries distinguish his twelfth year. In the thirteenth, young Tyrtæus learned to throw stones, and gave—in plain prose—what turned out to be a very poetical or very fabulous account of the battle. The inspired boy was not unlikely to be spoiled by the young Glasgow blackguards, who with every care on the part of his parents could not but be his companions for a considerable part of the day.

Of brother Daniel our readers are probably prepared not to think very well—he was four years older than Thomas, and was now sixteen or seventeen. An old lady—a relative of their mother's—lived about two miles from Glasgow, and one of the boys was each day sent to know how she was. It was Thomas's turn, and the message to the old lady's interfered with the young urchin's gathering blackberries. "Why go there at all," said Daniel; "can't you do as I do—say she is better, or worse, and don't



take the trouble of going to inquire." For weeks and for months the young scoundrels went on with fictitious bulletins, and finding that unfavourable reports were likely to make more frequent messages sent, they adopted a form that "Mrs. Simpson had a better night and was going on nicely." They at last announced her perfect recovery, and were starting on some expedition of their own when a letter arrived "as broad and as long as a brick, with cross-bones and a grinning death's head on its seal," inviting the old gentleman to attend Mrs. Simpson's funeral.

"Mr. and Mrs. Campbell looked at the letter, then at their two hopeful sons, and then at one another. But such were their grief and astonishment that neither of them could utter a word. 'At last,' says the poet, 'my mother's grief for her cousin vented itself in cuffing our ears. But I was far less pained by her blows than by a few words from my father. He never raised a hand to us; and I would advise all fathers, who would have their children to love their memory, to follow his example.'"

In spite of this unpromising scene, Campbell's school-days gave promise of good. Alison, his schoolmaster, thought well of him. Mr. Stevenson, a surviving school-fellow of his, remembers him as taking care that fair play should be shewn to him, who was an English boy, and probably the only one in the school. He past from school to college with favourable auguries. He was in his thirteenth year when he entered College, and even from this early period his support was in part earned by his teaching younger boys. At this period he printed a ballad, called *Morven and Fillan*, in imitation of a passage in *Osian*, and which contains some lines that bear a resemblance to his after poem of *Lord Ullin's daughter*.

"Loud shrieked afar the angry sprite  
That rode upon the storm of night,  
And loud the waves were heard to roar  
That lashed on Morven's rocky shore."

*Morven and Fillan.*

"By this the storm grew loud apace;  
The water-wraith was shrieking."

*Lord Ullin's Daughter.*

Campbell and his young friends formed debating societies, and the poet seems to have been distinguished for fluency of speech. A number of Campbell's exercises are printed by Dr. Beattie, for no better reason than that "they may revive the faded images of college life" in the minds of Campbell's few surviving college friends. Lines on the death of "Marie Antoinette" are given. They are perhaps worth preserving, as

they show how early the poet's ear was tuned to something of the notes in which his *Hohenlinden* was afterwards written.

The third session of Campbell's college life was distinguished by his continuing to take the lead in debating societies, and in his obtaining prizes for composition. He wrote a number of pasquinades on his brother students. They were written without any other feeling than that of amusing himself and others, but they were not disregarded by those who were their objects. Dr. Beattie tells that in some cases the resentment generated by satires written at this time, and utterly forgotten by Campbell in the hour in which they were thrown off as mere sportive effusions, has absolutely survived the poet himself.

Some of Campbell's jokes were for the purpose of getting a place near the stove when attending the logic class on a winter morning. He would scratch some nonsense on the walls—a libel, perhaps, on the tall Irish students that crowded round the fire. While they rushed to read such rhymes as

“ *Vos Hiberni collocatis*  
*Summum Bonum in potatoes,*”

he managed to get to the stove.

Campbell was at this time an ardent politician. The French Revolution had everywhere evoked the contending spirits of Aristocracy and Democracy.

“Being,” says Campbell, “in my own opinion a competent judge of politics, I became a democrat. I read Burke on the French Revolution, of course; but unable to follow his subtleties or to appreciate his merits, I took the word of my brother democrats, that he was a sophist. It was in those years that the Scottish reformers, Muir, Gerald, and others, were transported to Botany Bay—Muir, though he had never uttered a sentence in favour of reform stronger than William Pitt himself had uttered, and Gerald for acts which, in the opinion of sound English lawyers, fell short of sedition. I did not even then approve of Gerald's mode of agitating the reform question in Scotland by means of a Scottish convention; but I had heard a magnificent account of his talents and accomplishments, and I longed insufferably to see him; but the question was how to get to Edinburgh.

“While thus gravely considering the ways and means, it immediately occurred to me that I had an uncle's widow in Edinburgh—a kind, elderly lady, who had seen me at Glasgow, and said that she would be glad to receive me at her house if I should ever come to the Scottish metropolis. I watched my mother's *mollia tempora fandi*—for she had them, good woman—and eagerly catching the propitious moment, I said—‘O mamma, how I long to see Edinburgh. If I had but three shillings, I could walk there in one day, sleep two nights, and be two days at my aunt Campbell's, and walk back in another

day.\* To my delightful surprise she answered—‘No, my bairn; I will give you what will carry you to Edinburgh and bring you back, but you must promise me not to walk more than half the way in any one day.’ That was twenty-two miles. ‘Here,’ said she, ‘are five shillings for you in all: two will serve you to go, and two to return; for a bed at the half-way house costs but sixpence.’ She then gave me—I never shall forget the beautiful coin—a King William and Mary crown-piece. I was dumb with gratitude; but sallying out to the streets, I saw at the first bookseller’s shop a print of Elijah fed by ravens. Now, I had often heard my poor mother saying that in case of my father’s death—and he was a very old man—she knew not what would become of her. ‘But,’ she used to add, ‘let me not despair, for Elijah was fed by ravens.’ When I presented her with the picture, I said nothing of its tacit allusion to the possibility of my being one day her supporter; but she was much affected, and evidently felt a strong presentiment.

“Next morning I took my way to Edinburgh, with four shillings and sixpence in my pocket. I witnessed Joseph Gerald’s trial, and it was an era in my life. Hitherto I had never known what public eloquence was; and I am sure the Justiciary Scotch Lords did not help to a conception of it, speaking as they did bad arguments in broad Scotch. But the Lord Advocate’s speech was good; the speeches of Laing and Gillies were better; and Gerald’s speech annihilated the remembrance of all the eloquence that had ever been heard within the walls of that house. He quieted the judges, in spite of their indecent interruptions of him, and produced a silence in which you might have heard a pin fall to the ground. At the close of his defence, he said—‘And now, gentlemen of the jury—now that I have to take leave of you for ever, let me remind you that mercy is no small part of the duty of jurymen; that the man who shuts his heart on the claims of the unfortunate, on him the gates of mercy will be shut, and for him the Saviour of the world shall have died in vain.’ At this finish I was moved, and, turning to a stranger who sat beside me, apparently a tradesman, I said to him, ‘By heavens, sir, that is a great man!’ ‘Yes, sir,’ he answered, ‘he is not only a great man himself, but he makes every other man feel great who listens to him.’”

Political passion is contagious; and Campbell returned from Edinburgh an altered man—if the expression may be used in speaking of a boy of sixteen. “His characteristic sprightliness had evaporated.” He did not neglect the studies of his class, but his heart was elsewhere; and his attention was divided between the “Clouds” of Aristophanes, of which he meditated a translation, and the democratic journals of the day. The case of Muir and Gerald was one singularly fitted as a topic for

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\* A distance of forty-two miles—“long Scotch miles.”

debating clubs, for the men were transported, under the laws of Scotland, for an offence which, at that time, was in England punishable only by fine and imprisonment. Campbell vehemently denounced the conduct of the State trials in his debating clubs, and in private society exhibited the manner of one "who suffered some personal wrong which he could neither forgive nor effectually resent." His change of manner was so sudden—the violence of his indignation was such—his declamation against modern society and all its institutions was so unceasing—that there seems to have been among his friends an impression of his actually having become insane; and it was not till the demon of poetry entirely possessed him that they felt wholly free from this fear. His translation of scenes from the "Clouds" of Aristophanes was rewarded with a prize, and with the more gratifying acknowledgment from Professor Young of his version being the very best of any that had ever been given in by any student at the University. An essay on the Origin of Evil, which obtained a prize at the same time, is a skilful imitation of Pope's manner. In the course of the next session he translated some Choruses from the *Medea* of Euripides and the *Chœphori* of Æschylus. Dr. Beattie boldly says that the passages from Euripides "hardly lost anything of their original beauty by his translation." They gave more pleasure to the Professors at Glasgow than they have given to us: and Campbell, compelled to look round him for bread, found recommendations for the office of private tutor to a family of his own name residing in the remote Hebrides.

The poet's solemnity seems to have relaxed about this time. He thought less of politics, and was up to a piece of fun. A respectable apothecary, named Fife, had over his door in the Trongate, printed in large letters, "Ears Pierced by A FIFE," meaning the operation to which young ladies submit for the sake of wearing ear-rings. Fife's next door neighbour was a spirit-dealer of the name of DRUM. Campbell and his brother Daniel, assisted by a third party, who we believe is still living, got a long thin deal-board, and painted on it, in capitals—

#### THE SPIRIT-STIRRING DRUM—THE EAR-PIERCING FIFE.

This they nailed one night over the contiguous doors, to the great annoyance of Drum and Fife, and to the great amusement of every one else in Glasgow. In a few days afterwards Campbell set off for Mull.

From the first Campbell was thrown on his own resources for support. At thirteen or fourteen years of age, his means of paying his class-fees depended on his obtaining employment as a teacher of younger children; for surely, at that age, it is scarce

fit to call him by any other name. The genial life of childhood or boyhood never was his in the sense in which it is that of almost every person in the rank of life in which Campbell early took his natural and rightful position. We think that this forced and premature exertion of his faculties dwarfed his intellectual powers—that the perpetual excitement in which he was kept by his debating societies, and his competition for college prizes, could not but be injurious—and that it was above all things fortunate when he was separated from Glasgow, and forced into the solitudes of the Hebrides. His prize-verses had been the subject of such admiration that he ran the chance of being spoiled for ever; and nothing less than a separation from Glasgow and its coteries could have saved him. On the 18th of May 1795, he started from Glasgow, in company with a class-fellow, Joseph Finlayson, and took the road to Inverary. Wordsworth, in a note to the *Excursion*, vindicating his choice of a pedlar as the hero of his poem, quotes a passage from Heron's *Letters from Scotland*, in which he says—"A young man going from any part of Scotland to England, of purpose *to carry the pack*, was considered as going to lead the life and acquire the fortune of a gentleman." Poor Campbell, carrying his store of learning to the Hebrides, did not feel the same elevation of spirit, when he thought of the value likely to be set on the articles in which he dealt. "I was fain," he says, "from my father's reduced circumstances, to accept, for six months, of a tutorship in a Highland family at the farthest end of the Isle of Mull. To this, it is true, my poverty rather than my will consented. I was so little proud of it, that in passing through Greenock, I purposely omitted to call on my mother's cousin, Mr. Robert Sinclair, at that time a wealthy merchant, and first magistrate of the town, with a family of nine daughters, one of whom I married some nine years afterwards." He would not tell his pretty cousins he was going out in that capacity. He tells of an evening past in the open air for the sake of economy. When he and Finlayson were repairing dinnerless to their beds, they saved the life of a boy who was drowning, and then thought they earned a fair right to their dinner. The poet tells of beef-steaks vanishing before them "like smoke;"—then came tankards of ale—and then a night past in singing and reciting poetry.

"Life," says Campbell, speaking of this scene, "is happier in the transition than in the retrospect, but still I am bound to regard this part of my recollections of life as very agreeable. I was, it is true, very poor, but I was as gay as a lark and hardly as the Highland heather." We wish we had room for Campbell's account of this journey. "The wide world contained not two merrier boys. We sang and recited poetry throughout the

long wild Highland glens." They believed in Ossian, and Ossian had given an interest to the Gaelic people in their eyes. The Highland inns gave them herrings, potatoes, and whisky, and nothing else. Their walk seems to have been in glorious weather. Full forty years afterwards, when Campbell wrote of it, he tells of his unmeasured delight at the roaring streams and torrents—the yellow primroses and the cuckoos—the heathy mountains, with the sound of the goats' bleating at their tops. "I felt a soul in every muscle of my body, and my mind was satisfied that I was going to earn my bread by my own labour."

They met a boy, in a postman's dress, quietly playing marbles on the road-side. "You little rascal," we said to him, "are you the post-boy and thus playing away your time?" "Na, sir," answered Red-jacket, "I'm no the post; I'm only an express!" At Inverary he and Finlayson parted company, and Campbell walked alone to Oban, under drenching rain. From Oban he crossed over to Mull.

"In the course of a long summer's day I traversed the whole length of the island—which must be nearly thirty miles—with not a foot-path to direct me. At times I lost all traces of my way, and had no guide but the sun going westward. About twilight, however, I reached the Point Calloch,\* the house of my hostess, Mrs. Campbell, of Sunipol—a worthy sensible widow lady, who treated me with great kindness. I am sure I made a conscience of my duty towards my pupils. I never beat them—remembering how much I loved my father for having never beaten me.

"At first I felt melancholy in this situation, missing my college chums, and wrote a poem on my exile as doleful as any thing in Ovid's *Tristia*. But I soon got reconciled to it. The Point of Calloch commands a magnificent prospect of thirteen Hebrid islands, among which are Staffa and Icolmkill, which I visited with enthusiasm. I had also, now and then, a sight of wild deer, sweeping across that wilder country, and of eagles perching on its shore. These objects fed the romance of my fancy, and I may say that I was attached to Sunipol before I took leave of it. Nevertheless, God wot, I was better pleased to look on the kirk steeples and whinstone causeways of Glasgow than on all the eagles and wild deer of the Highlands."

The solitude in which Campbell now lived was strangely contrasted with the busy scenes which he had left; and it must have been of great use to him to have time for actual communing with

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\* "The Point Calloch" is on the northern shore of Mull, where the house of Sunipol may be easily seen by any one sailing from Tobermory to Staffa. It stands quite upon the shore, and occupies the centre of a bay immediately before you turn that point of Mull where you first get a view of the wondrous island which contains the cave of Fingal.



his own mind. In spite of its eminent men there was in the whole of the Glasgow literature something of a mercantile—not to say peddling—character. It was disputative in its progress, and all progress stopped at an early stage. The exchangeable value of learning was chiefly thought of, and the great object in life was the dictatorial position of the professor's chair. By the system early proficiency and considerable accuracy of information, up to a certain not very high point, were attained; and Campbell was as near being ruined by the admiration of a little provincial circle as ever great man was, when his poverty fortunately interposed to rescue him.

It was the wisdom and the will of heaven  
That in a lonely tent had cast  
The lot of Thalaba;  
There might his soul develop best  
Its strengthening energies;  
There might he from the world  
Keep his heart pure and uncontaminate,  
Till at the written hour he should be found  
Fit servant of the Lord, without a spot.

We have no doubt that solitude is the true nursery for a great poet; and we think that the narrative of Campbell's life—both in his success and his failures—is calculated remarkably to illustrate this. In the lonely residence, where he educated a few children, there was time for thought; nay, self-reflection was strangely forced on him, for the box containing his books did not arrive for some time, and till it arrived he was even without paper. A letter of his, dated June 1795, tells a friend of his that “there is no paper in Mull.” To have passed some time in thinking instead of writing, would have been no bad discipline for a young prize-poet. Campbell would write, however, as much as he could, and he scribbled as much as he could on a white-washed wall. By the time pen, ink, and paper arrived, the wall appeared like a broad-sheet of manuscript.

Of Campbell's verses before he left Glasgow, the only ones at all worthy of preservation are a hymn, most of which was afterwards worked into the *Pleasures of Hope*. While in Mull he employed himself in adding to his translations from Æschylus and Aristophanes, probably thinking that a character for scholarship was more likely to lead to some provision by which he might support life, than any exertion in the way of original poetry. Dr. Beattie, however, gives us some lines descriptive of the scenery of Mull, which when shown to Dr. Anderson two years afterwards, led him to predict Campbell's future success as a poet. The lines are well worth preserving:—

## ELEGY WRITTEN IN MULL.

The tempest blackens on the dusky moor,  
 And billows lash the long-resounding shore ;  
 In pensive mood I roam the desert ground,  
 And vainly sigh for scenes no longer found.

O whither fled the pleasurable hours  
 That chased each care, and fired the muse's powers ;  
 The classic haunts of youth for ever gay,  
 Where mirth and friendship cheer'd the close of day ;  
 The well-known valleys, where I wont to roam,  
 The native sports, the nameless joys of home ?

Far different scenes allure my wondering eye ;  
 The white wave foaming to the distant sky—  
 The cloudy heavens, unblest by summer's smile—  
 The sounding storm, that sweeps the rugged isle—  
 The chill, bleak summit of eternal snow—  
 The wide, wild glen—the pathless plains below—  
 The dark blue rocks, in barren grandeur piled—  
 The cuckoo sighing to the pensive wild !

Far different these from all that charmed before  
 The grassy banks of Clutha's winding shore ;  
 Her sloping vales, with waving forests lined,  
 Her smooth blue lakes, unruffled by the wind ;—  
 Hail ! happy Clutha ! glad shall I survey  
 Thy gilded turrets from the distant way ;  
 Thy sight shall cheer the weary traveller's toil,  
 And joy shall hail me to my native soil.

*June 1795.*

In a letter of June 1795, one of his correspondents says to him —“ We have now three ‘ Pleasures ’ by first-rate men of genius, viz., ‘ Imagination,’ ‘ Memory,’ ‘ Solitude.’ Let us cherish the ‘ Pleasures of Hope,’ that we may soon meet in ‘ Alma Mater.’ ” This is the first time that “ The Pleasures of Hope ” is mentioned. “ The Pleasures of Solitude,” commemorated in the same sentence, are a few lines enclosed to Campbell, and written by his correspondent. That correspondent was the Rev. Hamilton Paul, afterwards and still minister at Broughton in Peebles-shire, specimens of whose poetry will be found in an interesting volume, entitled “ The Contemporaries of Burns and the more recent Poets of Ayrshire.” \*

Through all Campbell's poetry we find the traces of this residence in the Hebrides. The effect is well described and illustrated by Dr. Beattie, whose own account of Highland scenery

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\* Edinburgh, 1840.

is quite admirable. But for this we can only refer to the book, as within the space to which we must limit our paper, it is quite impossible to give any lengthened quotation. Campbell himself describes Iona and Staffa in one or two letters, but there is nothing peculiar in his account—and we think Dr. Beattie might have not unwisely omitted or greatly abridged these letters. Of the superstitions of the people an amusing instance is given, of which the poet was himself the hero and the historian:—

“A mile or two from the house where I lived, was a burial-ground on the lonely moor. It was enclosed with an iron railing, so high as to be thought unscaleable. I contrived, by help of my handkerchief, to scale the railing, and was soon scampering over the tombs. Some of the natives chanced to see me skipping over the burial-ground. In a day or two after this adventure, I observed the family looking on me with an expression of not angry but mournful seriousness. It was to me unaccountable; but at last the old grandmother told me, with tears in her eyes, that I could not live long, for that my *wraith*, or apparition, had been seen. ‘And where, pray?’ ‘Oh, leaping over the old burial-ground!’ The good old lady was much relieved by hearing that it was not my *wraith* but myself.”

Dr. Beattie had inquiries made at Mull as to any recollections of the poet that might linger there. Nothing was remembered but that he was “a pretty young man.” Some local tradition also exists there, that the heroine of his poem, Caroline, was some fair Caroline of that district, and to this opinion his biographer inclines, though he tells us of another Caroline that claims the same distinction. Goethe got into a serious scrape, by transcribing the same love verses into the album of more than one young lady; but we have no evidence that Campbell gave either lady any reason to think that she was the source of his inspiration. We suspect that the Carolines and the Marias of the poets have no earthly representatives—that the golden locks which the poet describes are not in general to be regarded as proving his admiration of red-haired beauties, but rather as his form of escaping from the plain realities of earth—that when we find the place of his residence is in a prose letter described as “only fit for the residence of the damned,” and verses of the same date, such as follow:—

Oh, gentle gale of Eden bowers,  
If back thy rosy feet should roam  
To revel with the cloudless hours  
In Nature's more propitious home,  
Name to thy loved Elysian groves,  
That o'er enchanted spirits twine,  
A fairer form than Cherub loves,  
And let that name be Caroline.

The lady, in such verses, seems to us as unreal as the landscape; and we regret to say, that the poem called *Caroline*, though for a considerable time not printed in any of the poet's own editions of his works, has been introduced into the last. It is, we think, wholly unworthy of the poet's reputation.

In the winter of 1796 he returned to Glasgow, to continue attending his classes, and to support himself by private tuition. Among his pupils in this and a former session was one who is described in Campbell's journals, "as a youth named Cuninghame, now Lord Cuninghame in the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh. Grave as he now is, he was, when I taught him 'Xenophon and Lucian,' a fine laughing, open-hearted boy, and so near my own age, that we were rather like play-fellows than preceptor and pupil. Sometimes, indeed, I used to belabour him—jocosely alleging my sacred duty as a tutor—but I seldom succeeded in suppressing his risibility."

Lord Cuninghame's recollections of the period are distinct. "He left on my mind, young as I was, a high impression not only of his talents as a classical scholar, but of the elevation and purity of his sentiments." He tells us, that in reading Cicero and Demosthenes, he was fond of contrasting their speeches with those of modern orators. He used to repeat Chatham's most impassioned passages in favour of American freedom, Burke's declamation against Warren Hastings, and Wilberforce's description of the "Middle Passage." In the domestic circle, consisting of Campbell's parents, sisters, and some lodgers, the elder portion of the society were deep haters of democracy and all innovation; Tom Campbell and his brother Daniel were earnest democrats.

When this session closed, Campbell again went to the Highlands as tutor; Hamilton Paul was similarly occupied in the same neighbourhood, and the friends often met. "In the course of the autumn," says Dr. Beattie, "Campbell and his friend Paul, indulged in frequent rambles along the shore of Loch Fyne. They then would climb some rocky precipice to enjoy the landscape at ease, and afterwards enjoy a frugal dinner at the Inverary Arms." We have Paul's account of their last day of this kind. They dined, by appointment, at the Inverary Arms, with two college friends. All met punctually at the inn-door. All were joyous; "but never did schoolboy enjoy an unexpected holiday more than Campbell. He danced, sang, and capered, half frantic with joy. Our friends had to return to the low country, and we accompanied them across Loch Fyne to St. Katharine's, where we parted; they taking their way to Lochgilphead, while Campbell and I promenaded the shore of the loch to Strachur. The evening sun was just setting behind the Gram-

pians. The wood-fringed shores of the lake—the sylvan scenes around the castle of Inverary—the sun-lit summits of the mountains in the distance—all were inspiring. Thomas was in ecstasy. He recited poetry of his own composition—some of which has never been printed—and then addressed me—‘Paul, you and I must go in search of adventures,—you will be Roderick Random, and I will go through the world with you as Strap.’” At Strachur they parted, not without visiting the inn there, and taking a bowl of punch with the landlord. “We parted with much regret. We never saw each other again, until we met at the great public dinner given to him as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.”

Campbell’s letters, from what he calls “The solitary nook,” in which he lived, are dreary enough. They have also the misfortune of being the letters of a man whose time hangs heavy on his hands, and who is always complaining that friends who have demands on their time are not as active correspondents as he could wish. His cause of complaint with the world seems his own inaction. “The present moments,” he says, “are of little importance to me. I must expect all my pleasure and pain from the remembrance of the past, and the anticipation of the future.

\* \* \* I have neat pocket copies of Virgil and Horace, affluence of English poets, a rod and flute, and a choice collection of Scotch and Irish airs.” It would appear that he read diligently for a while, with some hope of making his way to the bar, and afterwards, when want of funds rendered this out of the question, with some view of becoming an attorney, or earning his bread in an attorney’s office.

The young poet was in love; and he tells of the enchantment of his evening walks, accompanied by one who “for a twelve-month past has won my purest but most ardent affection :

“Dear precious name—rest ever unrevealed,  
Nor pass these lips, in holy silence sealed.”

He speaks of sending his friend some lately written morsels of poetry. In fact, “The Pleasures of Hope,” playfully alluded to by Hamilton Paul in a letter of the year before, was now seriously commenced.

The Reverend Mr. Wright, Campbell’s successor at Downie, has supplied Dr. Beattie with some account of the scenery of this part of the Western Highlands, and of the poet’s habits. Everything recorded proves what we have before suggested, that all the elements of Campbell’s poetical life were at this time formed, indeed almost all the subjects which afterwards appeared in succession, and after a late manifestation, were here first presented to his kindling fancy. In the *Pilgrim of Glencoe*, his

last poem of any length, the very house in which he lived is described.

The "*Jacobite white rose*" festooned their door, and the inmates

" All had that peculiar courtly grace,  
That marks the meanest of the Highland race ;  
Warm hearts, that burn alike in weal or wo,  
As if the north-wind fanned their bosom's glow."

From a hill above the farm-house, which was his residence at Downie, and which was the poet's constant place of resort, " the eye looks down towards the beach where considerable masses of rock bar all access to the coast ; while the vast expanse of the Sound of Jura, with all its varying aspects of tempest and of calm, stretches directly in front of the spectator. The island of Jura forms the boundary of the opposite coast. Far southwards the sea opens in broader expanse towards the northern shores of Ireland, which, in certain states of the atmosphere, may be faintly descried. Northward, at a much shorter distance, is the whirlpool of Corrievreckan, whose mysterious noises may be heard occasionally along the coast." The pictures in *Gertrude* of the scenery, calculated to affect the Highland emigrant's imagination, were no doubt suggested by what the poet was fond of beholding at this period of his life.

" But who is he that yet a dearer land  
Remembers over hills and far away ?  
Green Albin, what though he no more survey  
Thy ships at anchor on her quiet shore,  
Thy pellochs rolling from the mountain bay,  
Thy lone sepulchral cairn upon the moor,  
And distant isles that hear the loud Corbrechtan roar ?  
Alas ! poor Caledonia's mountaineer  
That want's stern edict e'er and feudal grief  
Had forced him from a home he loved so dear !"

It would appear that Campbell's youthful passion was the cause of his leaving Downie. He felt that the business of tuition was insufficient for more than his own support in the very humblest form, and he returned to his father's house. The aspect of things was unchanged there. Letters of mixed good and ill had arrived telling of the fortunes of the members of the family who had found a home in Virginia, and Thomas thought of going thither to share their fortunes. His love-dream interfered with this ; his health too was breaking. He had lived too much alone—he had laboured too hard at his studies—he had in spirit fought too many battles with the world, which he thought wronged him even by the fact of not knowing of his existence—he had with the pardonable pride of the poor, imagined intended insult in every word addressed to him by those whom he called aristo-



crats, and the mind itself seemed likely to be wrecked in the sort of excitement in which he lived—“eating his own heart,” doing infinite wrong in imagination to everybody and everything of which he thought, and resenting in the very depths of his nature injuries that he had never suffered. He absolutely saw nothing in its true aspect, and if fever had not supervened, and thus diverted the current of his thoughts, the case must have ended in madness. The injustice which he did the world it is probable never occurred to him. At this very time the greater part of the poem, which was to place him among the great men of England, had been already written. So far from there being any indisposition at any period to acknowledge his merits, they had from the first hour of his connexion with the University of Glasgow, been rapturously hailed both by professors and students. The only means that the University had of serving him was taken from them by his determination not to continue engaged in the education of pupils, nor to take orders in the Church. To the first he had an invincible repugnance, and though “the deep-seated impressions of religion which he had received under his father’s roof,” resumed their sway over his mind in after-life, yet he had at this period adopted opinions incompatible with his taking orders.

When he recovered from fever he went to Edinburgh, and was for a while employed as a copying clerk in an attorney’s office, and seems to have thought himself entitled to discourse on the morality of the profession. His earnings seem to have been but a few pence a day, and he left the business—not of attorney, but of mere writing-clerk—with this sounding diatribe: “Well, I have fairly tried the business of an *attorney*, and upon my conscience, it is the most accursed of all professions! such meanness—such toil—such contemptible modes of speculation—were never moulded into one profession. It is true there are many emoluments, but I declare to God that I can hardly spend, with a safe conscience, the little sum I made during my residence in Edinburgh.” He was fortunately introduced to Dr. Anderson, the editor of the *British Poets*—an exceedingly amiable man, and who, if we may judge by the numberless dedications of volumes of poems to him, was the general patron of any unfriended persons of whose talents he thought favourably. Anderson made out among the booksellers some employment for him, and he was engaged to abridge Bryan Edwards’s *West Indies*—his first dealing with the printer’s devil.

His earliest published poem, “The Wounded Hussar,” was produced at this time, and to this period Dr. Beattie refers “The Dirge of Wallace,” which we thought had been written at Altona, some two or three years later. This poem has been

reprinted in the American editions of Campbell, but was never admitted into any edition authorized by the poet. Beattie was, therefore, right in printing it. It is quite unequal to Campbell's usual style. There is a boyish accumulation of the stock imagery of "The Tales of Wonder." Ravens, nightmares, matin-bells, and midnight tapers, are scattered in waste profusion over the opening of the poem, to the consternation of the English king and the affright of Wallace's wife—nothing can well be worse than all this. What follows is better, and there are some lines worthy of Campbell.

" Yet knew not his country that ominous hour  
That the trumpet of death on an English tower  
Had the dirge of her warrior sung.

\*            \*            \*            \*

Oh ! it was not thus when his ashen spear  
Was true to that knight forlorn,  
And hosts of a thousand were scatter'd like deer,  
At the blast of the hunter's horn ;  
When he strode o'er the wreck of each well-fought field,  
With the yellow-hair'd chiefs of his native land ;  
For his lance was not shivered on helmet or shield,  
*And the sword that was fit for archangel to wield*  
*Was light in his terrible hand.*

The habits of life at this period, both in the Highlands and at Glasgow, were unfavourable to temperance. In wild districts where there were few inns, the virtue of hospitality required every gentleman to throw his house freely open, and to detain as long as possible whatever guest might arrive. At Edinburgh and Glasgow men drank till day-break; in the Highlands the sun was shut out till long after mid-day. At college the Glasgow students never met at each other's rooms without "a third companion, in the shape of a black bottle, that exercised no little influence on their discussions." Campbell admired the Celtic character, and was everywhere a welcome guest. Campbell was a diligent student and of social temperament; he lived amid strong temptations, which he is described as resisting firmly. Dr. Beattie, relating this part of his life, tells us that he lived temperately, and that he was uniformly simple and spare in his diet.

In the next year he migrated to Edinburgh, to seek such bread as it could give to a man of letters. His abridgment of Bryan Edwards was ready for the press. He had received his twenty guineas—the first-fruits of the poor trade in which he was about to embark—and he looked for another commission from the publisher. His mornings he proposed to give to attendance on College lectures, and his evenings to the book-

sellers. A letter of his, written soon after, says—"I have the prospect of employment sufficient for this winter. Beyond that period I dare not hope."

His winter's work for the booksellers was compiling extracts from books of travels for a grammar of geography, "by a society of gentlemen;" hard work, and it gave him a chest complaint, which soon disenabled him to make any further exertions in this way. The hope of joining his brothers in America was again indulged and again disappointed. He now attended pupils and taught Greek and Latin. "In this," he says, "I made a comfortable livelihood, till 'The Pleasures of Hope' came over me. I took long walks about Arthur's Seat, conning over my own (as I thought them) magnificent lines; and as my 'Pleasures of Hope' got on, my pupils fell off." At this time he had already formed the acquaintance of Jeffrey and Brown. With Lord Brougham he was also acquainted. He had relatives in Edinburgh, and his parents joined him in the course of the year.

Dr. Beattie gives an interesting account of the circumstances under which "The Pleasures of Hope" was first published. Anderson succeeded in obtaining for the copyright sixty pounds, and about two hundred copies of the poem, for which Campbell found friends to subscribe. The copyright must have been very profitable to the booksellers, but we are not sure that what was given was as inadequate a price as Campbell afterwards thought. He made some additions to the poem when it came to be reprinted, for which the publishers gave him fifty pounds on each edition of a thousand copies, and they once, at least, allowed him to print a subscription edition for his own exclusive benefit. On the whole we think they dealt liberally with him. At Dr. Anderson's Campbell became acquainted with Leyden. Leyden and he soon disagreed. They were both disputative; they were both strugglers for bread; and both were seeking distinction in the same circle, and through very much the same means. Leyden's own conduct was often such as to suggest doubts of his sanity, and he seems to have really thought Campbell insane. A story had been circulated in Edinburgh society that Campbell was about to commit suicide, when Anderson met him, diverted him from his purpose, and made arrangements for the publication of "The Pleasures of Hope." Campbell denied the truth of the story, and believed Leyden to have been the inventor of it, and hence arose between them an irreconcilable feud. Some years afterwards Sir Walter Scott, who had been first introduced to Campbell by Leyden, repeated to him the poem of "Hohenlinden." "Dash it man," said Leyden, "tell the fellow that I hate him; but, dash him, he has written the

finest verses that have been published these fifty years." "I," says Scott, "did mine errand as faithfully as one of Homer's messengers, and had for answer, 'Tell Leyden that I detest him; but I know the value of his critical approbation.' \* \* 'When Leyden comes back from India,' said Tom Campbell, 'what cannibals he will have eaten, what tigers he will have torn to pieces.'"\* That Campbell seriously meditated suicide there is no evidence—evidence abundant there is of his having exhibited such excitement of manner as to have rendered anything he might do not surprising. Mr. Somerville, landscape-painter, lived in the house where Campbell lodged; he saw some fragments of the forthcoming poem, and was astonished at seeing anything "so highly finished and dignified in tone from a youth whose demeanour was so unpretending, and whose ordinary conversation was quaint, queer, desultory, comic, occasionally querulous and sarcastic, but always the reverse of poetical." This led Somerville to watch his eccentric neighbour, and moods of "dark but very transient despondency" occasionally gave him great alarm.

"It often happened," says Somerville, "that he wandered into my room—never oftener than when he wanted 'to get away from himself.' One night, especially, he stalked in, knitting his brows, and without uttering one word, sat himself down before the fire—then, after a while, he took up the poker, and began to trace mathematical figures among the soot on the back of the chimney." In the manner of an insane man he addressed Somerville in insulting language; and, at last, the true pent-up feeling burst out. He had been working at the proofs of his poem till—whatever meaning the verses had or seemed to have—vanished away, and the whole thing appeared to him to be trash. It became torture to him to look at what he had done. "There are days," he added, "when I can't abide to walk in the sunshine, and when I would almost rather be shot than come within the sight of any man, or be spoken to by any mortal! This has been one of those days. How heartily I wished for night."

That night they supped together. We are not sure that Dr. Beattie is right in his statement that Campbell was, at this period of his life, always temperate. They sate up till after one o'clock; and at that hour there seems no probability that they separated, as Somerville says, that about that hour Campbell became wildly merry—regarded it as a settled point that his poem was to make him a great man—fixed how and where he

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\* Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.

was to live ; and his friend regarded him in all this as perfectly in earnest. “ I told him,” says Somerville, “ that he had got a cross of the Spanish hidalgo in his character. Pride and hauteur shared largely in his composition. He would fire up at the remotest indications of an intentional slight or offence.”

Never was a poem subjected to a severer ordeal than “ *The Pleasures of Hope*,” while yet in manuscript. Anderson insisted on the jealous correction of every line. The opening altogether dissatisfied him ; and the publication was delayed till some happy hour of inspiration might supply something poetical enough for Anderson’s scrupulous taste. His own character for discrimination was risked, as he had everywhere praised the poem ; and Campbell was actually thrown into a fever by the perpetual efforts at correction imposed on him. At last the opening of the poem, as it at present stands, was hit upon. The original manuscript of the poem is now in the possession of Mr. Patrick Maxwell of Edinburgh. We trust that in future editions of “ *The Pleasures of Hope*” such variations as the manuscript presents may be communicated to the public.

The poem was instantly successful, and it deserved its instant and great success. Its finished versification, in all probability, aided its immediate impression on the public mind more than it would, had it been published a few years after, when Scott had familiarized the lovers of poetry to the looser ballad rhymes in which his verse-romances were written. There was something in “ *The Pleasures of Hope*” to delight every one : the leading topics of the day were seized on—the Slave Trade—the French Revolution—the Partition of Poland—a number of unconnected pictures were united by a bond which the imagination recognised, and which the judgment did not repudiate ; for, distinct as the objects of Hope are, Hope itself is sufficiently one to give a kind of unity to the subject—a unity greater than was felt sufficient for poetical purposes in the case of Akenside’s and Rogers’ poems. Campbell is said, late in life, to have shed tears when reading the poetry of Goldsmith ; and in some of his earliest verses he gives him praise of a kind that shows with what delight he had read the *Traveller* and the *Deserted Village*. A stronger proof of this is his unconscious imitation of Goldsmith’s forms of expression—his easy idiomatic style in the description of the familiar scenes of domestic life—and the very cadence of his verses. No young writer’s style can be altogether his own ; but through Campbell’s style, while it is often an echo of Goldsmith’s, and yet oftener of Darwin’s, there is a distinguishing tone—in some respects superior to that of either. In Darwin everything peculiar is glaring picture or mere sound : where he is best he is most unlike himself. Campbell, when he

most reminds us of Darwin, is yet sure to relieve us from the intolerable glare by some appeal to the heart and mind. There is in Darwin a strange confusion, as if sounds were addressed to the eye and colours to the ear, and in all this dealing with the human mind, as influenced through the senses alone, he does not succeed in either producing music or picture. In Goldsmith we sometimes find repose, and almost languor, where you look for elevation. Campbell, though he can scarcely be said to have the exquisite graces of Goldsmith, even in his happiest passages, rarely allows the spirit of his reader to flag. Open anywhere "The Pleasures of Hope." One of Turner's beautiful engravings, in Moxon's edition of 1843, directs our eye to a passage near the beginning of the poem. The watchman on the moon-lit sea is thinking of his home:—

"His native hills, that rise in happier climes—  
The grot, that heard his song of other times—  
His cottage-home, his bark of slender sail—  
His glassy lake and broomwood-blossomed vale," &c.

These lines surely were the effect of Goldsmith's lines still echoing on the young poet's dreaming ear:—

"The slow canal, the yellow-blossomed vale,  
The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail," &c.

We transcribe a few lines, without saying whether they are from Darwin or from Campbell. Those who have but a general recollection of both poems will, we think, find some difficulty in saying from which poem they are:—

"Roll on, ye stars! exult in youthful prime;  
Mark with bright curves the printless steps of Time;  
Near and more near your beamy cars approach,  
And lessening orbs on lessening orbs encroach.  
Flowers of the sky, ye too to age must yield,  
Frail as your silken sisters of the field!  
Star after star from heaven's high arch shall rush;  
Suns sink on suns, and systems systems crush,  
Headlong, extinct, in one dark centre fall,  
And death and night and chaos mingle all!  
Till o'er the wreck, emerging from the storm,  
Immortal nature lifts her changeful form—  
Mounts from her funeral pyre on wings of flame,  
And soars and shines another and the same."

The poem immediately introduced Campbell into whatever of literary society there was at Edinburgh. Burns was but three years dead; and the men who hailed the advent of Burns were still living, and disposed to welcome with honour the young



poet. Each day increased the popularity of his poem—each day increased the circle of his acquaintances. The Edinburgh booksellers gave him so many new commissions, that there was considerable danger of his becoming little better than a provincial literary hack. The Edinburgh *savans* and their wives asked him to so many dinners and soirées, that he describes himself as fagged to death, and as unable to fulfil his engagements with the booksellers. He appears to have at once given up, and for ever, all notions of studying medicine, which, when he came to Edinburgh, was among his purposes, to make his way to London. As his object was to obtain the means of livelihood among the booksellers, and as the profits of “*The Pleasures of Hope*” gave him the opportunity, he determined to ramble for a while through Germany, there to learn something of its language and literature before visiting London. In June 1800, he went to Newhaven, and then to Leith, from which he and his brother passed over to Hamburgh. He was introduced to Klopstock, whom he describes as “a mild, civil, old man.” “Our only intercourse was in Latin.” He gave Klopstock a copy of the third edition of “*The Pleasures of Hope*,” and Klopstock made his visit to Germany pleasant by giving him letters of introduction to his friends in other parts of Germany. He proceeded to Ratisbon; a letter to Anderson describes the scenery. We must make room for a sentence.

“The journey to Ratisbon was tedious but not unpleasant. The general constituents of German scenery are corn-fields, many leagues in extent, and dark tracts of forests, equally extensive. Of this the eye soon becomes tired; but in a few favoured spots there is such an union of wildness, variety, richness, and beauty, as cannot be looked upon without lively emotions of pleasure and surprise. We entered the valley of Heitsch, on the frontier of Bavaria, late in the evening, after the sun had set behind the hills of Saxony. A winding road through a long woody plain leads to this retreat. It was some hours before we got across it, frequently losing our way in the innumerable heaths that intersect each other. At last the shades of the forest grew deeper and darker, till a sudden and steep descent seemed to carry us into another world. It was a total eclipse; but, like the valley of the shadow of death, it was the path to paradise. Suddenly the scene expanded into a broad, grassy glen, lighted from above by a full and beautiful moon. It united with all the wildness of a Scotch glen the verdure of an English garden. The steep hills on either side of our green pathway were covered with a luxuriant growth of trees, where millions of fire-flies flew like stars among the branches. Such enchantment could not be surpassed in *Tempé* itself. I would travel to the walls of China to feel again the wonder and delight that elevated my spirits when I first surveyed this enchanting scene. An incident apparently slight certainly heightened the effect produced by

external beauty. While we gazed up to the ruined fortifications that stretched in bold broken piles across the ridge of the mountain, military music sounded at a distance. Five thousand Austrians, on their march to Bohemia, (where the French were expected to penetrate,) passed our carriage in a long broad line, and encamped in a wide plain at one extremity of the valley. As we proceeded on our way, the rear of their army, composed of Red cloaks and Pandours, exhibited strange and picturesque groups, sleeping on the bare ground, with their horses tied to trees; whilst the sound of the Austrian trumpets died faintly away among the echoes of the hills."

In all Campbell's poetry there is nothing better—we had almost said nothing so good; and the incidents of actual war which he beheld are described with equal effect. He was hospitably received by the Benedictine Monks of the Scottish College of St. James. He describes the splendour and sublimity of the Catholic service, which he probably heard for the first time; and the Cathedral music at Ratisbon he speaks of as grand beyond conception.

"On the morning before the French entered Ratisbon, a solemn ceremony was held. The passage in the Latin service was singularly apropos to the fears of the inhabitants for siege and bombardment. The dreadful prophecy, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! thou shalt be made desolate,' was chanted by a loud single voice from one end of the long echoing Cathedral. A pause more expressive than any sound succeeded, and then the whole thunder of the organs, trumpets, and drums broke in. I never conceived that the *terrific* in music could be carried to such a pitch."

In the Benedictine Monastery of St. James's young Scotchmen were educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood. Its revenues have declined, and the brotherhood, Dr. Beattie tells us, has latterly amounted but to six or seven individuals. They were strongly attached to the interests of the Stuarts; they had for the most part left Scotland at six or seven years of age, and every prejudice of religion and politics was carefully nourished. They and Campbell did not long continue friends. The Jacobite and the Jacobin cannot long hunt in couples. The monks had recommended Campbell to lodgings, where he was robbed by his host or his servants; and when he complained, the monks took part with the native against the stranger. Then came letters home from Campbell, describing the monks as "lazy, loathsome, ignorant, and ill-bred." He tells of one of them attacking him with the most blackguard scurrility, and this in their own refectory.

"I never," says Campbell, "found myself so carried away by indignation. I flew at the scoundrel, and would have rewarded his

insolence had not the others interposed; but prevented as I have been from proceeding to extremities, what I have done is punishable by law, and the wretch has malevolence enough to take advantage of my rashness. O, if I had him at the foot of John's Hill, I would pummel his carrotty locks, and thrash him to the gates of purgatory. I saw him to-day. I was on the bridge along with him, and had grasped my yellow stick to answer his first salutation if he had dared to address me, but he slunk past without saying a word.”

This scene would have been enough to have separated Campbell from the Scotch monks; but he also speaks of the conversation whenever he went there turning on politics, and with very ignorant men—and both Campbell and the monks were exceedingly ignorant of the actual springs of European politics—it is not surprising that a temper of disputativeness on both sides, which seems inseparable from the blood which both inherited, rendered all society, in any true sense of the word, impossible.

Campbell's pecuniary means now began to fail, and his letters evince increasing gloom; but his was a mind that the slightest gleam of sunshine was sufficient to cheer, and even for his gloom he had then an unfailing resource in the glorious faculty of imagination. An engagement to supply occasional poems to the *Morning Chronicle*, by which he earned some two guineas for each little copy of verses, makes him the happiest of men, and the very incidents that had almost overcome his spirit, and made his friends fear that melancholy might deepen into insanity, became the subject of his poems. The lines on leaving a scene in Bavaria, are evidence of this. Campbell took advantage of an armistice between Austria and France, to make several excursions into the interior, but when hostilities were renewed, he became apprehensive of personal danger, and returned to Hamburg. He settled for the winter months at Altona. From Altona his communications with the *Morning Chronicle* became frequent. Several of the poems which have been since collected into the authorized editions of his works, appeared for the first time in this form—many of them with his name, and some—for he began to fear that his name appearing too frequently in newspapers might injure his reputation—were printed without his name. Among the latter was “*The Mariners of England*,” and we believe “*The Exile of Erin*,” “*Lochiel*,” and “*Hohenlinden*,” at an after period, were first published without the author's name. Of “*The Exile of Erin*,” we have Campbell's own account of the origin:—

“While tarrying at Hamburg, I made acquaintance with some of the refugee Irishmen, who had been concerned in the rebellion of 1798. Among them was Anthony M'Cann, an honest excellent man

—who is still I believe alive—at least I left him in prosperous circumstances in Altona a few years ago.\* When I first knew him, he was in a situation much the reverse; but Anthony commanded respect, whether he was rich or poor. It was in consequence of meeting him one evening on the banks of the Elbe, lonely and pensive at the thoughts of his situation, that I wrote ‘The Exile of Erin.’”

The song is to an Irish air, to which more than one set of words had been written in Ireland—resembling Campbell’s in metre, and the general turn of the sentiment. It seems certain that either among the Irish students at Glasgow, or with M’Cann and his associates, Campbell had fallen in with the air, and some one or other of these songs. One of these songs which is said to have been written in 1792, begins with the words—

“Green were the fields, where my forefathers dwelt, oh  
     Erin mavourneen, slawn lath go bragh;  
 Though our farm it was small, yet comforts we felt, oh  
     Erin mavourneen, slawn lath go bragh;  
 At length came the day, when our lease did expire,  
 And fain would I live where before lived my sire;  
 But oh, well a day, I was forced to retire,  
     Erin mavourneen, slawn lath go bragh.”

Campbell’s acquaintanceship with M’Cann and his other Irish friends was likely to lead him into trouble. Perhaps some feeling of this made him not solicitous to connect his name with the “Exile of Erin.” At Ratisbon he knew that his politics were more than suspected. In April he returned, *viâ* London, to his mother’s, who had during his absence become a widow. While in London he made the acquaintance chiefly through Perry, of Lord Holland, Mackintosh, Rogers, and others of that class. His stay was short. He returned by sea. A lady who travelled by the same vessel, startled him by the information that Campbell the poet had been arrested in London for High Treason, was confined to the Tower, and expected to be executed. This was rather serious. “Coming events cast their shadows before.” When he got to his mother’s, he found her alarmed by similar reports. He at once wrote to the Sheriff of Edinburgh, saying, that he would wait on him, to refute the calumny. Next morning he found the Sheriff disposed to deal kindly with him, but believing in his guilt. “Mr. Campbell, I wish you had not come to me, there is a warrant out against you for High Treason; you are accused of conspiring with General Moreau in Austria, and with the Irish in Hamburgh, to get a French army landed

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\* Written in 1837—M’Cann is since dead.

in Ireland. Take my advice, and do not press yourself on my notice." "Where are the proofs?" "Oh, you attended Jacobin clubs in Hamburgh, and you came over from thence, in the same vessel with Donovan, who commanded a regiment of rebels at Vinegar Hill." Campbell insisted on an investigation of the charges. His trunks had been seized at Leith—they were examined for documentary proofs of his treason; among his papers was found a copy of "*Ye Mariners of England*." This was not an hour to say more than was necessary of the authorship of the "*Exile of Erin*."

The Irish traitors after all were not treated with any great severity. Campbell tells Donovan's story, which, we dare say, was the story of dozens. At first, things looked bad enough. At Leith he was put into a post-chaise with a King's messenger, who humanely observed at every high post they passed on the road—"Look up, you Irish rascal, and see the height of the gallows from which you will be dangling in a few days."

"A twelvemonth after," says Campbell, "I met Donovan in London, and recognised my gaunt Irish friend, looking very dismal. 'Ha, Donovan, I wish you joy in getting out of the Tower, where, I was told, they had imprisoned you, and were likely to treat you like another Sir William Wallace.'—'Och!' said he, 'good luck to the Tower; black was the day that I was turned out of it. Would that any one would get me into it for life.'—'My stars! and were you not in confinement?'—'Ne'er a bit of it. The Government allowed me a pound sterling a-day as a State prisoner. The Tower gaoler kept a glorious table; and he let me walk out where I liked all day long, pretty secure that I should return at meal times; and, then, he had a nice pretty daughter.'—'And don't you go and see her in the Tower?'—'Why, no, my dear fellow; the course of true love never yet ran smooth. I discovered that she had no money, and she found out that my Irish estates, and all I had told her of their being confiscated in the rebellion, was sheer blarney. So then your merciless Government ordered me to be liberated as a State prisoner. I was turned adrift on the wide world, and glad to become a Reporter to one of the newspapers.'"

While Donovan was living comfortably in the Tower, Campbell was experiencing the Irish adage, that virtue is its own reward. The poverty of his family had increased. An annuity, which constituted part of their support, had died with his father, and distress stared them in the face. A subscription edition of "*The Pleasures of Hope*" was the only resource that suggested itself. It is a sad thing to think how much of advantage to society has been lost by no arrangement having been made in Scotland, where all education is conducted by professorial teaching—in Scotland, so justly proud of her literary men—for Campbell's support, by connecting him with one of her Univer-

sities. In his project of a new edition of "The Pleasures of Hope" Scott and Jeffrey gave him such aid and encouragement as they could; and he went to Liverpool to see what could be done there. From Liverpool he went to London, and seems to have been connected with Lord Minto in some capacity of secretary. In the course of this year (1802) "Lochiel" was written. With the booksellers he contracted for a continuation of Smollett's "History of England," in three volumes, at £100 per volume, which appeared under the title of "Annals of George III." It is an exceedingly useful abridgment, plainly and unambitiously written; and we have found it a work of very convenient reference.

In a poem written in Germany, there are some allusions which Dr. Beattie does not think himself authorized distinctly to explain, to some love-dream which had been floating before the poet's fancy—

"Yea, even the name I have worshipped in vain,  
Shall awake not the sigh of remembrance again."

And, at the same time, we find some verses, which we suppose his cousin Matilda was likely to think very beautiful:

"Oh cherub, Content, at thy moss-covered shrine  
I could pay all my vows, if Matilda were mine.  
If Matilda were mine, whom enraptured I see,  
I would breathe not a vow but to friendship and thee."

This is not very passionate—still it was good enough for the newspaper in which it appeared, and the young lady was not likely to be a severer critic than Mr. Perry or his editor. Campbell, however, does not describe himself as falling in love with Matilda Sinclair for a couple of years after writing these verses; and as more than one political Irishman claims the honour of being the exile of Erin, perhaps some other Matilda was the heroine of these rhymes. The final Matilda, we are told by the poet, was a beautiful, lively, and lady-like woman. She had travelled too; and Campbell's stories of the Rhine and Danube were more than matched by hers of the Rhone and the Loire. In Geneva, too, she had learned the art of making the best cup of Mocha in the world; and there was a tradition that the Turkish Ambassador seeing her at the Opera in a turban and feathers asked who she was; was told she was a Scotch lady; and thereupon said, he had seen nothing so beautiful in Europe. "Her features," says Dr. Beattie, "had much of the Spanish cast; her complexion was dark; her figure graceful, below the middle size; she had great vivacity of manners, energy of mind, and sensibility, or rather irritability, which often impaired her health." The subscription for Campbell's poems was going on well; the



booksellers owed him money for the “Annals,” or rather he would be entitled to some when the commission was executed,—he had contracted, to be sure, a debt of £200, for which he paid £40 a-year interest—and he had in his desk a fifty pound note. The lady’s father in vain endeavoured to persuade the young people of the madness of marriage in their circumstances. The poet would not listen; the lady did listen; but she got ill from anxiety—and so married they must be and they were.

Early in the next year, it was suggested to Campbell to apply for the Regent’s chair in the University of Wilna. The best chance of the poet’s success in obtaining the appointment depended on its not being known to those who might be his competitors that he was a candidate. He could not be expected to use the artifices of low intrigue, which, it was to be feared, could alone be successful if the office were thrown open to competition, and the very mention of his name in connexion with the appointment would at once have the effect of terminating the kind of engagements with publishers and journalists by which his daily bread was obtained. Passages from “The Pleasures of Hope” were likely to be cited by his opponents on the subject of the partition of Poland, which would at once dispose of his claims. The secret did, in spite of his care to guard it, transpire; and, after some communication with persons connected with the Russian legation, he felt it prudent to retire from the contest.

Campbell’s letters at this time, though often written in ill health, and under depressing anxieties, shew that his married life was happy. A letter from a young female relation, who was at this time on a visit with them, says, “they were greatly attached. Mrs. C. studied her husband in every way. As one proof, the poet being closely devoted to his books and writing during the day, she would never suffer him to be disturbed by questions or intrusion, but left the door of his room a little ajar, that she might every now and then have a silent peep at him. On one occasion, she called me to come softly on tiptoe, and she would shew me the poet in a moment of inspiration. We stole softly behind his chair—his eye was raised—the pen in his hand, but he was quite unconscious of our presence, and we retired unsuspected.”

He thought for awhile of Edinburgh for a residence, but London or its neighbourhood was the only place where the kind of employment he wanted was to be obtained. He had formed a connexion with the *Star* newspaper—we believe, translating for them matter from the foreign journals—which gave him four guineas a-week. He also wrote for Reviews; and he seems to have been anxiously looking round him to purchase a share in

some Magazine, thinking something might be made by adding the publisher's profits to those of the literary man. His health, and that of his young family, rendered it desirable to live in the country; and he found a house at a moderate rent at Sydenham Common, from which he rode into town every day. He could scarcely have placed himself in any situation more favourable for health, or for study; and society was, in every sense of the word, good. He could reckon on two hundred a-year from the "Star" and the "Philosophical Magazine;" both of which were conducted by the same proprietor. This did little to supply his wants, when out of it it is considered he had to keep a horse. He took whatever employment he could get. He wrote a vast deal, "dispirited," he says, "beneath all hope of raising my reputation by what I *could* write, I contracted for only anonymous labour, and, of course, at an humble price." Overwork produced restlessness at night, and the necessity of having recourse to opiates. His Edinburgh friends continued to obtain subscriptions for his poems. Richardson—a friend of his who yet survives, was indefatigable—and Scott was active. There are some letters from Campbell to Scott, in which two or three projects of publishing lives of the British poets, and large editions of their works, in partnership, are suggested; they failed. In one of the letters to Scott, we have the "Battle of Copenhagen," the first form of the "Battle of the Baltic." Some exceedingly spirited stanzas are omitted in the recast, still the second poem is far superior to the first. Dr. Beattie has also given us the opportunity of comparing "Lochiel's Warning" as it now stands with the original draft. The "Battle of Copenhagen" is cut down to a third of its original dimensions. "Lochiel" is amplified by additional incidents, and the pictures are throughout heightened. Both poems are greatly improved; and to young poets, we think, the comparison of these works in their first and in their finished state would be a most useful study.

A letter to Scott, dated October 2, 1805, concludes with the postscript, "*His Majesty has been pleased to confer a pension of £200 a-year on me.* GOD SAVE THE KING."

Campbell himself, and other writers who have addressed the public through the various channels of periodical literature, have been the main instruments in creating a Public, and thus giving the chance of respectable bread to those who may select this unobtrusive way of communicating instruction. It is probable that the author will at all times be less highly paid than the clergyman or the physician, but that he has the means of living at all, with the ordinary decencies of life, is due to Johnson, above all other men, and, after him, to those who have rendered it impossible that men shall consent to do without intellectual

food. There is not a nook of Scotland which is not better for having produced Burns. His poems and Campbell's would not, in all probability, have been published at all, if it were not for local subscriptions. The love of letters, now diffused everywhere, renders such patronage no longer necessary; and there now is, probably, a stronger feeling against an expedient of the kind than suggested itself to any one in the year 1805. However this be, at the time when Campbell obtained the pension, which, as far as is known, was given by Fox at Lord Holland's solicitation, it did not appear unbecoming to his friends to seek to make some permanent provision for his family, by again publishing a subscription edition of his poems. Horner worked hard for him, and with good success. In a letter to Richardson, Horner says, "It may do you good, among the slaves in Scotland, to let it be known that Mr. Pitt \* put his name to the subscription when he was at Bath, and we hope that most of the Ministers will follow him."

With this letter, says Beattie, "closed the year 1805—an eventful year to Campbell. It left him in improved health, with new friends, a settled income, and cheering prospects."

There appears strong reason to believe that Fox did not intend his favours to Campbell to end with the pension. It was small, and it was reduced by taxation and fees of office, to £168 a year. Lord Grenville interested himself for him, and his friends thought their success certain, when Fox's death defeated their hopes. It is probable that Fox himself would have felt delight in serving Campbell. Campbell tells of a dinner in company with Fox at Lord Holland's—the poet was charmed with him. "What a proud day," he says, "to shake hands with the Demosthenes of his time—to converse familiarly with the great man, whose sagacity I revered as unequalled; whose benevolence was no less apparent in his simple manners—and to walk arm-in-arm round the room with him." They spoke of Virgil. Fox was pleased, and said at parting, "Mr. Campbell, you must come and see me at St. Anne's Hill; there we shall talk more of these matters." Fox, turning to Lord Holland, said, "I like Campbell; he is so right about Virgil."

Campbell, we said, rode each day into London. This became fatiguing; there were frequent invitations to dinner parties which could not well be refused. His health was unequal to the slightest excess, and "the foundation was laid for habits, that in after years he found it hard, or even impossible to conquer."

It would appear that the variety of his engagements, and still more the perplexity of his circumstances, prevented his writing

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\* Pitt died three weeks after the date of this letter.

any poetry for some two or three years. He looked round him for some German poem to translate, and asked Scott to direct his attention to something in that way. It is fortunate that he found none, as we should probably not have had his *Gertrude of Wyoming*, which was now commenced.

Among Campbell's most intimate friends at Sydenham was a family of the name of Mayo, and in a letter to one of the ladies of the family he tells her, that in his description of the father of *Gertrude*, Wynell Mayo, the father of his correspondent, was represented.

He quotes a few lines of the poem from his manuscript, which are not materially altered in the printed copy :—

“How reverend was the look, serenely aged,  
Undimm'd by weakness, shade, or turbid ire,  
When all but kindly fervours were assuaged :  
Such was the most beloved, the gentlest sire :  
And though amid that calm of thought entire  
Some high and haughty features might betray  
A soul impetuous once, 'twas earthly fire,  
That fled composure's intellectual ray,  
As *Ætna's* fires grow dim before the rising day.”

We regret that Dr. Beattie seems unable to tell us anything about the origin of *Gertrude*, the most elaborate and the most beautiful of Campbell's works. This is the more provoking, as, from the complexity of the stanza alone, it is impossible that it should not have undergone, in almost every line, repeated changes. A passage from La Fontaine's romance of *Barneck and Saldorf*, is printed by Dr. Beattie, from some fancied resemblance to the story of *Gertrude*. We have not read La Fontaine's romance, but there is nothing in the passage quoted which would suggest the slightest obligation from either writer to the other, and there is not any evidence that Campbell ever saw La Fontaine's work, which, from the date given by Beattie, would appear to have been printed in Berlin only a year or two before. Between Campbell's poem of *Gertrude* and Chateaubriand's *Atala*, there are some points of resemblance—not in the story, but in the general picture of American scenery and of Indian manners. The contrasts of savage and social life are also brought out in very much the same kind of feeling. The “*Areouski*” and the “*Manitous*” are, perhaps necessarily, common property; and the mention of the God to whom the Christians pray, in the same language, does not show more than that each imitates, with such skill as he can, the reputed dialect of the native tribes. The same may, perhaps, be said of “the fever-balm and sweet sagamite;” and the sound of *Outalissi*, as a name for an Indian warrior, may have equally affected both

poets ; but these are resemblances of a different kind, and we think that the study of Chateaubriand, more than anything else, has misled Campbell into the few instances of false painting that surprise us in Gertrude. Chateaubriand's scene is in Florida. This Campbell forgets ; and we suspect that some of the plants and birds of Florida are by this accident brought into Pennsylvania.

The deep untrodden grot,

“ Where oft the reading hours sweet Gertrude wore,”

was closed by mountains to the east, and open to the west. It was a spot where the native tribes in days of old might perhaps “ explore their father's dust, or lift their voice to the Great Spirit ” —

Rocks sublime,  
To human art a sportive semblance bore,  
And yellow lichens colour'd all the clime,  
Like moonlight battlements and towers decayed by time.

But high in amphitheatre above,  
Gay-tinted woods their massy foliage threw ;  
Breathed but an air of heaven, and all the grove  
As if instinct with living spirit grew,  
Rolling its verdant gulfs of every hue.  
And now suspended was the pleasing din—  
Now from a murmur faint it swelled anew,  
Like the first note of organ—heard within  
Cathedral aisles—ere yet the symphony begin.

Chateaubriand's description of the Indian cemeteries, in a passage which we are compelled to quote at length, we cannot but think suggested the passage we have quoted from Campbell.

“ De-là nous arrivâmes à une gorge de vallée ou je vis un ouvrage merveilleux : c'était un pont naturel, semblable à celui de la Virginie, dont tu a peut-être entendu parler. Les hommes, mon fils, surtout ceux de ton pays, imitent souvent la nature, et leurs copies sont toujours petites ; il n'en est pas ainsi de la nature quand elle a l'air de vouloir imiter les travaux des hommes, mais en leur offrant en effet des modèles. C'est alors qu'elle jet des ponts du sommet d'une montagne au sommet d'une autre montagne, suspend les chemins dans les nues, refond des fleuves pour canaux, sculpte des monts pour colonnes, et pour bassins creuse des mers.

“ Nous passâmes sous l'arche unique de ce pont, et nous nous trouvâmes devant une autre merveille. C'était le cimetière des Indiens de la Mission, ou *les bocages de la Mort*. Le père Aubry avait permis à ses néophytes d'ensevelir leurs morts à leur manière et de conserver à leur sépulture son nom sauvage. Le sol en était divisé, comme le champ commun des moissons, en autant de lots

qu'il y avait de familles. Chaque lot faisait à lui seul un bois, qui variait selon le goût de ceux qui l'avaient planté. Un ruisseau serpentait sans bruit au milieu de ces bocages ; on l'appelait *le ruisseau de la paix* ; ce riant asile des ames était fermé à l'orient par le pont sous lequel nous avions passé : deux collines le bornaient au septentrion et au midi : il ne s'ouvrait qu'à l'occident ou s'élevait un grand bois des sapins. Les troncs de ces arbres, rouges, marbrés de vert, montant sans branche jusqu'à leur cime, ressemblaient à de hautes colonnes, et formaient le peristyle de ce temple de la Mort. Dans ce bois régnoit un bruit religieux semblable au sourd mugissement d'une église Chrétienne : mais lorsqu'on pénétrait au fond du sanctuaire on n'entendait plus que les hymnes des oiseaux, qui célébraient à la mémoire des morts une fête éternelle."

The remarkable expression of the forests rolling their "verdant gulfs," we have in another passage :—

"J'entraînai la fille de Simagham aux pieds des côteaùx, que formaient des golfes de verdure, en avançant leur promontoires dans la savane."

In Campbell's description of Pennsylvanian scenery minute inaccuracies have been shewn, but in the descriptions of a terrestrial paradise this is a permitted license, and the general effect is true. An American who met him at Dr. Beattie's in 1840, told him it was as true to nature as if written on the spot. "I read," said Campbell, "every description I could find of this valley and could lay hands on, and saw several travellers who had been there. I should wish to see it, but am too old to undertake the voyage, and yet I don't like the idea that I am too old to do anything I wish. My heart is as young as ever." His American friend told him of a pilgrimage that he and others were led to make to the spot, from their admiration of Campbell's genius. "It was autumn, and the quiet shores of the lake were bathed in the yellow light of Indian summer. Every day we wandered through the primeval forests, and, when tired, we used to sit down under their solemn shade, among the falling leaves, and read 'Gertrude of Wyoming.' It was in these thick woods, where we could hear no sound but the song of the wild birds, or the squirrel cracking his nuts, away from the busy world, that I felt the power of Campbell's genius." Campbell took his hand, pressed it, and said—"God bless you, sir, you make me happy, although you make me weep. This is more than I can bear. It is dearer to me than all the praise I have had before—to think that in that wild American scenery I have had such readers. I will go to America yet." When they parted, Campbell gave him a copy of the illustrated edition of his poems. "Take it with you," were his words, "and if, with your '*Gertrude*,' you ever go again to the valley of Wyoming,



it may be a pleasure to her to hear you say, 'Campbell gave me this.' "

Some fourteen or fifteen years after the publication of *Gertrude*, Campbell found himself engaged in a correspondence with the son of Brandt, the Indian chief, who was represented by the poet as the leader of a savage party, whose ferocity gave to war more than its own horrors. Campbell had abused him, almost in the language of an American newspaper.

"The mammoth comes—the foe—the monster Brandt—  
With all his howling desolating band."

It was rather a serious moment when a gentleman, with an English name, called on Campbell, demanding, on the part of the son of Brandt, some explanation of this language, as applied to his father. A long letter from Campbell is printed in Stone's "*Life of Brandt*," addressed to the Mohawk chief, *Ahyonwalghs*, commonly called John Brandt, Esq., of the Grand River, Upper Canada, in which he states the various authorities which had misled him into the belief of the truth of the incidents on which his notion of Brandt's character was founded, and which it seems misrepresented it altogether. It was no doubt a strange scene, and the poet could with truth say, and with some pride, too, that when he wrote his poem, it was unlikely that he should ever have contemplated the case of the son or daughter of an Indian chief being affected by its contents. He promises in future editions to correct the involuntary error; and he does so, by saying in a note, that the "Brandt" of the poem is a pure and declared character of fiction. This does not satisfy Mr. Stone's sense of justice, who would have the tomahawk applied to the offending rhyme, and who thinks anything less than this is a repetition of the offence. Beattie ought to have published the correspondence.

The next poem of Campbell's was *O'Connor's child*. "The theme," says Dr. Beattie, "was suggested by seeing a flower in his own garden, called 'Love lies bleeding.'" Beattie in communicating this information, uses inverted commas, but does not say whether he gives us the poet's words or not, and we should wish to know the fact, as it would in some degree affect our estimate of the poem. Nothing can be more perfect than this poem is throughout. In one or two passages of "*The Pleasures of Hope*," and in a few wild words at the close of the "*Battle of the Baltic*," the students of Campbell's poetry might be prepared for lines expressive of what Schiller, or one of his translators, calls "the fancifulness of despair." \*

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\* See a translation of the "*Kindesmörderinn*" in *Merivale's Schiller*.

“ Let us think of them that sleep,  
Full many a fathom deep,  
By thy wild and stormy steep,  
Elsinore.

“ Soft sigh the winds of Heaven o’er their grave!  
While the billow mournful rolls,  
And the mermaid’s song condoles,  
Singing glory to the souls  
Of the brave !”

The wildness of the fancies through the whole poem—the leading thought of her lover’s death everywhere re-appearing, and linked with the flower that first grew upon his grave, is, we think, almost more beautifully conceived, and more beautifully expressed, than anything we know in English poetry. The old fancies of the hyacinth and Shakespeare’s little western flower—“ before, milk-white, now purple with love’s wound”—fade into nothingness before it.\* Campbell himself has been known to say that he preferred “ O’Connor’s Child ” to any other of his poems. It was, he said, rapidly written—the work of a fortnight. In the illustrated edition of the poems, there are two misprints, which, as they alter the meaning, we had better point out. One is—

“ And I behold, Oh God! Oh God!  
His life-blood oozing from the sod.”

The other is—

“ Dragg’d to that hated mansion back,  
How long in thralldom’s grasp I lay  
I knew not, for my soul was black,  
And knew no change of night or day.”

In the first, the word printed “ behold ” should be *beheld*,—in the other, the word “ knew ” should be *know*. In both, a mean-

\* A fancy of the same kind now and then appears in the old ballads or poems published as such. In a Jacobite song of 1745, printed in *Cromek’s Remains*, we have the lines :—

“ My father’s blood ’s in that flower tap,  
My brother’s in that harebell’s blossom;  
This white rose was steeped in my luve’s blood,  
And I’ll aye wear it in my bosom.”

For Shakespeare’s “ little western flower,” the reader who has the opportunity of referring to Halpin’s “ Essay on the Vision of Oberon,” published by the Shakespeare Society, or Craik’s “ Romance of the Peerage,” will probably receive great pleasure and instruction from their examination of the allegory. We do not say that we quite agree with them, or either of them. Craik’s “ Romance of the Peerage ” is a most important and valuable addition to our historical literature. Much of it is drawn from sources hitherto neglected, or very imperfectly explored.

ing inconsistent with the general feeling of the passage is unfortunately suggested.

We cannot follow Dr. Beattie in narrating how the means of life were made out by Campbell. He lectured—he published specimens of the poets, accompanied with criticism, always sensible, often acute; but his prose has no abiding life. It did its day's work. Letters from Paris, which he visited in 1814, are printed. They contain little more than his impressions about works of art, with the principles of which he was not sufficiently acquainted to justify us in transcribing what he says—and his opinion of Mrs. Siddons, which he afterwards worked into a sort of trade life of her. In 1821, he undertook the editorship of the *New Monthly Magazine*, which he continued for nine or ten years. At the end of this time, he found himself in the publisher's debt, and felt obliged to look round him for employment of the same kind. He became editor of the "*Metropolitan Magazine*," and soon after, Rogers lent him five hundred pounds to purchase a share in the *Metropolitan*. The money had a narrow escape, as the bankruptcy of some copartner occurred at the time. Rogers had refused taking any security, but Campbell insured his life, and had some deed executed that gave Rogers rights against whatever property he had. Campbell, though always a struggling man, seems to have been anxious that his improvidence should not injure his friends. To his own family—his mother and sisters, his generosity was very great.

The book contains some very painful scenes, on which we do not think it desirable to enter. Of two children of his marriage, one died in infancy; the other was, during his father's life, in such doubtful health as to render it necessary that he should live at a distance from home under medical care. Campbell felt it necessary to live in London, and he felt it necessary to allow himself to be made chairman of Polish clubs, and to preside at patriotic dinners. This brought him acquainted with strange companions, whom it was not at all times possible to get rid of. Dr. Beattie tells us of some affecting scenes, when the broken-hearted man was thoughtlessly reproached at his own table by a guest who thought the host had taken too much wine, and who ought himself either not to have taken any, or not stopped at what is not inappropriately called the cross drop.

In the cause of education Campbell was at all times an enthusiast. To him, above all others, is to be ascribed the origination and the success of the London University. His election to the Rectorship of Glasgow University was the most gratifying incident of his life, and it resulted in permanent advantages to that institution.

Campbell resided for a while at St. Leonard's, and afterwards

settled in London. These were moments of great pecuniary difficulty and embarrassment ; but towards the close of life, and at the moment when such relief was most seasonable, additions came to his income by some two or three legacies. In one instance, the sum that seemed providentially sent came in vain, for without waiting to consult any one, he laid it out in an annuity for his own life, which lasted for little more than a year after this transaction.

His wife had been some years dead. There is some obscure intimation of his making some overtures towards a second marriage, which failed. He was fond, passionately fond of children, and it occurred to him that one of his nieces—a girl of some thirteen or fourteen years of age—might come from Scotland to be his housekeeper. He was to teach her French. His only son was sufficiently provided for ; and the poet promised her parents to leave her whatever little property he might have at his death.

In one respect alone are we dissatisfied with Dr. Beattie's book. In every line of it there breathes the strongest affection towards the poet, and yet how, where, or when their intimacy commenced, the book gives us no information whatever. For many of the latter years of Campbell's life, Dr. Beattie was his most anxious friend, and we believe it is in the strictest sense of the word true, that but for him that life must have closed long before it did. Campbell removed to Boulogne in September 1843. Every object of his removal was disappointed. He found the place scarcely cheaper than that which he left ; he found the climate worse ; he had all the trouble and expense of a removal. He fixed plans of study, and tried to execute them. The custom-house regulations interfered with his receiving English books. He would, when weary of reading, diversify the day by conversation ; but where were his old friends ? "Home-sickness," says his kind physician, "was on him."

He sought to write to his friends, but his letters became few and short ; still they were cheerful. At last, a letter from his niece brought over Dr. Beattie. When he arrived, he found a Sister of Charity assisting her in attending on the dying poet. When Beattie was introduced into his chamber, he complained of chilliness—morbid chilliness. He held out his hand, and thanked Beattie, and the other friends who had come to assist him.

This was June the 4th. On the 6th he was able to converse more freely ; but his strength had become more reduced, and on being assisted to change his posture, he fell back in the bed insensible. Conversation was carried on in the room in whispers ; and Campbell uttered a few sentences so unconnected, that his friends were doubtful whether he was conscious or not of what

was going on in his presence, and had recourse to an artifice to learn. One of them spoke of the poem of Hohenlinden, and pretending to forget the author's name, said he had heard it was by a Mr. Robinson. Campbell saw the trick, was amused, and said playfully, but in a calm and distinct tone, "No; it was one Tom Campbell." The poet had—as far as a poet can—become for years indifferent to posthumous fame. In 1838, five years before this time, he had been speaking to some friends in Edinburgh on the subject. "When I think of the existence which shall commence when the stone is laid above my head, how can literary fame appear to me—to any one—but as nothing. I believe, when I am gone, justice will be done to me in this way—that I was a pure writer. It is an inexpressible comfort, at my time of life, to be able to look back and feel that I have not written one line against religion or virtue." The next day swelling of the feet appeared. In answer to an inquiry, he replied, with a remarkable expression of energy, "Yes, I have entire control over my mind. I am quite"—Beattie lost the last word, but thinks it was "resigned." "Then, with shut eyes and a placid expression of countenance, he remained silent but thoughtful. When I took leave at night, his eye followed me anxiously to the door, as if to say, 'Shall we meet to-morrow?'" Dr. Beattie's journal records a few days passed like the last. Religious feeling was, as the closing scene approached, more distinctly expressed. Beattie was thinking of the lines in *THE LAST MAN*, when he heard with delight the dying man express his belief "in life and immortality brought to light by the Saviour."

This spirit shall return to Him  
 Who gave the heavenly spark ;  
 Yet think not, sun, it shall be dim  
 When thou thyself art dark !  
 No ! it shall live again, and shine  
 In bliss unknown to beams of thine,  
 By Him recall'd to breath  
 Who captive led captivity—  
 Who robb'd the grave of victory,  
 And took the sting from death.

"To his niece he said, 'Come, let us sing praises to Christ;' then, pointing to the bedside, he added, 'Sit here.' 'Shall I pray for you?' she said. 'Oh yes,' he replied; 'let us pray for each other.'"

The liturgy of the Church of England was read; he expressed himself "soothed—comforted." "The next day, at a moment when he appeared to be sleeping heavily, his lips suddenly moved, and he said, '*We shall see \* \* to-morrow,*'—naming a

long departed friend." On the next day he expired without a struggle.

This was the fifteenth of June; on Thursday, the 27th, he was interred in Westminster Abbey, in a new grave, in the centre of Poet's corner. Among the mourners in the funeral procession were the Duke of Argyle, and other representatives of the house of Campbell; Sir Robert Peel and Lord Strangford. Lord Brougham was there, and Lockhart and Macaulay. A monument is projected to his memory, and on the committee are Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel.

Among Dr. Beattie's recollections of the poet's conversations a year or two before, he tells of the emphasis with which he repeated Tickell's lines on the burial of Addison. "Lest I should forget them," Dr. Beattie adds, "he sent me a copy of them next day in his own handwriting." With these lines from one of the most affecting poems in the language we close our notice of a book in many respects honourable to its author; in none more than in his anxious wish to conceal the faults and to vindicate the memory of his distinguished friend.

Can I forget the dismal night that gave  
My soul's best part for ever to the grave?  
How silent did his old companions tread,  
By midnight lamps, the mansions of the dead!  
Through breathing statues, then unheeded things;  
Through rows of warriors, and through walks of kings!  
What awe did the slow, solemn, knell inspire—  
The pealing organ, and the pausing choir!  
The duties by the lawn-robed prelate paid,  
And the last words that "dust to dust" convey'd.  
While speechless o'er thy closing grave we bend,  
Accept those tears, thou dear departed friend.  
Oh, gone for ever! take this last adieu,  
And sleep in peace.



ART. VIII.—*Report from the Select Committee on Public Business, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th August 1848.

THE ensuing Session of Parliament can scarcely pass over in the same manner as the last. The upheaving of the Continent, with the overthrow of its Governments, on the one hand, and the outbreak in Ireland, on the other, combined with the disorganized state of our political parties to enable ministers, last year, to tide through an unusually prolonged Session without any effective opposition, notwithstanding the signal and disgraceful failure of their budget, the abandonment of almost all their promised measures of improvement, and the derelinquishment, in a great measure, so far as legislation was concerned, of the functions of a Government. They cannot expect a like forbearance during the Session that is about to commence. The country will not again submit, nor allow their representatives to submit, to the mockery of Parliament sitting for nine months, and leaving no results beyond three, or at most four, Acts which will be of any permanent benefit to the country, and these not of great value in themselves, except the Health of Towns Bill, and far within—in respect to the advantages conferred by them—what they ought to have been. Even if the state of the Continent and of Ireland should continue as unsettled and disturbed as during the eventful year which has lately closed, men would not acquiesce in that policy of stationary inaction which during its currency our Legislature pursued. The first effect, indeed, of such convulsions, as we have witnessed among the nations abroad, is to produce a pause,—to create a cautious dread of making *any* movement, lest the mere motion should precipitate an unlooked for and disastrous crisis. Now, however, that our stability for the time has been ascertained, and our position thoroughly reconnoitred and understood, reflection and experience draw from such convulsions, as the true lesson which they teach, this conclusion, that not another moment should be lost in remedying existing abuses, relieving the people from unjust burdens, convincing them that the Constitution under which they live is truly fitted beneficently to improve their condition and to fulfil the objects of social government, and enlisting in its support, by a participation in its franchises, those classes who may be relied on as intelligent friends of order, instead of leaving them to swell the ranks of its enemies, driven there by a sense of the injustice done them in their exclusion. We can scarcely believe that there exists a single anti-reformer or protectionist,

who, looking back to last February, would calmly and deliberately desire that the Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws had been then still to be agitated for, and who does not now feel in his heart that the safety of this country, amid the crash of continental kingdoms, was owing, under God, to these two measures having been previously accomplished. All thinking men must be more thoroughly confirmed, by the events of last year, in their conviction of the fearful danger of resisting reforms rendered necessary by the advance of society, till the pressure becomes so great as to burst through every barrier, and, consequently, in all likelihood, to sweep away in an overwhelming flood, not merely the obstacles to improvement, but the whole existing political institutions of the country, leaving it open to the disorders and desolations of anarchy, or, to what is scarcely less to be deplored, the iron domination of military despotism. A loud call will therefore be made on the Government for *action*—for an advance onward; and if they do not respond to it in a way fitted to meet, to a considerable extent, the desires of the country, they must be prepared to abide an assault which, though it may not peril their existence as a Ministry, will at least require all their own energies, and the strenuous aid of former political opponents, in order to repel it.

Arrangements have already been made for such an assault, in the more complete organization, as a separate political party, of those liberal members of the House of Commons who recognise Mr. Hume and Mr. Cobden as their leaders, and whose strength and influence will mainly depend on the zeal with which they are supported, beyond the walls of Parliament, in regard to the special question which they have selected for their first battlefield, that of Financial Reform. The position about to be taken up by these members will render necessary some re-formation and new combinations among the other parties in the House. The Ministry, bereft of the support of so large a portion of their followers, now to be arrayed resolutely against them, must, of necessity, rely on the aid of former opponents of the Conservative party, unless they are prepared to go much further than any one at present expects; and, so far as regards the high Tory portion of that party, we believe they may rely with confidence on such aid being given them—not only on the question of Financial Reform, but also generally, to maintain them in the administration of the affairs of the country. For a short time after the death of Lord George Bentinck, it was supposed that that event might open up a way for a re-union of the two divisions of the Conservative body, so as to hold out the prospect of the restoration of an united Conservative Government with Peel at its head; without which re-union, a Conservative ministry could

not be constituted with any hope of permanency. Subsequent declarations, however, of continued personal hostility to Sir Robert, on the part of the protectionists, seem to preclude all likelihood of their again taking him for their leader; and, indeed, the circumstances attending their previous connexion and separation present, we should think, an insurmountable barrier to their acting together. So far back as May 1844, when Sir Robert was still upholding the Corn Laws, we ventured to record our opinion, that even then, the aristocracy whom he served looked on him with lively suspicion. "On the other hand," we observed, "they, mortified to find themselves, with all their power and influence, so dependent on his talents and management, jealous of his profession of liberal views which they can scarcely reconcile with devotion to their service, cannot but harbour the strongest suspicion, that if he could base his own power on another equally sure foundation, he would betray their cause." They now believe that he *did* betray their cause; and though this might be forgiven in consideration of the effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws, in the protection which that measure must now be acknowledged to have provided against revolution and anarchy, they are doubtless convinced that his change of conduct as to that matter did not result from a change of opinion, but was the mere carrying out of long held, but long concealed, views which would lead him again, if he had the power, to the adoption, when fitting opportunities occurred, of other measures, equally obnoxious to them, and equally injurious, as they fancy, to their interests as a class. Even, therefore, in their present hopeless destitution of leaders of their own body, they will not in all likelihood turn again to Sir Robert Peel. If so, however, they can scarcely venture to assume power themselves, and consequently, they will not seek to turn out the Whigs, and so place the reins of government in hands in which they would be far more unwilling to see them. To them, therefore, Lord John Russell may confidently look for support against the attacks of the more advanced section of the Liberal party, not only in resisting their demands for retrenchment and further reform, but generally, we should anticipate, in maintaining him in power, inasmuch as they may justly consider the interests which they chiefly regard, safer under his government than under one in which the influence of Sir Robert Peel would be predominant.

The old division, into Whig and Tory, is fast breaking down, and a new fusion and casting of parties is in rapid progress. Of this the recent contest in the West Riding of Yorkshire presented at once a proof and a specimen. The immense constituency of that important district may be taken as affording a

fair representation of the general constituency of the empire, including, as it does, within it all classes and all interests, in a proportion not differing greatly from that in which they exist in the nation at large. At the late election this constituency was nearly equally divided; but the two divisions were totally distinct from those which, from time immemorial, had prevailed in Yorkshire. The Fitzwilliams and the Lascelleses no longer headed the opposing hosts of Whigs and Tories, each phalanx combining a due mixture of the aristocracy, the farmers, and the traders of the county. They now fought in the same ranks. The Tory and the Whig aristocracy, with their respective dependents and adherents, were arrayed, as one united body, in opposition to that of the great mass of the free-trading reformers who, with the force derived from the enthusiasm consequent on the victory of the Corn-Law League, so triumphantly seated Mr. Cobden, at the last general election, without a contest. The division exhibited on this occasion will, we doubt not, ere long, be that which will separate the whole constituencies of the kingdom into two opposing parties. The members of the present House of Commons who hold the views represented by the defeated candidate in the Yorkshire election are, as yet, it is true, a comparatively small portion of its total number; but they constitute a nucleus round which will be formed a most powerful and influential body, constituting one of the two divisions between which the contest for power, and for the administration of the affairs of the empire, will thenceforward be waged. Preparatory to this contest, the *old* Whig party will disappear. As Mr. Fitzwilliam had to retreat from the arena in Yorkshire, so the party of which he was a representative will have to withdraw from the national arena whereon it has so long performed such a conspicuous part, and it will be chiefly merged in the general aristocratic body, formed by such a union throughout the nation as was effected for the time between the Whig and Tory aristocracy of Yorkshire at the recent election.

Meanwhile, and until the new parties in the progress of arrangement shall be more fully developed, and more distinctly formed, the Protectionists, who must now be hopeless of resisting the further progress of free-trade principles, but who, in regard to many subjects of the deepest concern to the aristocracy, as a body, have ground to rely far more certainly on Lord John Russell than on Sir Robert Peel, will incline to support the former. His natural sympathies, like his connexions, are all towards the aristocracy; and the old Whig party, whose sentiments he very truly reflects, was eminently aristocratic. In particular, his support of the Established Church, being founded on real attachment and decided principle, will be persevering

and resolute ; and the maintenance of the Establishment will *ultimately* form one of the grand questions on which the two future political parties of the country will be mainly opposed. The great strength of the Church of England, founded not merely on its intimate connexion with the aristocracy, and the existence of such a powerful interest on their part to maintain it, but on the opinion and reverence of a large proportion of the population of all classes, will prevent any question as to its overthrow being directly raised for years to come. But come that question will ; and, considering the railway-speed at which events advance now-a-days, it may come sooner than is anticipated. The prospect of its advent, however, must even now affect the composition of the political parties undergoing the process of re-casting. Accordingly, in the West Riding election the supporters of the Establishment were found generally ranged on the side of the aristocracy, while the great body of the Dissenters took their place in the opposing ranks. Now, on this great question, while the aristocracy may fully rely, as we have said, on the hearty and continued support of Lord John Russell, they can scarcely look for that of Sir Robert Peel beyond the period during which he may need the support of the Church more than it needs his. They will not probably forget that he was the champion of the cause of Roman Catholic exclusion till the moment when his defection secured the triumph of that of Emancipation ; and that he upheld the Corn Laws till the crisis when a blow from his hand could deal destruction to them ; and they will consequently anticipate that, if the period should arrive when the Church has to engage in a life-and-death struggle for existence, though he may have stood by it steadily up to that instant, he might then turn round, and lead its assailants to a certain victory. We incline, therefore, to look for such a co-operation between the Tory party and Lord John Russell as will, for the present, maintain him in power, and may ultimately lead to a permanent connexion between him and them. As for Sir Robert Peel, he will scarcely commit himself to the movement now commenced, till it has made farther progress, and attained a surer prospect of final success. Meanwhile, he will give a general countenance to the principle of effecting every practical reform in the financial and other branches of administration ; and, standing aloof from any specific proposition as to extent or details, he will exhibit his own unquestionably superior qualifications for dealing with such reforms—pointing out the practical errors of the authors of the various “amateur budgets” that have been or may be brought forward, and leading the country as much as possible to the inference that no one is better fitted than himself to effect a great and

substantial relief in the burdens of the country, without any sacrifice of its security or influence. And truly the country is well prepared to believe this of him. With a nearly unbounded confidence in his sagacity, and in his tact in seizing the critical moment for accomplishing his objects, they believe that he is, at heart, in favour of the *movement*, while his very caution and system of concealment impress them with a mysterious conviction of his skill and power in commanding success. If he saw his way clear to assume the leadership of the movement party, and to take office with their support, he would probably enlist under him many of the adherents of the present Ministry, who would not willingly make the stand to which their leader inclines; and we believe that the great mass of the non-partisan portion of the people, and almost the whole of the trading and commercial community, would rally round him, raising him to power, and maintaining him there, in despite of all the aristocratical or party interest that could be exerted against him. He is too cautious, however, to take such a step suddenly, and before he himself sees clearly that such anticipations as these would certainly be realized. During this session, therefore, in all probability, while we shall witness a more thoroughly organized opposition to the Ministry, and more numerous as well as more vigorous assaults on their administration, we shall also, in all likelihood, unless the feeling out of doors be so strongly expressed as to encourage a decided movement on the part of Sir Robert Peel, see them still in office at the end of it; more from the non-existence, as yet, of any party able to take their place, than from confidence in them on the part either of the constituency or of their representatives. Still they will have an arduous session to work through, and several most important and urgent questions to dispose of. To one or two of these we propose shortly directing the attention of our readers, but we must first advert to a preliminary subject of no inconsiderable importance, which will probably engage the attention of Parliament, viz., the improvement of the mode of conducting its business, so as, in some measure, to check the interminable delays which interrupt, to such an extent, the progress of legislation, and to admit of a greater approximation being made towards the business of the country being really done.

Not long before last session closed, this subject was referred to a select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed "to consider the best means of promoting the despatch of public business in this House." The Committee included the leading men on all sides of the House; and it had the peculiar advantage of receiving evidence not only from the Speaker, as to the improvements which his experience suggested, but also from



M. Guizot, as to the conduct of business in the French Chambers, and from Mr. Curtis, an American citizen, as to that of the United States' Congress. The recommendations of the Speaker had mainly in view the checking of the interruptions to debates, by motions for adjourning the House, or for adjourning the debate, affording a means of bringing to a close a debate already adjourned, and saving some out of the "eighteen" questions which, in addition to those in Committee, must of necessity be put in order to carry any one bill through the House, and on each of which questions, and every amendment upon them, a separate debate and division may now take place. The evidence of M. Guizot and Mr. Curtis chiefly related to the methods in use, in the French Chambers and in Congress, for closing debates, and as to the rule, in the latter Assembly, for restricting the length of the speeches of individual members, called the "one hour rule," from the period to which each member is limited.

The privilege possessed in our House of Commons of over and over again, in the course of the same discussion, moving an adjournment of the House, or of the debate, affords a means of most unduly and unfairly obstructing the business, and of evading the rule which prevents any member from speaking twice on the same question; while the practice of adjourning debates from night to night, extending them sometimes over several weeks, has become an intolerable nuisance, grievously wasting the time of Parliament, and seriously injuring the effectiveness of the discussions. During last session, this grievance reached an unprecedented height. Several adjourned debates were more than once depending at the same time; and the whole public business was disarranged, and postponed, in a manner destructive to the service of the country, and most pernicious from the disgust and contempt towards the proceedings of the House of Commons which were thereby generated in the minds of the community. For checking these great and yearly augmenting evils, the Speaker suggested, that all questions for adjournment made in the course of a debate—whether for the adjournment of the House or of the debate—should be decided *without discussion*; that a division on it—which occupies a considerable portion of time—should not be allowed, unless at least twenty-one members should stand up in their places and say "aye" to the motion; and that such motion, if negatived, should not again be repeated till after the lapse of one hour; while, for bringing adjourned debates finally to a close, he proposed, that a modified scheme, like the methods resorted to in the French Chambers and the United States' Congress, should be adopted. In the former, any member, or members, wishing the debate closed, call "*la clôture*;"

one member only of those objecting to this can be heard to speak against it, and none can speak in its favour ; but the question is put without further discussion, “ must the debate be closed ? ” and if that question be decided in the affirmative, the debate ceases, and the main question is put to the vote. In Congress, again, the same object is effected by means of what is termed the “ previous question.” This is very different from that which goes by the same name with us, and is simply this, “ shall the main question be now put ? ” When this question is demanded, the Speaker inquires if it be “ seconded,” or supported, and all who concur in the demand rising, they are counted by the Speaker, who, if there be a majority in its favour, then puts this previous question, and if that pass in the affirmative, all debate ceases, and the questions on the amendments made, and on the bill before the House, are put without further debate. These methods are said to have worked well, and never to have been abused by the majority ; but, unless somewhat modified, they could scarcely be adopted in our House of Commons without risk of surprises ; the quorum of the House being only forty, and the residences of members so scattered and distant as to preclude their being speedily brought up on an unexpected motion to close the debate. The modification suggested by the Speaker was, that the motion for this purpose should only be competent at one specific period,—namely, before the order of the day for resuming an adjourned debate is read ; and that it should not be actually carried into effect by a compulsory closing of the discussion, till two o’clock in the morning of the sitting at which the resolution to close may have been carried. His proposition was, that if the House should so agree to a resolution that the debate be not further adjourned, no member should be allowed to rise after two o’clock in the morning of that same sitting ; at which hour, if not previously decided, the Speaker should put the question. If notice that such a motion was to be made on resuming an adjourned debate were required, nothing, we think, could be more reasonable and judicious than such a method of bringing a debate to a close ; and we cannot doubt that it would greatly improve the character and spirit of the discussion, in addition to the immense saving in the time of the House, by compelling members to condense their speeches. The Speaker remarks, “ I have frequently observed, that debates on Wednesdays,” (on which day the House always rises at a fixed hour,) “ when there happens to be an important question under discussion, (for instance, the debates of last session on Lord Ashley’s Bill,) are remarkably good. Some of the best debates I have ever heard in the House have taken place on Wednesday’s sitting, when every member was obliged to

speaking very shortly to enable the House to come to a decision upon the question."

Neither of the Speaker's suggestions, however, whether as to adjournments, or the closing of debates, has been adopted by the Committee, who content themselves with recommending some useful enough, but comparatively immaterial changes, and also the waiver of the Commons' privileges, as to money clauses, in bills brought down from the Lords, so far as relates to certain pecuniary penalties or fees; and who chiefly rely "for the prompt and efficient despatch of business of the House," upon "increased consideration on the part of members in the exercise of their individual privileges," and, above all, "upon Her Majesty's Government, holding, as they do, the chief control over its management."

We greatly fear that any reliance on the "increased consideration on the part of members" will prove altogether fallacious, unless matters be brought into such a state that their conduct will bring upon them a degree of odium, in reference to the opinion and feelings of the public as well as of the House, which could only be borne by men such as Mr. Chisholm Anstey. One of the drawbacks to the advantages derived from a more popular constituency is the greatly augmented desire, on the part of members, to exhibit themselves to their constituents as taking part in the discussions of the House; and, when circumstances favour, instead of repressing, the gratification of this very natural desire, it is not to be wondered at that the utmost possible advantage should be taken of these. Now, in the first place, the enormous extent of Committee business, which occupies so many members during the whole of the forenoon, produces this, among other injurious results, that the House is always very thin for the first four or five hours after it meets. Till ten o'clock, the attendance is so limited, that the leaders and chief speakers seldom address the House; and the consequence is, that many members who would not venture to compete for the eye of the Speaker with men of qualifications and authority universally acknowledged, seize with eagerness the opportunity, so constantly in this way offered them, of showing off in the eyes of their constituents, by speeches which, though spoken to empty benches, make as good an appearance in the newspapers as if addressed to a crowded House; and thereafter others of the same grade, in order not to appear behind, feel themselves subjected to a necessity of forcing themselves on the House, so as inevitably to lead to repeatedly renewed adjournments of the debate, before those members can be heard to whom the House and the country look for really discussing the question. To a certain extent it is not undesirable that such opportunities should be

given, but as matters go on at present, nearly half of the time during which the House sits for public business is lost, and there seems no prospect of a remedy, unless Parliament would consent to transfer to some other and more suitable tribunal a great deal of the business which calls for the morning labour of so many Committees. We are convinced that the rights of the lieges, so far as regards the subjects of railways, roads, the division of commons, and other matters of a like nature, could scarcely be in worse hands than those of a Committee of the House of Commons; but we have no hope whatever that they will give up their hold of these branches of their legislative power by subjecting them to the control of a judicial tribunal; and so we must continue to submit to the evils which result from their engrossing more business than they can possibly perform with a due regard to the service of the public and the State.

In the second place, however, the main encouragement to the practice of undue and unnecessary speechifying, on the part of individual members, arises from the circumstance that Government does not so conduct the public business of the country as to force them to feel, and enable the community clearly to see, that such parties are the real and true obstacles to the progress of measures which the wellbeing of the nation requires. If Government, at an early period of every session, were to introduce measures of national importance, fitted to excite the interest and cordial sympathy of the public, taking due care to have them reduced into the form of Bills well considered and thoroughly prepared, giving the House also to understand that they were determined to press through all that they introduced, and introducing only such as they were resolved to carry, unless rejected by the House,—instead of, as at present, bringing forward a number, of which it is well known that a half or a third will by and bye be abandoned,—and then actually urging them on with the constancy, energy, and resolution of men really in earnest, the obstruction offered by inconsiderate and useless speech-making, and factious motions of adjournment, would not be endured either by the country or the House. Members tempted to offer such obstruction would be borne down by an overwhelming force of public opinion, as well as by a consciousness of the mischief they were effecting, and the odium they would inevitably incur in the eyes even of their own constituents; and we should have no fear of Government being compelled, as at present, to drop measure after measure, to such an extent that the Legislature, at the end of the session, looks like a blighted tree with its fruit, in all stages of growth, strewing the ground beneath it, and only a few scattered here and there on the branches, which have been allowed to ripen. As it is, however, they allow the early part of the session

to pass without any important business being introduced ; then they come down with a multitude of measures ill digested and ill prepared ; these they are obliged to delay or postpone, in order to amend or reconstruct them ; they know they cannot carry them all, and they hesitate and vacillate as to which they will press, and which they will keep back ; they lose courage as to important measures which excite opposition, and shirk questions which they fancy may be hazardous to their tenure of office ; the public business ceases to make progress, and the main cause of this lies so obviously with the Government itself, that no one feels any scruple, or has cause to feel scruple, at occupying unreasonably the time of the House, because it is impossible to allege that even though he did not, the business of the nation would have been at all more advanced. The protraction and delay may so clearly be traced to the way in which the Government conducts that business, that others are freed from responsibility, and are screened from an odium which they would not venture to encounter ; and we conceive that the Committee might have expressed themselves even in stronger terms than they do, in the concluding paragraph of their Report, in which they say, “ They believe that by the careful preparation of measures, their early introduction, the judicious distribution of business between the two Houses, and the order and method with which measures are conducted, the Government can contribute in an essential degree to the easy and convenient conduct of business.”

One of the means enumerated in this extract for promoting the despatch of public business—namely, its judicious distribution between the two Houses—involves considerations still more important than even that of effecting the object immediately in view. It is, in itself, a grievous evil, and attaches disgrace to the Governments through whose fault the spectacle is presented, that the House of Lords, a branch of our Legislature well fitted to render the most essential services to the country, should, session after session, be held up to the scorn of the public as utterly useless, and should be treated as if it were unworthy to be trusted with any real share in the work of legislation. For at least three-fourths of the session this House is compelled to meet, day by day, with no business of the slightest moment to perform ; and after sitting a few minutes, and listening, it may be, to an extravaganza of Lord Brougham, to adjourn till the morrow ; while during the latter portion of it they are inundated with bills brought up from the Commons, which it is utterly impossible they can properly consider, or render any effective aid in bringing to perfection ; so that they are reduced to the dilemma of either acting simply and merely as a registering chamber to record the bills

of the Commons, or—if they attempt to perform their functions as a branch of the Legislature—of obstructing the public business, and of postponing to another session measures which the necessities of the country urgently require to be passed. The whole blame of this sad and shameful exhibition lies on the Government of the day. As the legislation of the country is now, of necessity, carried on, almost all public measures must originate with the Government. Private members of the Legislature cannot hope to carry such through. They cannot be expected to make the attempt, and would not succeed if they did. On the other hand, the assistance of the Lords is of the utmost value in perfecting the hastily considered bills which are often passed through the Commons in their original crude state; and in certain branches of legislation—as, for instance, that of legal reforms, which is as extensive as it is important—the House of Lords is peculiarly fitted for taking the lead. That a great saving in the time of Parliament would be secured, and superior legislation attained, would alone be a sufficient reason for ministers introducing a due proportion of their measures in the House of Lords; but they are under a still stronger obligation to do so in order to preserve to that House the respect of the nation, and its proper position as a co-equal branch of the Legislature. If a ministry hostile to the aristocracy, or opposed to the existence of a Second Chamber, were to seek for the means by which they could bring the peerage into contempt with the country, and effect the ultimate abolition of the House of Lords, they could not find a method of accomplishing their purpose more certain of success than the system which for some years has been pursued towards that House; and it is utterly inconceivable to us how men really and sincerely attached to that part of our Constitution should allow any considerations to lead them to follow a course of conduct so injurious, or, indeed, so fatal to its continued usefulness and existence. We sincerely trust it will no longer be persevered in, and that, in the ensuing session, a change of practice will be introduced, essential alike to the proper disposal of the business of the country, and to the maintenance of our Constitution in all its integrity, which can only be effected by realizing the practical utility and value of every portion of it.

Of the subjects to which the attention of Parliament will chiefly be directed during this session, that of Financial Reform will, in all likelihood, excite the greatest interest, as it will certainly occupy the longest time. It is not a subject which can be concentrated into one discussion, and be disposed of by the vote on one question. Every committee of supply, and each separate item of the estimates, presents an opportunity for debat-



ing its general principles, or applying them to particular branches of the expenditure; and although the policy of the advocates of this growing cause will lead them to avoid, as much as possible, the risk of its being frittered down into fragments, and disposed of piecemeal, in questions of detail, the discussion must necessarily extend over a much larger space than that on any single definite measure, such as the abolition of the Corn Laws.

This subject has been of late far too much overlooked, and it has never at any time been treated in Parliament in a broad, comprehensive, and general way. It seems now likely to be dealt with in such a way, and with an earnestness corresponding to its vast importance. The state of our finances is itself sufficiently serious, and when viewed with reference to the fearful calamities which embarrassed finances scarcely ever fail to bring upon a nation, it is truly appalling. The existing evils of the restraints upon our trade—the repression of our industrial energies, and the burden on our people,—which result from the excessive taxation of this country, are sufficiently grievous; while, if we anticipate any events which might permanently diminish our national income, or still farther increase our national expenditure, such as an inevitable war—on the probability of the occurrence of which the opponents of the Financial Reform movement found their resistance to any effective reduction in our existing naval and military establishments—we must also anticipate the *risk*, at least, of a national bankruptcy, with all the fearful confusions, convulsions, and confiscation of property, which such an event would inevitably involve.

A great reduction in our expenditure is imperatively required. Sad experience, however, has taught, that neither the Government, of whatever party composed, nor the Legislature, will, of their own accord, effect the necessary retrenchment and economy unless compelled by the people. The people, therefore, must themselves take the matter in hand, and they are now preparing to do so with a zeal, determination, and unanimity, which cannot fail to prove successful. Mr. Cobden, whose persevering energies in forming and directing the Anti-Corn Law League, accomplished so great and wonderful a victory as that which crowned its efforts, has put himself at the head of a similar combination, of which the object is “to reduce the public expenditure to, at least, the standard of 1835, and to secure a more equitable and economical system of taxation.” In his addresses, Mr. Cobden refrains from entering into detail in reference to the particular items on which a saving should be effected. This course is at all events judicious, with a view to the success of his scheme of agitation. The great body of the classes whose support he must gain in order to carry

the object proposed, would not listen with interest to lengthened statements of minute details in all the branches of the public service, nor could they be expected to form any strong or clear opinion as to each separate article. Neither is it necessary that they should. They can perfectly understand this:—that the country cannot afford to provide for the present amount of expenditure, and that, in point of fact, the public service was carried on, not many years since, for £10,000,000 less than it costs now. It is the privilege of the nation to determine how much they can and will spend, and they are perfectly competent to decide this, leaving it to the Government to prepare the scheme for applying the amount most beneficially for the service of the country. It would be idle folly in the leaders of a great movement like this, to fritter away their strength in separate attacks on a thousand separate items, instead of concentrating their whole strength for an assault on the grand extravagance of the country's expenditure—namely, that branch of it which includes four-fifths of the whole—the military establishment, whether by land or sea.

In meeting this assault in Parliament, all parties will, doubtless, in general terms, acknowledge the necessity of economy and retrenchment; and the Government, we may be satisfied, will actually effect a number of praiseworthy reductions in matters of detail and of administration, which, though presenting a long list in enumeration, will exhibit a comparatively small sum total in the amount saved, certainly far within what the necessities of the country and the state of its finances require. But we have no hope that they will go further, or that they will make any approach to the standard of 1835, which has been suggested, and we doubt not will be generally adopted, as that for reducing our present expenditure, to which the efforts of the people should be directed. It is said, indeed, that this is altogether an arbitrary standard, and that the expenditure of 1792, or of any other year, might just as well be fixed on. But it is impossible, in this way, to evade the force of the facts, that the service of the State was efficiently performed at an expenditure by ten millions less than that of last year, so recently as 1835, and that the country is now in nearly the same condition as then; no event or change of circumstances having occurred which can, by possibility, warrant an increase of expenditure so great as that from £44,422,000 to £54,596,000. It may be that the economy of that period was not in all respects the most judicious with reference to particular branches, but making every allowance on this account, its expenditure must at least have very nearly approximated to the amount which was necessary for the public service. The country has, it is true, since then

increased in population ; but this ought to involve merely an increase in the expenditure in its civil service ; whereas the augmentation has been almost entirely on the branches of the military service. It is, indeed, the expenditure on this service alone which presents room for a reduction of such probable amount as to excite any strong interest in the people at large, or to afford any sensible relief from their burdens. The whole civil service costs about six millions, while the expense of the military service (including in this the army, navy, and ordnance) is £18,502,000, a sum above the amount (£18,024,000) which provided for every branch of the public service, civil and military, in 1830, when the Duke of Wellington's Administration was turned out, by the party now in power, on a formal vote condemnatory of its extravagance. In 1835 the expense of the military service was £11,657,000, the increase since that date having been about seven millions. Now what has occasioned the necessity for such an increase, or imposes the necessity of continuing to maintain it ? The standing justification of an extensive navy, and a large army, is rested on the risk of war, and the importance of preventing attacks on the part of other nations, by showing how well prepared we are to repel them. Now, we admit the paramount importance of the defence of the country to every other consideration, but we deny that the risks of war have increased since 1835, or that it is the existence of large military establishments which will deter hostile nations from provoking a quarrel with us. The probability of war, indeed, we rejoice to think, has greatly diminished since that period. Not only has the desire for peace between nation and nation gained strength, but occasions of war have been removed out of the way. The expulsion of the Orleans dynasty from France has, of itself, relieved us of the only cause of dispute which was likely to arise between that country and this, in connexion with the eventual succession to the throne of Spain ; and the recent revolutions throughout Europe have, for the future, excluded those fruitful sources of war which spring from personal or dynastic ambition, or the family rights and interests of sovereigns, to which so many of the former European wars must be traced. Other nations also are, for the present, and indeed are likely for a long while to be, too entirely engrossed with their own internal affairs to quarrel with us, unless we should attempt to interfere with them in the regulation of these. No one seriously believes that any of the nations of Europe will be mad enough to attack us ; and groaning, as *we* do, under the fearful burden of the debt incurred in our attempt to prevent the French nation from choosing their own form of government, and afterwards to compel them to give up the ruler

whom they had themselves elected, and whose natural heir they have now seated in his place, we surely will not be mad enough again to engage in a similar contest with any nation. But even if there were more risk than we believe there is, of being embroiled with foreign powers, so as to render it wise to maintain a position which will deter them from assailing us, we deny altogether that it is the existence of extensive armaments kept up during peace which will, in this way, secure us against war. Our safety from attack must mainly depend on our national spirit, courage, and determination—the extent of our resources, and a financial condition capable of providing the means of a prolonged contest. The mere existence of an immense army and navy will not deter another nation from going to war with us, if they believe that our resources are inadequate to furnish our armaments with the necessary means of action, and that our national spirit is not such as will bear us up amid the difficulties and dangers of a lengthened contest; while the knowledge that we are strongly imbued with such a spirit, and that we possess abundant resources, will, even of themselves, create such a wholesome respect, as to check the temptation to seize any temporary advantage that might be at the outset of a war secured, in consequence of the limited extent of the armament actually kept up in time of peace. Of the truth of this remark, America affords a pregnant proof. With a navy much inferior in extent to that of France or that of Britain, she maintains a tone and position at least as confident as either of them, and is treated with a respectful observance—showing that she is as secure from encroachments as nations with armaments of far greater magnitude. Indeed, an excessive military force constantly kept up as a burden on a country, may, by crippling its finances, actually incite to the very attack which the dread of it is intended to avoid.

It is said, however, that besides the necessity of being prepared for actual war, a large armament is essential to the maintenance of our proper *influence* in European politics. We really do not know that it is now-a-days of much importance to this country that her Government should exercise a great influence in European politics; but whatever influence it may be desirable they should exercise a country like this cannot fail to possess, irrespective of the extent to which she keeps up her army and navy, if her relations with other countries be but conducted with wisdom, in a friendly as well as firm spirit, and with due respect to them; while, if conducted otherwise, and especially if our diplomacy be marked with an unwarranted intermeddling in their domestic affairs, we can only look for hatred, disregard of our advice, and a resolution to thwart us in every direction. Nothing

can show more clearly how unavailing a mere extent of force is to maintain the influence which is thereby sought to be preserved, than the present state of our relations with the continental powers. Our naval and military force has never been so great in time of peace, and we have largely employed it in demonstrations over all the world in order to back our diplomacy; but scarcely at any time has our real influence been more contemptible than at the present moment. We have miserably failed in every object we have attempted; we have been subjected to slights and insults which would have been appropriate to the times of James I. or Charles II.; and our only relief from general contempt is, that we are hated even more than we are scorned. It is worse than idle to plead the importance of maintaining our diplomatic influence in Europe as a reason for keeping up an extravagant armament in time of peace; and, indeed, one great collateral benefit which may be expected to result from a reduction in our military establishments would be, that our Government would be less inclined to interfere in the disputes between nation and nation, or between the people of other countries and their rulers.

The great contest in the question of retrenchment will necessarily be as to the *extent* of the army and navy. That much may be saved by the introduction of greater economy into the details of the administration of these establishments, is true; but important as it is that such economy should not be overlooked, the great object is a reduction in the amount of the force, without which nothing in the way of retrenchment can be effected which will admit of any material relief to the nation. It is, indeed, highly satisfactory to observe that there is no appearance of any tendency to cut down the pay, whether of officers or men, below a fair and proper remuneration for their services. No one would propose for a moment to deprive the soldier of those provisions for his comfort and improvement which have been recently introduced under the superintendence of the present excellent Secretary-at-War, who, with kind-hearted and enlightened sympathy, has made so good a commencement in the attempt to raise the condition of the men in the ranks of our army. On the contrary, the people of this country would, we are persuaded, willingly see these provisions added to, and the allowances of the soldier and sailor made such as absolutely to supersede, in the army, the revolting arts of the recruiting service, and in the navy, the atrocious and cruel tyranny of the system of impressment. The country fully appreciates the merits of her gallant navy and army. She does not grudge, and will not refuse, a full remuneration for whatever services she really requires, but she will not submit to the burden of a permanent

armament in time of peace, far beyond what she can afford, or what is necessary for her protection.

Eminently desirable and important, however, though it be, that the utmost possible reduction should be effected in our expenditure, it is impossible to keep out of view the depressing and discouraging fact, that out of the fifty-four millions which the nation pays annually, twenty-eight millions are required to defray the interest on the national debt, and that while that debt exists, this immense proportion of our expenditure must be excluded from the amount on which any retrenchment can be attempted. This consideration is apt to generate a feeling of hopelessness, which would nearly amount to despair, if we were in the habit of dwelling much on the subject. We have, however, been so long accustomed to our debt, that while we can never cease to be sensible of the *burden* of it, we have nearly lost sight of the *danger* which attends its continued subsistence. Yet no one who seriously thinks of the subject, and contemplates the not improbable occurrence of events which would produce still greater embarrassments in our finances than any we have yet experienced, can avoid a feeling of alarm at the almost certain consequences, of which the most immediate—the violation of the national faith—though that most to be condemned and deplored, would scarcely be the most fearful. As yet, the determination to maintain that faith with the public creditor is universal among all the respectable classes of society; but it will not stand the pressure to which, in the lapse of time, it must inevitably be exposed; and if the national creditor be once despoiled, the proprietor will not stand secure. We earnestly wish that men would bring themselves to look steadfastly in the face the danger the country is exposed to by the existence of a national debt, which is felt to be intolerably oppressive—which fetters the energies of the country—restricts her trade—obstructs her in the march of internal improvement—exposes her to assaults from abroad, and keeps her ever on the brink of anarchy and confusion at home. If they did, we should not absolutely despair of their deliberately considering some plan for effecting that which at present will seem the wild project of an extravagant dreamer—the payment of the debt; but which, we believe, would prove the only safeguard against ultimate national bankruptcy or repudiation, and all its attendant consequences.

Looking at the nation simply in its corporate character, no diminution in its wealth would result from effecting such a payment. The expenditure, so far as the nation is concerned, has already taken place. This consisted in the destruction and consumption of stores and munitions of war, the exportation of



bullion, and, generally, the whole expenses incurred during our former wars. The loss took place then. To meet that loss, the State borrowed the funds of individual members of the community, to whom, or those in their right, it still owes the amount. In repaying that debt, the nation would not require to destroy any further wealth, nor, as in the case of China in the payment of the ransom to this country, to take out of the realm any portion of its property. The transaction would consist in the *transference* of property from one class of the community to another class of the community,—from the owners of property (among whom the creditors would so far be themselves ranked) to these creditors, almost exclusively members of the national body. The operation would be purely internal; and so far as the nation, in its corporate capacity is concerned, the result would be one of advantage as unqualified as it was great. Taxes to the amount of twenty-eight millions a-year would be at once repealed, thus relieving the country from a fearful burden, and placing it in a position of commanding power to commence a new career of glorious prosperity and advancement, freed from the crushing weight which now represses all its energies and impedes its every movement. The burden would fall on the *individual* proprietors of the nation, but that would be counterbalanced to a greater extent than will generally be supposed. At present, so far as regards the national debt, every owner of property is in the situation of a man whose estate is under mortgage, and liable for a certain amount of yearly interest. That interest is levied in the shape of taxes, and if the taxes to pay the interest of the debt were all imposed upon the owners of property alone, the appropriation of such a proportion of that property as was necessary to pay off the debt, would simply be the redemption of a mortgage, or the buying up of an annual rent charge. This, however, is not the case. A large portion of the taxes levied for this purpose is raised on articles of consumption, from the labouring and trading population, on whom it would be impossible to lay a share of the debt. Still, though the proprietor paid more than the fair purchase-money of the taxes from which he would be relieved, he would obtain an ample consideration for this in the state of security to which he would thereby attain; and, besides, no one can attend to the tendency of public opinion at present, without seeing that proprietors will ere long, if the debt continue, have to submit to a much larger portion of the taxation necessary for the payment of the interest of that debt than they at present bear. The whole real property of the kingdom may be taken in round numbers at 2300 millions, and the personal property at 2200 millions, in all 4500 millions. Stating the debt at 800 millions, it would require nearly one-fifth of the whole property of the kingdom to pay it. Each man would have

to sacrifice that proportion of his estate or realized funds; but, as the sacrifice would be made by all, each would hold the same relative place which he occupied before, and in addition to his direct relief from taxation, he would also participate in the general prosperity of the country, which would rise with a buoyant spring on the removal of the weight which has so long pressed down its energies.

A natural feeling would doubtless arise that the debt incurred by a former generation might still be handed over to that which is to succeed, and that the existing generation cannot in justice be called upon to provide the capital of a debt, in the contraction of which they had no concern. But the question to be considered by the present race of proprietors, is, whether their own interest, safety, and security do not require all the sacrifice they would be called upon to make. Many, it is true, would be under the necessity of selling portions of their property, but the creditors who were paid off would require investments for their funds, and by coming into the market would prevent an undue depreciation; while a separate and collateral advantage would result in the division of estates, and the augmentation of the number of proprietors of land. While the process of incurring the greater portion of the debt was going on, another process was keeping pace with it, by which the number of separate properties was reduced to an extent that seems almost incredible. It is calculated that during the half century which preceded the peace of 1815, the land of England, previously parcelled out among 250,000 families, came to be held by only thirty-two thousand; and it would not be the least of the benefits attending the repayment of the debt, that the process would be reversed, and the basis of proprietorship again extended.

A proposal to pay off the national debt will, as we have said, seem utterly wild, but it will appear so only because no one imagines that the owners of property could evince such courage, patriotism, and self-denial, as to submit to a sacrifice which, looking to the actual relief from taxation it would purchase, could not be deemed very extravagant, while it would save their country—launch it on a new career of augmented prosperity, and secure themselves and their children from dangers of no light kind, and no improbable occurrence, should this burden be allowed to lie on the nation till its galling oppressiveness and a convulsive effort to get rid of it issue in revolution, confiscation, and anarchy. Meanwhile, it is the duty of all to seek to obtain whatever amount of relief is practically attainable, and we trust, that, though the combined efforts now commenced may not achieve much during this session of Parliament, these will ultimately accomplish results well worth the struggling for.

Another subject of equal urgency with Financial Reform, and of far greater difficulty, which will press early on the attention of Parliament, is the condition of Ireland, with reference especially to the working of the Poor Law, now producing there such momentous results. When a compulsory provision for the able-bodied poor was first introduced into Ireland, in opposition to the deliberate opinion of the able and intelligent Commissioners who had spent three years in investigating the state of the country with reference to that question, it was on a scale so limited that its enactment could only be looked on as preliminary to the extension which has since taken place; or, if no such extension was contemplated, as having for its object some collateral and incidental advantage, such as the establishment of some universal rating which might serve as a means of testing the qualification for enrolment of voters for members of Parliament. It was obvious, however, to all who had considered the tendencies of such a Poor Law once introduced in connexion with the state of the Irish population, that, with whatever intention originated, it would inevitably advance with the fearfully rapid strides which have, in point of fact, characterized its progress. The machine so set up was of capacity sufficient to drain off the whole produce of the country;—the amount of unemployed population destitute of all self-dependence afforded a power capable of ultimately working it to the utmost extent of its capacity; and even already, a point has been reached which places the landed property of Ireland on the very brink of confiscation.

In some places one-fifth of the population are on the poor's roll; rates of five, seven, and ten shillings, in the pound, are frequent, and in one Union, as stated last session by the Chancellor of Exchequer, the amount had reached nineteen shillings and sixpence, so that a rate in aid out of the public revenue of the empire was required and voted. These rates, too, are largely in arrear; the attempt to levy them has been resisted, and the aid of a military force has been required in more than one instance, so that the poor-rate threatens to take the place formerly occupied by the tithe prior to the Commutation Act;—the peasantry in large numbers are throwing up their plots of ground and farms, that they may pass over from the rate-paying to the rate-consuming class;—the gentry are approaching fast to a state of bankruptcy;—many have been obliged to abandon their residences, which have, in several instances, been turned into supplemental poor's-houses for those who are now the true beneficiaries in the estates;—others have been compelled to give up the improvements on their own estates which they had previously been in use to carry on, but which the abstraction of so large a portion of their income, in the shape of poor's-rates, prevents them from

further prosecuting ;—dread and alarm pervade all classes above that composed of the recipients of relief, while the misery of the mass of the population appears to be as intense and as widespread as ever.

Nothing can be more striking than the complete falsification of the views on which the introduction into Ireland of a Poor Law for the able-bodied was attempted to be justified. The foundation on which it was rested was the assumption, that such was the horror of the Irish for confinement, that the mere terror of the workhouse would operate as a stimulus to support themselves sufficient to effect that object. Mr. Nicholls, whom Lord John Russell employed to make a three months' scamper over Ireland in order to overthrow the report—the result of three years' inquiry and deliberation—of the Royal Commissioners appointed by the Government of which he was a member, and on whose judgment the original Poor Law was based, seemed to consider that the dread of "workhouse discipline" would accomplish what starvation discipline could not effect; overlooking this, that even if the Irish viewed confinement in a workhouse with more terror than starvation itself, neither the one nor the other could provide work which was not to be had. The Commissioners had reported that there "were out of work and in distress during thirty weeks in the year" no less than 585,000 persons, with 1,800,000 others dependent on them, making, in all, not under 2,385,000; and they justly observed, that "the difficulty in Ireland is not to make the able-bodied look for employment, but to find it profitably for the many who seek it." Mr. Nicholls, however, and the Government who acted on his opinion, full of the notion that the stimulus which answered in England, where, in general, the willing worker can find work, would answer in Ireland, where the grand want was the want of work, which no stimulus could supply, fancied that the sight of a workhouse and the apprehension of workhouse discipline were all that was needed. It is obvious, that even had the stimulus of the workhouse been more powerful with the Irish than the stimulus of starvation, which was in full operation previously, it never could have enabled them to find work when "work there was not for them." But what has experience shown even as to the assumed dread of the workhouse? So far from being shunned, the workhouses of Ireland are actually besieged for admission. Buildings erected to contain 1000 inmates are crammed with upwards of 3000, and enlargements, or supplemental houses, are everywhere in progress.

Again, it was assumed, that the necessary result of the introduction of a Poor Law for the able-bodied would be, that the landed proprietors, in order to keep down the rates, would afford

employment to the labouring population in the improvement of their estates. This was to be the *stimulus* to the landlords, as the dread of workhouse discipline was to be the *stimulus* to the destitute; and it was relied on with equal confidence as certain to produce a complete transformation in Ireland, and to bring about that healthful state of full natural employment to which alone, as Mr. Nicholls truly remarks, “the labourers of a country can look for permanent occupation, and the means of support.” But what has been the result? Why, that not only have none been thus stimulated to provide employment, but that numbers of those proprietors who had been in use to do so, have been compelled to give up the further improvement of their estates, and to dismiss the labourers employed by them, being unable to pay both wages and the enormous poor’s-rates to which they are subjected.

This, however, was exactly the result which *ought* to have been looked for. Even if the estates of the Irish gentry had been altogether unencumbered, the exaction of a fifth, a fourth, or a half of their rental, for poor’s-rates, was not likely to lead to increased expenditure in the improvement of these; but in the embarrassed condition of the greater part of the proprietors, the diversion of a much smaller proportion of their income must, in most cases, have absolutely precluded the possibility of their undertaking any expenditure for this purpose. Besides, in general they could reap no advantage, in the shape of relief from rates, by any extent of employment given by them to the labouring population on their own properties. Even had the parishes all constituted separate rateable divisions, there would be very few in which there would not be found one or more proprietors who provided no employment, and whose population would consequently fall to be supported by the rates; and, of course, the other proprietors could not be expected both to employ their own people, and to pay rates for the support of those whose landlords would not, or could not, provide employment for theirs. But as if to exclude the possibility of this motive, on which the advocates of the law so strongly rested, being operative to any extent, the rateable divisions generally embrace several parishes, all included in one union, and so extensive that, in no case, can a proprietor hope, in any sensible degree, to diminish the rate by whatever extent of employment it may be in his power to provide. The present Poor Law, instead of operating as a stimulus to the creation of natural employment, presents an almost insuperable barrier to its extension, and tends greatly to limit that which was previously provided.

Finally, it was confidently anticipated that the introduction of the Poor Law into Ireland would stay the stream of mendi-

cancy which poured over the whole surface of Britain such a flood of Irish paupers. But instead of this, that flood rolls on even more copiously than before ; so threatening to lower and degrade our own population, as to lead men almost seriously to entertain the idea of permitting a repeal of the Union, that we might the more easily erect some effective barrier against its overwhelming and destructive torrent.

All parties seem agreed that matters cannot be allowed to remain as they are ; but the changes as yet suggested seem to us little calculated to supply the defects or redress evils so universally acknowledged.

The two principal alterations which have been advocated in Ireland are,—1. The diminution of the areas of taxation, by taking for this purpose, the parishes or electoral divisions, instead of the unions ; and, 2. The extension of the fund from which the provision for the poor is to be drawn.

1. Now, as to the first of these proposed amendments, it is no doubt true that, in some cases, to a certain, though, we believe, to a comparatively limited extent, the change of the area of taxation, from the union to the parish or electoral division, would remove the obstruction now presented to the employment of labourers, in the improvement of their estates by liberal-minded proprietors who have funds at their command, by the certainty that no efforts of theirs, in this way, will sensibly diminish or even keep down the rate ; but there is a practical bar to the adoption of such a measure, in the circumstance that in almost every union there are one or more parishes or divisions, the whole rental of which would not support their own poor. If, then, these were severed from the union, how would the destitute population be maintained ? It was stated by the Chancellor of Exchequer last year, that in some parishes, if the rateable division were changed from the union to the parish, the sum required for the support of the poor would amount to greatly beyond the whole produce of the parish, amounting, in one case mentioned by him, to no less than forty-four shillings in the pound. How then could they be supported ? If the principle of the Poor Law be, that every man is entitled to work or subsistence, they cannot be excluded from the benefit of that privilege, legally acknowledged to be the right of all. They must then be supported either by a rate in aid, or out of the public funds. A rate in aid would, however, be substantially the same thing as the present rate over the union ; and a supplemental provision out of the public revenue, which would be a rate in aid over the kingdom at large, will not, we presume, be contemplated by any one, at least on this side of the Channel, as admissible. To a certain extent, indeed, such a supplemental provision was voted



by Parliament, last year, out of the general revenue ; but such a mode of supplying the wants of Ireland cannot be continued. The distribution of a general fund by local boards, and that too in Ireland, would insure the most reckless extravagance, and an eager struggling between the various parishes for the largest possible share of the spoil ; while the destitute population would expand with the amount granted, and is capable of exhausting far more than the funds of this country can possibly afford to pay. Besides, the people of England and Scotland will not submit permanently to bear the burden of maintaining the labouring population of Ireland. They nobly responded to her cry of distress under the providential visitation to which she has been subjected, but her ordinary destitution must be otherwise provided for.

2. The other mode of alleviating the burden now felt to be so oppressive, is by extending the fund from which the provision for the poor is drawn. It is proposed that moveable estate should be made liable to be rated as well as real estate. This is, and long has been, allowed in Scotland, and we readily acknowledge the justice of equalizing the burden, while it subsists, over all the holders of property whether personal or real. But although some relief would for the first year or so be thereby obtained, it would not be permanent. With three millions of a destitute population, and a capacity of indefinite increase, the demands would rapidly augment with the rateable fund, and in a wonderfully short time the rates would again reach, and then pass beyond their present point ; and ultimately the only result would be to involve the merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, in the same ruin with the landed proprietors.

That ruin is certainly advancing with rapid strides ; and the fearful evils which the domination of the ascendant body in Ireland has brought upon the people is now likely to meet with a fearful retribution, though not at the hands of those whom they have kept down and oppressed, but at those of the very Government whose predecessors were their abettors in the wrongs inflicted. A confiscation more gradual, indeed, but not less sure, than those of Henry, James, and Cromwell, is fast restoring to the descendants of the “ mere Irish” the produce of the lands taken from their forefathers and bestowed upon the Saxon ; and if the present system go on for a few years longer, the greater portion of the rental of Ireland will be transferred to the body of the population. If the Government were deliberately seeking to reduce the whole inhabitants, rich and poor, proprietor and peasant, to one common level, that they might rear a totally new framework of society, they could not pursue a course more likely to effect the object ; and if the new erection were likely to secure

prosperity and happiness in future to that wretched land, we might possibly succeed in shutting our eyes to the immediate misery which must be suffered, and in thinking only of the retribution on an unpatriotic selfish race, and the regeneration of the people they had so long degraded and oppressed. No such prospect, however, can reasonably be entertained. The reduction of the whole population of Ireland to one common mass of pauperism would only the more certainly secure its perpetual degradation and poverty, and remove every element through the operation of which the people might be elevated.

Meanwhile that process is going on with alarming rapidity, and we know not how it can be stayed, so long as the English nation and its representatives continue to view with such infatuated favour their system of a Poor Law for the able-bodied,—to attribute to its operation all the results of the inherent independence and indomitable energy and industry of their people, and of the natural advantages of their country, and to look on it as the grand panacea for all the evils of every people, under whatever circumstances, and of whatever character. We had hoped that the exhibition of the real tendencies of the principle of that system which was presented to the world in France, immediately consequent on the recent Revolution, would have staggered men in their strange confidence in it; but with marvellous ingenuity or blindness, while condemning without qualification the steps attempted to be taken there for the permanent recognition of the “rights of labour,” they will not see that the principle there contended for, and for a time carried into operation, is identically the same principle with that on which the English Poor Law is rested. That principle is, that every man has a *right* to be provided with labour, or failing that, with subsistence. In France, its natural tendencies, and the results to which it inevitably leads, appeared more palpable, because it was introduced without any check, and in circumstances which at once gave free scope to its power. The provision of work to the unemployed was there to be made by the State directly, and out of the public revenue. All the streams of destitution were consequently drawn into one channel, and directed, with united and overwhelming force, against the central Government, by which the relief was to be administered. All moral restraint, too, was withdrawn, and the working population, instead of feeling it a degradation to be dependent on the means of others, looked on their right to labour or support as one, or the chief, of the objects for which they had effected the Revolution, and as the legitimate reward of their exertions and their triumph; while the destruction of credit, and the stoppage of all private enterprises, vastly augmented the masses whose wants had to be supplied, and con-

sequently the pressure on the Government. It soon became evident that an universal confiscation of property must inevitably result from the principle which had been recognised and put into operation. The only alternative was ruin, on the one hand, or the overthrow of this principle, on the other. After a fierce and bloody conflict, the friends of order and property triumphed,—the national workshops were closed, and the principle of the English Poor Law, which had wrought such wild mischief, and brought the nation to the brink of destruction, was solemnly negatived by the National Assembly, and refused to be admitted into the new constitution.

That it has not, as yet, fully developed its native tendencies in England, is owing in part to the character of the people, and in part to the practical checks which the mode of administration interposes. The English people are so strongly imbued with an instinct of active industry, and a spirit of personal self-dependence, that they have long resisted the adverse influences of their own Poor Law system. The administration, again, being parochial, the streams, which in France were collected into one channel, and directed against a common centre, are distributed into thousands of rills, the force and pressure of which are vastly lessened by division, while they are easily subjected to all the checks and obstructions which the local management provides. These restraints, however, are daily becoming less efficacious. The habit of energetic industry is, among large classes, giving way; while the avowed recognition of the principle of a right to employment or maintenance is going far, by the substitution of a false and bastard independence, founded on the notion that they are *entitled* to employment or support, to supersede that true and noble self-dependence which scorns to live on the means of others, and which the mere *practice*, without the recognition of the *principle*, of the Poor Law so long failed to overcome. Accordingly, although the progress has been slow, the flood is constantly rising and advancing. The pressure on the checks interposed is daily becoming more severe; already the grand barrier—that of the workhouse-test—introduced by the Poor Law Amendment Act as the only means of saving the country from an ultimate state of universal pauperism, is yielding and breaking down; and we are compelled once more to watch the rise of those waters whose progress it was hoped had been stayed, but which must, by an inevitable law of nature, continue to advance, so long as the principle which the French, by a convulsive effort to save themselves from instant ruin, expelled, continues to be fostered and acted on.

In Ireland, the moral restraints which have operated so powerfully in England in checking the natural tendencies of the

principle of the Poor Law, have scarcely any existence, while the artificial obstructions have been to a great extent omitted. Partly from peculiarities of character which mark the race, but mainly from the circumstances in which, for generations, they have been placed, the Irish are without habits of permanent and steady industry, while they have scarcely any feeling of personal self-dependence which would make them rely exclusively on their own exertions for support. Kept under as a degraded race for ages,—all hope of raising themselves by their own efforts excluded,—the objects of a grinding oppression on the part of the dominant class, and with minds debased by an enslaving superstition, they have fallen into a state of degraded recklessness, and willingly abandon themselves to the condition of hopeless pauperism, which the Poor Law has legalized, and which holds out at least some prospect of maintenance at the cost of others, and without exertion on their own part. The population, too, thus constituted, has long been greatly in excess of the natural employment which the country provides; and, even subject to the artificial checks which exist in England, it would soon swallow up the whole rental of the land. But, as if to make matters worse, these have been, in a great measure, dispensed with by the Legislature. The rateable areas have been made much larger than in England, so as to increase the pressure; the administration has been made more central and less local, so as to diminish the resistance; while the great defence which was deemed necessary to secure England against being overwhelmed by a flood of pauperism—namely, the workhouse-test—has now been deliberately rejected as to Ireland, where it was so much more imperatively needed. Accordingly, during the short period for which the Poor Laws have existed in the latter country, the system has advanced with gigantic strides. The proportion of the population receiving relief, and of the rents absorbed in providing it, already far exceed that which has been reached in England. These, too, are increasing with alarming speed. The population is becoming more and more sunk in the apathetic dependence of permanent and hopeless pauperism. The rental of some unions has already been exhausted by the rates, and all are fast approaching to that state; while British capital, through which alone natural employment could be expected to be provided, is absolutely excluded by its subjection—in addition to all the previous risk of insecurity—to an indefinitely augmenting burden, to which it is impossible to see a limit short of the exhaustion of all it is capable of yielding. No sane man on this side of the channel, however enterprising, would lay out his funds in improving land in Ireland, under a state of things in which every pound of return he may create is liable to a rate of five, ten, or fifteen shillings, with a

not improbable prospect of being in a few years absorbed altogether. Even as regards the indirect and collateral advantages which are supposed to flow from a Poor Law for the able-bodied, Ireland is past the stage at which alone these could be available. Many who cannot stand up in defence of such a Poor Law with reference to its direct operation, still insist that, by its action on proprietors, leading them to prevent the erection of additional dwelling-houses on their lands, it tends to keep the population within the existing means of employment and subsistence. In truth, we believe that this action only effects the undue accumulation of masses in towns and villages, and creates such nests of physical and moral pollution and disease, as was lately held up to the view of the public in the case of Hilton Abbas; but, supposing it really would operate in the way supposed, where the population had not already become excessive in numbers, and thoroughly degraded in habits, the time for applying such a check in Ireland is gone. The population has been allowed to increase so far beyond the existing means of employment, that nothing but a wholesale extirpation of millions would reduce it within due limits; while their habits have been so utterly degraded, that restraints on the erection of dwelling-houses, however great, would never prevent marriage and increase, but would only drive a larger portion of them into lairs like those of the beasts of the field.

There is therefore no hope for Ireland so long as this system is maintained;—not that its removal would, in itself, positively and directly advance the improvement of the Irish people, but that it would take out of the way that which not only occupies the place of something better, and excludes it, but which operates as an insuperable barrier to the beneficial operation of every measure for their good. What then is to be done? Are the landlords to be relieved from the duties which property imposes on them, and the people to be left to unassisted misery and degradation? Assuredly not. This is not the only alternative; and, dark as the prospect is, there would be no reason to despair, if statesmen, instead of, with blind prejudice, applying to Ireland the systems which they fancy to have wrought well in England, under circumstances totally different, and in some respects opposite, would frame their remedies with some reference to the real condition and wants of Ireland itself, and the actual causes of its evils.

We have no desire to see the landlords of Ireland relieved from their proper duties as proprietors, or from any burdens for the benefit of the population which the long-continued neglect of these duties may have entailed upon them. The present state of that population is owing in a great measure to them and their

predecessors. As a dominant class—as an alien race—as, from absenteeism, withdrawn to a large extent from the influence of those feelings which lead proprietors to seek the elevation or improvement of the dwellers on their land, they have been removed from the operation of the motives and sympathies which so powerfully stimulate resident proprietors, under ordinary circumstances, to fulfil the duties that property imposes. These have, with some bright and noble exceptions, been for generations, and are still, shamefully neglected by the landlords of Ireland. It is but right that the State should step in, and either compel the performance of these, or, as it best can, itself accomplish them at their expense. We would spare the Irish landlords no burden for this purpose which would really conduce to the welfare of the people. At present, however, they are taxed and brought to the verge of bankruptcy only to render the degradation of the people more permanent and complete. We would not relieve them from all taxation for behoof of the labouring population, but we would make it just in amount and limited in duration, and apply its proceeds towards such improvements as a patriotic proprietary would voluntarily have undertaken and accomplished, and as will tend to advance a state in which sufficient natural employment would be furnished through the ordinary channels, while the labouring-classes were stimulated to industry, and elevated in habits and condition.

Till some progress has been made in bringing Ireland to the state in which it would have been had the proprietors done their duty, let there be an universal labour-rate there; but instead of its being, as at present, liable to an indefinite augmentation which threatens, ere long, to absorb the whole rental, let it be subjected to a reasonable limit which it shall in no case exceed. Then, instead of wasting the amount so raised, on the idle inmates of a workhouse, or on multitudes employed in some mockery of useless labour, invented as a test which it can scarcely ever answer, let it be appropriated to the execution of those classes of public improvements which would open up the resources of the country, and form new channels for future employment—such as main lines of communication—canals—river navigations—making available extensive sources of water power—the erection of fishing harbours, and the like. Then let these be executed, not in the shape of relieving paupers, at test or pauper work, but by going into the labour market in the ordinary way, and benefiting the mass of the community simply by withdrawing a portion of the competitors for private employment, and the parties employed, by the payment of wages fully earned by their own work and independent exertions. And further, let them be carried on, as far as may be, in co-operation with local



proprietors or associations, and at mutual expense in those cases where a special advantage is to be derived by these parties, as has been done, with such eminent success, by the Destitution Committee in Scotland, in conjunction with the Highland proprietors, particularly in Ross-shire. In this way, the general fund, in addition to the employment provided, and the reproductive improvements effected, would stimulate largely an additional outlay by individual proprietors, whose interest would also lead to a more economical and efficient administration. Beyond this, the extensive improvable wastes now in the hands of proprietors who cannot or will not reclaim them, should be acquired by the State, by compulsory sale, under some such scheme as was contained in the bill introduced in the session before last, but then abandoned; and after the first great operations towards their improvement were effected, these should be subdivided and resold, in such a shape and at such terms as might induce men of some capital to undertake their complete improvement and cultivation, and so form a new race of valuable landowners. In the prosecution of the same object, additional facilities should be largely given for the sale of encumbered estates, for removing the fetters of entails, and simplifying tenures and conveyances,—and for, in every way, promoting the transfer of properties from the hands of those who are unable to perform the duties of proprietors, into the hands of others who could do justice to their estates, give employment to the labouring-classes in improving these, and increase the amount of agricultural produce drawn from the soil. By such means a wide door would be opened for that which is so important to the future welfare of Ireland—an influx of British capital, to make available the vast resources of that fertile land, so rich in soil, and so abundant in the means of manufacturing and commercial wealth. But to effect this, one additional requisite is absolutely essential—namely, security; and while security to life and property is essential to induce the British capitalist to transfer his capital to Ireland, security to the peasant and cultivator of the ground, that he shall certainly reap the benefits of his labour and his outlay upon it, is as essential in order to lay a foundation for elevating the character and condition of the great body of the people.

These two things are very nearly allied. As long as the peasant has no confidence in the law, and in the existing constitution of society securing to him the fruits of his exertions and outlay, he will not only continue in a state of apathetic inaction and indolence, but he will, whenever he deems himself wronged, seek to right himself at his own hand. The peasantry of Ireland are without such confidence, and so long as they continue in this state, there can be no sufficient security to life and

property among the classes above them, or among any classes by whom they may feel or fancy they are wronged. The very first step, therefore, towards giving security to life and property, and so rendering the investment of capital in Ireland safe, is to provide security to the peasant, and give him confidence in that security. Now his present want of confidence, and, we will also say, of security, arises from two separate causes. *First*, the nature of the tenure by which the land is generally possessed by the peasant; and, *Second*, the administration of the law, in the class of matters and transactions with which he is chiefly cognisant.

As to the first of these, he almost universally holds his land at the will of the landlord, except in Ulster, where tenant right prevails, and where a security to life and property unknown elsewhere in Ireland, together with a much better condition, owing to various causes on which we cannot enter here, are found. Improve it as he may, he is liable at any time to be turned out or to have his rent raised. He has no security, he can have no security, that he will reap the fruits of whatever labour or outlay he may expend in making the land possessed by him more productive. He has not even the reliance, doubtful as that is, which the kindly feelings of a resident proprietor afford, for he has generally to deal with a middleman or agent, whose sole duty and object is to extract as large a rent as possible from the unhappy tenant. In such a state of matters, the peasant is deprived of all stimulus to exertion or improvement, and, crushed down as the whole class have been for ages, they are without that hope of bettering their condition by their own efforts, and raising themselves in the social scale, which is the great spring of industry, the indispensable pre-requisite to attaining a habit of self-dependence. The very first step, therefore, towards making a beginning in the process of lifting them from the degradation into which they have fallen, is to afford them a security, on which they can confidently rely, that if they, by their own exertions, labour, and outlay, improve the value of the land possessed by them as tenants, they shall reap a reasonable return; and that the whole profits shall not fall to the landlord, or even be exposed to the risk of being appropriated by him.

To provide such security was the object of a bill recently introduced, but like many other similar measures, abandoned, by which it was proposed to be enacted, that tenants should be entitled to possess at the existing rent, until remunerated for improvements effected by them on the land. The details and regulations of the measure, however, were so complicated, and would have proved so troublesome, and given rise to so much litigation, that no practical good could have been looked for

from it; and assuredly it was not of a character calculated to have given the tenant such assurance of recovering the value of his ameliorations, as to lead him to venture on any outlay, or even to expend much labour, in improving his ground. Nor indeed, we fear, could any measure of this kind be so framed as to be practically available, and to give that confidence without which no object of any importance will be attained. A much more simple and unequivocal measure is absolutely necessary; and unwilling as we are that the free power and discretion of a landlord in letting his own land should be interfered with, we conceive that the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, arising in so large a measure from the neglect of the proprietors themselves, would warrant a temporary interposition of the Legislature, to effect the first upward movement in the elevation of the peasantry—to give the primary impulse to that stimulus which alone will raise them from their present state of degradation.

What, therefore, we would suggest is this: that all the present possessors of land to a certain specified extent, excluding the very smallest holdings, should be entitled to continue to possess, at the subsisting rent, for some definite space of time,—say for ten, or possibly fourteen years, subject, of course, to removal, by an easy and summary process, on failure to pay the rent. No doubt, considerable inconvenience would, in many cases, arise from such a general measure, which would in substance be the creation of a universal leasehold tenure for the next ten or fourteen years, instead of the present tenancy at will; but this would be far more than counterbalanced by the benefits. The tenants would have a motive for exertion which they do not now possess; they would entertain a hope of bettering themselves to which they have long been strangers, and which would give a new spring to their existence; and they would enjoy an actual security calculated to inspire confidence, and to remove that distrust whence so many evils flow.

The other subject in regard to which it is essential to give the peasant security and confidence, is the administration of the law in those matters in reference to which he is chiefly brought into contact with it. Now, as regards these matters, the law is almost exclusively administered by the Justices of Peace in their Petty and Quarter Sessions. These Justices, however, consist, with few exceptions, of that very dominant class whom the peasantry look on as their oppressors and natural enemies, from whom also they chiefly suffer the wrongs, for redress of which they would seek protection of the law, had they any confidence in its administration. That, however, they cannot have; and considering how long the law has been administered by the class of landlords, it is no wonder that they should also deem it the

ally of their oppressors, and view it with a like enmity and distrust. However purely administered, it cannot be expected that the peasant should confide in its impartiality, or deem himself secure of justice. There ought, therefore, on this account, as well as for providing a really more efficient and just administration, to be no hesitation in superseding altogether, in Ireland, the Justices of the Peace, and substituting county and district Judges, such as the Sheriffs and Sheriff-substitutes of Scotland, with their accessory Procurators-fiscal or public prosecutors. In no part of the empire is justice, whether in matters civil or criminal, distributed more speedily, more cheaply, and more satisfactorily, to the mass of the population than it is in Scotland by these judges. Unbounded confidence is reposed in their impartiality. The poorest man knows, and is convinced that, against the richest and most powerful, he will obtain justice; while crime is followed up, detected, and punished, with a degree of certainty unknown in any other part of the three kingdoms. We doubt not that an experience of a very few years of the working of a similar system in Ireland would create a like confidence and security on the part of the population at large; and if this were once attained, a blow would be given to the practice of private vengeance as a means of redress, which would ultimately issue in its total suppression.

Along with this, the efficiency of such a system, in repressing crime, would provide that security to life and property which is essential to the employment of British capital in making the many sources of wealth and employment in Ireland available. The beginning of a new order of things would be made, and by the time the temporary interferences with property, and with the proprietor's free management of his estates, which have been recommended above, came to an end, channels of natural employment would have been opened up, habits of exertion and industry would have been formed, and such progress would have been made, in elevating the condition of the population, as to hold out a prospect of prosperity and peace to that long distracted and misused land.

Although in the preceding remarks we have not referred to the religion of the Irish population, we, of course, cannot but look on it as a main cause of their present degraded condition. The Legislature, however, can do little directly towards promoting a sound faith; and the utmost we could look for at their hand would be to refrain from positively encouraging Popery, and to open up a free field for the enterprise of private Christians, or Christian Churches.

As to the encouragement of Popery, we know that the en-

dowment of the Irish priesthood is a favourite part of the expediency policy of our leading statesmen of all sides, who look upon religion, and the ministers of religion, as fitting instruments of political rule, and are infatuated enough to suppose that, by paying the priests, they would purchase their services and their influence with the people, and that that influence would be worth the price. A few months ago, we should have thought it necessary to have entered somewhat at large on this subject, and to have warned our readers to be up and doing in resisting the proposition of Popish endowment. We incline now to hope that the proceedings at the elections in Yorkshire and Devonshire, have determined the Government to postpone, at least, their meditated attempt; and while, rejoicing at this, we refrain from any discussion of the question, we would still urge on the Protestants of the empire the duty of being prepared to take the field, if necessary, at a moment's warning. We must also earnestly point to the continued existence of the Church of Ireland, as creating the great, and we might indeed say, the only real danger of the endowment of the Romish priesthood being ultimately effected. That measure will never, we believe, be carried against the combined and determined opposition of all classes of Dissenters, unless through the acquiescence and support of the Church of England. The maintenance of the Irish Church, however, is such a gross and indefensible injustice, that nothing can permanently save it except the enlisting in a common support of endowments the great mass of the population of Ireland. Many friends of the Church of England, therefore, convinced of this, seek, with a lamentable sacrifice of the cause of truth to that of Establishments, to satisfy their brethren that the interests of the Church of England—sure to be shaken by the overthrow of that of Ireland—demand that they should submit to the endowment of Popery there, in order to maintain the Irish Church in existence, at least, if not in the uncurtailed possession of all her present endowments. As yet, this view does not generally prevail; but it will doubtless spread, and if it do, may urge upon us the attempt of effecting, on the earliest possible opportunity, the overthrow of the Irish Church. All danger of the endowment of Romanism would, in this way, be for ever averted;—a great barrier to the spread of the truth of the Gospel among the native Irish would be removed; and an opportunity would be afforded for ample provision being made for the support of hospitals, asylums, &c., for the blind, dumb, insane, and impotent poor, or for advancing the general prosperity of the kingdom by useful works of public advantage, when any temporary rate for such objects may have come to an end.

We had contemplated noticing some other of the more important matters likely to come under the consideration of Parliament this session, but our space does not admit of our doing so. If, however, even those which we have adverted to be well disposed of, the country will not have, on this occasion, again to complain of a session barren of results for the benefit of the people.

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